

AN AVNCIENT  
Historie and exquisite Chronicle  
of the Romanes warres, both  
Ciuite and Foren.

Written in Greeke by the noble Orator and Historiographer, *Appian of alexandria*, one of the learned Counsell to the most mightie Emperoures, *Traiane* and *Adriane*.

In the which is declared :  
*Their greedy desire to conquere others,*  
*Their mortall malice to destroy themselves,*  
*Their seeking of matters to make warre abroude,*  
*Their picking of quarrels to fall out at home,*  
*All the degrees of Sedition, and all the effects of Ambition,*  
*A firme determination of Fate, thorowe all the changes of Fortune,*  
*And finally, an evident demonstration, That peoples rule must give place, and Princes power prevaile.*

With a continuation, bicause that parte of *Appian* is not extant, from the death of *Sextus Pompeius*, second sonne to *Pompey the Great*, till the overthrow of *Antonie* and *Cleopatra*, after the vvhich time, *Octavianus Caesar*, had the Lordship of all, alone.

Βασιλεὺς ῥώμης, δεσποτὶς τ'  
ἐπικράτειαν.

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Anno. 1578.



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, his singular good Mayster, Sir  
*Christopher Hatton, Knight, Cap-  
 pitaine of the Queenes Maiesties  
 Garde, Vicechamberlaine to hir Highnesse,  
 and one of hir Maiesties most hono-  
 rable priuie Counsaile.*



**W**HAT care the almightie King of  
 Heauen hathe, of the Princes and  
 States of the earthe, though sacred  
 Scripture did not teache vs, Pro-  
 phane doctrine might instruct vs.  
*Homer* sheweth, that God thro-  
 vveth his shielde in the vvarre, to  
 defende the Prince from harme,  
 and that he appoynteth to euerye gouernour, a peculiar  
 God for his protection.

Hovv God plagueth them that conspire againste theyr  
 Prince, this Historie declareth at the full. For of all them,  
 that coniured against *Caius Cesar*, not one did escape violent  
 death. The vvchich this Author hathe a pleasure to declare,  
 bycause he vvould affray all men from disloyaltie toward  
 their Soueraigne.

The greatest seruice that men can doe, is to saue theyr  
 Countrey from daunger. The *Romans* gaue him a crowne  
 that saued one Citizen. Then hovv many crownes deser-  
 ueth he, that helpeth to saue a number?

They vsed to make a coyne for his commendation,  
 vvith this inscription: *The Senate and people of Rome for Citizens  
 saued.*

*Cicero* vvvas called, Father of the Countrey, bycause hee  
 A.ij. ké pte

## THE EPISTLE.

kept it from decay. All they that in theyr consultations, do seeke the like benefite to their Countrey, doe deserue the like reuward and prayse, and in the testimonie of good mē's hearts, they are sure to haue it.

Then seeing this Authoures onely purpose is, to extoll the princely rule, and to procure the safetie of the people, I haue presumed to make a presente of hym to youre Honoure, that you being in case to do the like good, maye receyue the same triumph of your desert.

Hovv vworthy the VVryter is to be redde, I referre it to the vvitness of one vworthy \*Prelate of this lādē, vvho (as he sayd of *Plato*) shal suffice for a multitude. Further, vvith the manner of the Authoures vvriting I doe not meane to trouble you, himselfe shall tell your Honour, that such as be in your case, may bring to passe that he desireth, to the glory of God, the honour of the Prince, the benefite of the Countrey, and renoume of your selfe.

Your Honoures seruaunt  
most duetifully bounden :

H. BINNIMAN.

The reuerend  
father in God  
T.C. Bishop of  
Lincolne, in his  
booke intituled  
Thesaurus  
linguæ  
Latinæ &  
Britannicæ,

## The Preface of the Authour.



The Romaine people and the Senate, did many times contend, for making of Lawes, releasing of debts, deuision of landes, or electiō of officers, yet was there no tumult nor vproze, but onely discorde and debates in ciuill matter, and that was done with great reuerence one to another. The people, on a time hauing bene at warre, and falling into like contention, did not abuse their armour presentlye, but kept asde vnto an hill, which therof was called Holy, where was no violence done, but a creation made of an officer of themselves, whom they called Tribune of the people, to be a restraint to the Consuls chosen by the Senate, that they shoulde not haue the only rule in the Common wealth. Of this great hatred and variance grew betwene these officers: the Senate and the people being deuided for them, and stizzed by ambition, sought the one to ouer-rule the other. *Martius Coriolanus*, in such a contētiō being vntustly banished, fled to the *Volsians*, and made warre against his countrey. This only seate of force, should a man finde among the old strifes, which neuerthelesse was the act of an outlawe. But in their common metings, was neuer weapon drawn, nor ciuill murder done, befoze *Tiberius Gracchus* Tribune of the people and a deuiser of the Lawes, did firste perishe in sedition, and many moe with him taken in the \*Capitol, were slain about the Temple. Notwithstanding, discorde ceased not by this disgrace, every man being euidently bent against other, bringing many times their weapons, and now one officer, and then another (by this diuisiō) was dispatched, in the temples, in assemblies and in Courts, the Tribunes, Pretors, or Consuls, eyther prouoking to it, or working this occasion of it. Vncomely contumely of  
every

Four causes among the Romaines. Holy Hill dedicated to Iupiter, three myles beyond Rome, ouer the river Aniene, now Tiberone. Creation of the Tribune of the people. *Volsians* people betwene *Hestia* and *Circia*.

*M. Coriolanus*, the first that rose against his countrey, his name vvvas *C. Martius*, because the Citie of *Coriole*, belonging to the *Volsians*, vvvas vvonne chiefly by his meane, he bare the name of the city. The Romaines had their proper names, as *Caius*, *Quintus*, or *Marcus*, the name of their house, as *Martius Valerius*, *Tullius*, and of some fact or figure, as *Publicola*, *Coriolanus*, *Africanus*.

\*Capitol an Hill vvhere vvvas the chiefe palace and temple, so called of a mans heade that vvvas found. It vvvas begunne of *Tarquinius Priscus*, & finished by *Tarquinius Superbus*, but not dedicated. In the foundation *Tarquinius* spente xl. M. li. vvvaight of silver. *M. Horatius* the secōde consul in *Crutus* place did dedicate it. It vvvas burned in *Sylla* his tyme, and builded againe, and dedicated by *Catullus*, *Sylla* being deade. Then vvvas it burned in *Pistellius* tyme and restored by *Vespasian*: and also after his death it vvvas burned againe and his sonne *Domician* builded it, and dedicated it, and made it so sumptuous in building and trimming of it, as he spente aboue xij. M. talentes vpon it, nor for no great holynesse, but for his pleasure, for his Galleries and his banquetting houses passed thys.

every trifle, and foule contempt of law and right, did euer play a part. This euil growing great, manifest insurrections wer made against the state, mightie and fierce armyes were raysed against the countrey, banished men striving for restitution, or magistrates contending among themselves, for offices at home, or army abroad. Some there were, in power like princes, and as Monarches, made leaders of seditious armies: some would not leaue the army that was deliuered them of the people: some without authoritie, would leaue strange souldiers against their enemies, striving whether of the should first get the Citie, in word against the contrary factio, but in deed against y<sup>e</sup> countrey: for they inuaded it, as an enemy. Cruell murders were vsed in some, in others proscriptions to deathe, banishments, confiscations, & torments intollerable, so as no kinde of crueltie was left vndone, till *Cornelius Sylla*, one of the mightie Captaines of rebellion, fifty yeares after *Gracchus* healing euil with euil, made himselfe a Monarche for a time: the which kinde of officers, they called *Dictators*, vsed in most dangerous times, and commonly giuen ouer after stre monethes were ended. But *Sylla*, being in deed *Dictator* by force, perpetuall, yet in speach pretending to be elected, when he had his fill of that rule alone, was the first man, (as I thinke) that durst freely giue ouer a Tiranicall power, affirming he woulde answer for his doings, if any woulde accuse him: and in the sighte of all sortes, as a private man, many times he went to the common place, and returned home againe without hurte. Suche a feare was there yet of his authoritie, in them that behelde hym, or an astonishment, of the resigning of it, or a reuerence, that he offered to answer for his doings, or some other curtesie and consideration, acknowledging his Tyranny to haue bene profitable to the countrey.

Thus a while sedition ceased with *Sylla*, and there was a remedie of the euils that *Sylla* had done: but after hym it began againe, till *Caius Caesar*, by election sent to gouerne *Fraunce*, & after a long time being commaunded by the Senate to giue ouer, he answered, that it was *Pompey* his enemy, leading an army in *Italy*, & repining

*Dei* was he that ruled alone, yet at the battell he might not be on horses backe.

*Caesar*, conquered *Fraunce*, passed the flood *Rene*, and sayled into *England*.

repining at his authoritie in *Fraunce*, that sought to remoue him, & not the Senate. Yet notwithstanding, he propounded conditions.

That eyther both of them shoulde reteyne their armyes, to auoyde suspicion of perill:

Or that *Pompey* also, should leaue his power, and liue a private life according to the lawes.

Obyeyning neyther of these, he marched out of *Fraunce* against *Pompey* and his countrey, the which he inuaded, and hym, being fledde, he pursued into *Thessalie*, and ouercame him verie victoriously in a valiant battayle, whom fleeing from thence, he followed into *Egypt*, where he was slaine of that countrey men. And when he hadde tarried and set a stay among the princes of *Egypt*, and ouerthrowne his greatest enemy, who for his worthy

nesse in the warres, was surnamed Great, no man now being bolde to do any thing against him, he returned to *Rome*, and was chosen the second *Dictator* perpetuall after *Sylla*. When al sedition ceased out of hande, till *Brutus* and *Cassius*, eyther for enuye of his greatnesse, or for zeale of their countrey, kyled him in the Senate house, being most accepted to the people, and most expert in gouernement. The people, of all other, most lamented him, & required his trypers to be punished: they burned his body in the common place, where they erected a temple, and sacrificed vnto him as to a God. Then discorde renewed and increased so farre, as

laughter, bannishment, attendures, both of Senate men and Gentlemen followed confusedly, the seditious of both sides seeking to sequester his enemy, he cared not howe, not sparing friends nor brethren. So muche did deadly desire of debate, & uerwhelme al natural friendship and alliaunce. Where he wente so farre, as three men, & is to say, *Lepidus*, *Antony*, and he that first

was called *Octavius*, (who being of *Caesars* blood, and his son by adoption, toke of him the name of *Caesar*) & beside the Romaine Empire, as a private possession, & after the whiche deuision, falling some out, as was nexte other lyke, *Octavius Caesar* exceeding them both in wysedome and experientce, spyste berefte *Lepidus* of *Lisbie*, which fell vnto him by lotte, and then ouerthrew *Antony* at \* *Actio*, and toke fro him al y<sup>e</sup> rule he had

B.g.

from

*Caesar* offered conditions.

The place was called *Tharsalus*, from the which *Pompey* fled into *Egypt*, where he was killed of the yong Kings Counsellors.

*Pompey*, for his valiantnesse, had the name of *Magnus*, that is Great, giuen vnto him.

*Brutus*, *Cassius*.

These attendures the Romaines called proscriptions, vnto a decree, was vttered to condemn a man without anye sence, and kill him without law.

*Lepidus*, *Antony*, *Octavius*. \* *Actio* a place in *Egypt*. The Gulfe of *Iouis* is from *Brundisia* to *Monte Gargio*, the rest is called the Gulfe of *Penice*.

from *syna* to the Duke of *Loma*: after these most mightie actes, wherewith all men were amased, with his nauy he wanne *Egipt*, the gretest kingdome and of longest continuance, after *Alexanders* reigne, and only lefte to make the Romaine state as it is, by the which, being yet aliue, he was of the people of Rome called *Augustus*, and the firste that so had that title. He shewed himselfe to be an other *Cesar*, yea moze mightie than *Cesar* was, as wel touching the subiection of his owne countrey, as of all other nations, not needing any election, or forme of creation, to be a pretence to his doings. In continuance of time, being settled in his state, and in all things happy and beloued, he left behind him a succession, and a lynage to raigne likewise after him. Thus the Common welth of the Romaines, after diuerse debates, came to vnitie, and the rule of one. How these things were done, I haue written, gathering the most notable matter, that they that lyfte, may see the vnsatiable ambition of men in greedy desire of kingdome, ioyned with intollerable paynes, and innumerable kindes of calamities. The which I haue the rather take in hand, because dealing with the Historie of *Egipt*, and al these things going before and ending there, I was compelled to make reherfal of the. For by this occasion was *Egipte* also conquered, when *Cleopatra* toke parte with *Antony*. Now bycause of the multitude of matters, I haue deuided them thus. The first shall shewe the thyngs done from *Sempronius Gracchus*, to *Cornelius Sylla*. The seconde shall conteine al the actes from that time vnto the death of *Cesar*. The rest shall declare all the dissention that was betwene the thre men, one against an other, and the Citizens of Rome and them, untill the last and gretest feate of Ciuill force, in the whyche *Augustus* ouercame *Antonie* and *Cleopatra* at *Actio*, from the which time the Chronicle of *Egipt* shal take his beginning.

The order of the story, which is left out in the Italian translation.

VVhen *Cesar Octavian* had overcome *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, & gaue *Egipt* a province to the Empire of Rome, he made one *Cornelius Gallus* lieutenent there, and in token of

the Conquering of that countrey firste by him, he coyned a money, in the vvhiche vvas the picture of a Crocodile, vvhich is there only to be seene in the floud *Nilus*, chayned to a palme tree, & trees of Palmes laide ouer him, vwith an inscription. *Col. Nem.* that is, *Colligant Nemo*, signifying that hee triumphed of *Egipt*, sprinkling it vwith deawy in Read of rayne, of vvhich there is none.

The

# The Historie of Appianus Alexandri- nus of the Ciuil dissentions of the Romaines.

The first booke.



When the Romaines first conquered *Italy*, whych they did by little & little, they toke part of the land, and buylded new Cities, or sent of their owne people to inhabite the old, that by this meane, they might be sure of the countrey. The groundes that was tilled, eyther they distributed, or sold it, or let it to ferme to the inhabitants. The wall, which by reason of the warre was very much, not hauing euer leysure to make diuision of it, they pzoclaymed in this sort, to them that would manure it.

For the yearely increase of seede grounde, they required the tenth part.

For the places planted with trees and woode, they would haue a fifth part.

For Cattel eyther great or small, they appointed a tribute accordingly.

Thys they did, for the maintenaunce of the *Italian* nation, whom they accounted to be men of best seruice, that they might alwayes, in the wars, haue the vse of that were their owne: but it came some other wise to passe, for y rich me, hauing got y greater part of the vndeuided lande, presumed vpon long prescription of time, that no man would molest them, and the poze mens small portions, lying nych them, either they boughte for a little by perswasion, or they encroched to them by very violence and oppres- sion, so as now, in steade of *Spanour* places, they had as it were whole countries: & bycause they would not haue their husbands men called anye time awaye to the warres, they bought theyr

W. iij.

Wynes

It vvas 100. yeares before the Romaines could conquere *Italy*. This manner of inhabitants they called *Colonies*, vvhich vvere taken by lot, as the Greeke vvorde exprefeth, vvhich is κληρουχία.

The Romaines order for inhabiting the ground

The Romaines make account of the *Italian* nation.

**H**ymen and Herdes, to labour the grounds, and would not sette their countrymen to any worke at all: by reason whereof, they gaine was incredible, as well for the yearely profit of their possessions, as for the multitude of encrease of those slaves, whiche were neuer called to y<sup>e</sup> warre. Thus the great mē grew exceeding riche, and euery place was full of seruite generation: but the *Italians* fel into decaye and wante of men, and were also oppressed with pouerty, by occasion of their continuall pressing to the war, and dayly exactions put vpon them. And if at any time they were eased of these, they felt a further incōueniēce, for where they had no land of their owne, the rich mē being Lords of al, and they vsing the labour of bondmen in steade of frē men, the *Italians* were utterly corrupted with rest & ydlenes. The people of Rome was much offended herewith, because they could not haue such seruice of the *Italians*, as they had before, and whensoever they made any expedition abroad, they were not without danger, for the great multitude of bondmen at home: they could not tel how to remedy this matter, for it was not easy, nor altogether equal, to thrust them out of possession, that had had so long continuance in their landes and houses, which they had so wel planted and prouided. At length with much adoe, the Tribunes toke the matter in hand and ordeyned,

That no man should keepe aboue five hundred Acres of lande.

That no man shoulde fede aboue one hundred greate cattel.

That no man should fede aboue five hundred little cattel.

And for the better obseruation hereof, they appointed a number of frēmen, to marke what was done, and to make declaration of the same from time to time.

The law was allowed, the penaltie assigned, and the commissioners were sworn, supposing that by this meane, some lande would be leste, that for a small price, might be awarded to the poore. But regarde was there none, neyther of Lawe nor of the othe, and if some did scēme for manners sake, to obey the lawe, and make a counterfeyte deuision to theyr neyghbours, the moste parte dyd utterly contemne the lawe, tyll *Tiberius Sempronius*

Increase of  
slaves.  
Decay of  
hous.

This was called  
*Lex Licinia*.

An Acre was  
so much ground  
as a payre of  
Oxen coulde harrow  
in a day, the  
measure whereof  
was 240. foor in  
length & 120.  
in breadth.

The measure of  
a foor was 4.  
hundred, and one  
hand was foure  
fingers, and the  
measure of a  
finger, according  
to the measure  
of a foor, was  
three barley  
cornes. This is  
called in the law  
the *uncia*.

**pronius Gracchus** a goodly noble man, honourable and eloquent, whereby he was more notable than al the other Tribunes, made a solemne oration, in the prayse of the *Italian* people, lamentyng that so warlike a nation, and of the Romaines alliaunce, shoulde shortly be dispeopled and brought to penurie without all hope of remedy, he inueyed against the rate of slaves, as vnfitte for the warre, and vntrustye to their Lordes: he called to remembrance, a fresh affliction in *Cicilie*, by slavish seruantes against their maisters, the which had their increase also, by being vsed in countrey busynesse, whom the Romaines could not subdue, without long and sharpe warre, full of variable and dangerous successe: and hauing spoken to this effecte, hee renewed the law.

That no manne shoulde haue more than five hundred Acres.

That their chyldren shoulde haue halfe so much: which he added to the old lawe.

That thre men chosen and changeable euery yeare, shoulde make diuision to the poore.

The riche men toke this matter verye grieuouslye. For nowe they coulde not illude the Lawe, as they dyd before, because of them, that were appointed for the deuision, nor purchase theyr landes, that hadde theyr partes assigned, for *Gracchus* hadde prouided for that, forbidding all manner of sale. They assembled togyther in seuerall companies, syndyng faulte with the Lawe. They were in a marueylous disdaine and grieve, that the poore shoulde possesse theyr auncient inheritance, their plantings & buildings, and that they shoulde forgoe the purchase of the lands that they had payd for to some of their neyghbours. Others repnyed at the losse of their forefathers sepulchres, conteyned within their groundes, and the partitions of theyr portions, leste of theyr parentes.

Some objected theyr wyues marriage money, and consumed

mes, and that he might seeme to do that by the will of God, he held a nutte in his mouth stuffed with Sulphure, and fire, the which when he spake, did cast forth flames.  
\* The olde Romaines did bury in their possessions and it was long after Christ, ere mē were buried in sacred places.

*Thys Gracchus was sent Pretor to Numantia, where the Consul Mancinus was ouerthrowne, and seeking for peace the Numantines would graunt none, excepte Gracchus were sent to the, which being done, a peace was made, the which the Senate did not approue, though xx. M. Citizens were saved thereby, beside the slaves and rascals, in so much as the Consul was sent thither againe naked & bounde, but Gracchus, the people prayed that had saved so many Citizens vpon which occasion he became an enemye to the Senate, and a friend to the people.*

\* A Syrian slave in Sicilie after a mad sorte raging with a desire to make rebellion, pretended a religion of doing honor to the goddesse of Syria, and called bondmento libertie and arms.

consumed vpon the same, or the lande of inheritance to theyr children: and some declared what debt they were fallen into, by reason of interest, so as there was great disorder, quarelling, and indignation among them.

The poore men on the contrary side, complaine that they were brought from good wealth, to extreme want, and thereby to decay of continuance, not being able to bring vp their children. They shewed how many tymes they had bin a warfare to winne this land, and myght not beare to be bereft their publike portio. They rayled on the riche, that in the steade of free men, Citizens, and souldiers, they had chosen bonde seruantes, a generation euer vnfaithfull and stubborne, therfore not fitte for the warre. Thus the one reuiling and vpbayding the other, the multitude, that either were of the Romaine foundation, or of their owne gouernement, and al other, that any wayes were partakers of the lande, fearing the losse therof, resorted together, and were deuised wyth the one or the other, and so being embolded by number, they warred fierce, stirring rebellion, and abiding til the law should be discussed: the one by no mean to suffer it to preuaile: the other, that it might take place to the bittermost. Both sides were ambitious, bent for the sequelle of it, and against the appointed day prepared themselves. *Gracchus* minde stode vpon a resolution, not to further aboumdance of riches, but the encrease of men, in procuring of the which commoditie, he muche magnified himselfe, as in a trauell that to *Italie* could not be of more honoz nor importance, the difficultye wherof he did not conceiue. When the day of making Lawes was come, he made a long plausible Preface, and asked of them, If it wer right y publike things shold be deuided in common: and if a citizen were to be preferred befoze a seruant: and if a souldier were more profitable, than he that was vnapt for the war, and a partaker of publike profit more wel willing: Not taryng long in this comparison, as needesse, he streight turned his tale to vtter the hopes and feares of his countrey, that where they had by the warre wonne so muche lande of their enemies, and had good hope to get the rest of the earth, they woulde now put al in hazarde, whether to conquer al that remainyd, by

The poore  
offended.

The Latin  
translation of  
*P. Caudulus* and  
the Italian differe  
th from the  
Greeke.

*Gracchus* talke.

encrease of fyttme, or to lose this through want of their owne, and enuie of their enemies. He set forth the glozy and wealth of the one, and the daunger and doubt of the other. He exhorted the rich to regard, if it were not more for their profite to gratifie the people with land to bring vp their childre, in hope of the wealth to come, than to strue for trifling matters, and to neglect the greater things, they hauing sufficient recompence of their charges bestowed, by possession of five hundred acres of choyce, free, and certen land, and to euery of their children (if they had anye) halfe so much. After this sort *Gracchus* speaking much, kindling the poore, and other to, that stode vpon reason, rather than desire of possession, he commaunded the Clarke to pronounce the law. But *Marcus Octavius* the other Tribune, whome the possessioners had made to resist, and with the Romaines being euer more able to forbidde, commaunded the Clarke to silence. When *Gracchus* greatly blaming him, deferred the Court till the next day, when, hauing prepared a sufficient force to compell *Octavius*, commaunded the Clarke with threates to propound the lawe to the people: but *Octavius* forbade him againe, and put him to silence. Then the Tribunes fell to chasing one with an other, so as the lawe could take no place for the tumult, wherefoze the great men required to committe their difference to the Senate. *Gracchus* toke holde of that offer, thinking euery reasonable man to be wylling with the lawe, & ranne into y Senate house, where being reproued of the rich, as among the few chiefe men in a straight, he ranne agayne into the common place, and sayd he woulde deferre the tryall, till this next dayes assemble, both for the law, and for the authoritie of *Octavius*, and whether by order, a Tribune resisting the law, mighte reteyne his office: and so he did, at whiche time *Octavius* nothing abashed, made resistance againe. Wherefoze *Gracchus* put the matter firste to the voyces, and when one company had giuen against *Octavius*, *Gracchus* turned to him, and prayed him to leaue his purpose, but he cared not for it, and so they proceeded. There was fife and thirtie companies, whereof seauentene had giuen against him with greate furie, and where eyghtenth should haue determined the matter, *Gracchus* againe

*M. Octavius* resisteth the lawe.

*Gracchus* to the Senate.

\* The word signifieth the great men, or a straight.

Fife and thirtie companies in Rome.

Gracchus excuseth  
himselfe of  
the deprivation  
of his fellow.

Officius depriv-  
ued.  
Q. Mummius  
chosen.  
Lavy of landes.  
Officers for the  
lavy.  
Appius Claudius

Gracchus la-  
bours the  
people.

in the sighte of the people; lamentably desired him, that being in that daunger, he woulde not hynder so profitable and honozable an acte to all *Italy*: nor to withstande so greate desire of the people whyche he ought to further, beeyng a Tribune: nor to suffer the disgrace of losing hys office. Thus hee spake, and called God to witnesse, that agaynst hys wyll hys fellowe was deposed. But when no perswasion woulde serue, hee made the decree: *Officius* beeyng deprivued, he secretly conveyed hymselfe away, *Quintus Mummius* was chosen Tribune in his place. The lawe of landes was pronounced, and the firste officers appoynted to see it executed, was *Gracchus* hymselfe the lawmaker, and a brother of hys name, and *Appius Claudius* hys father in lawe. So muche dyd the people feare, that all the laboure of the lawe shoulde bee lost, unlesse *Gracchus* and all hys familie hadde the execution of it. *Gracchus* was maruellously magnified for this lawe, and accompanied of the people to his house as a preserver, not of one Citie or Countrey, but of all the nations of *Italy*. This beeyng done, they that had the day, returned to the landes in the Countrey from whence they came for that purpose, but they that lost the day, remayned discontented, and talked that *Gracchus* shoulde not escape blame when he shoulde bee out of office, that durst violate a Magistrate of so greate authority, and gyue occasion of so manifest sedition in *Italy*. Nowe was it Sommer, and the tyme of choosing Tribunes at hande. It seemed that the ryche woulde so laboure, as the office shoulde bee gyven to some of *Gracchus* greatest enemies. The tryall beeyng at hande, and hee afrayde that hee shoulde not bee elected Tribune for the yeaere to come, called people out of the Countrey, to gyue voyce in the election, but they beeyng occupied in Sommer busynesse, and the daye drawyng nygh, hee was compelled to make the people of the Citie hys refuge, and wente aboute to every one aparte, to desire them to make hym Tribune agayne, beeyng in daunger for theyr sakes. When the daye was come, the two firste companies chose *Gracchus*, but the ryche men cryed, that it was not lawfull for one to bee Tribune twyce togyther. *Rubrio* a Tribune, to whose turne it came

came to bee chiefe of the election, doubted of the matter. *Mummius* successor to *Officius*, prayed hys fellowe to committe the order of the election to hym, whyche hee dyd, but the other Tribunes asseymed, that this must be tryed by lotte, for where *Rubrio* hadde hys turne, the appoyntmente dyd apperteyne to them all.

The contention beeyng greate, and *Gracchus* hauyng the worse, he deferred the discussing tyll the nexte daye, and beeyng viterlye discouraged, although yet in office, he remayned the rest of the whole daye in the common place, beseechyng euerye man to bee hys helpe, as though he shoulde streyghte haue bin destroyed of hys enemies. The poore men were moued wth compassion, and consideryng that they were not vsed indifferently as Citizens, but rather as slaues to the lust of the ryche, and fearyng for *Gracchus* state, who suffered for theyr sake with lamentation, they all brought hym to hys house at nyghte, and bade hym bee of good chere agaynst the nexte daye. *Gracchus* beeyng thus encouraged, assembled hys parte in the nyghte, and gaue them a watchworde to fyghte it out if neede required. When hee went to the Temple of the Capitoll, where the election shoulde bee, and when the assemblee was come togyther, and hee in the myddest of them, some of the Tribunes and the ryche men woulde not suffer the election to procede for hym: wherefore hee gaue hys watche worde, they that were prynces to it made a greate shoute, and beganne the fray, some stode aboute *Gracchus* to guarde hys person, some toze the seates, some wyang the rodde and maces out of the Sergeantes handes, some rente asunder euerye thyng, and bet the ryche menne out of the place, wth suche a tumulte and terroure, as all the Tribunes ranne awaye, and the Priestes shutte the Temple doores. The flying and running was confused, and the speeche not well vnderstanded. Some thoughte that *Gracchus* hadde deposed an other Tribune, for spyng none of them there, it was lyke to bee so. Some thoughte hee hadde made hym selfe Tribune agayne wythoute anye Election.

C. y.

In

Doubt in the  
election.

Tumult by  
*Gracchus*.

Temple of  
Fayth.

Dictator.

Chiefe Bishop.  
I. Scipio N. f. f.

Superstitione.

The tray.

Gracchus slayne,  
who vvas a  
gentle curte-  
ous man, sober  
and eloquent,  
vwith modestie.First Sedition.  
Aristonicus vvas  
a base sonne to  
Lamon, by a  
vveach of Ephes-  
us, that vvas a  
Mistrers  
daughter.Aulus sonne to  
Enomus, made  
his Testament  
after this sorte,  
Populus Rom. vus  
honorum meorum  
heres esto.

The Rom. times

slayed the prouince of Pergamo. Aristonicus as heyre to his father invaded it, and killed Licinius Gracchus  
that vvas sent against him. Then M. Perperna queith v him at Stouonice, and vvas killed in prison by  
the Senates commaundement.

In the meane time the Senate assembled in the Temple of  
Faith. Surely I marvill, that where the office of one ruler had  
many times before preserved the state in like troubles, that now  
they dyd not chuse a Dictator. In former times it was founde  
most necessarie, but nowe neyther in memoire, nor after care  
for. When the Senate, as wel as they could, had resolved what  
was to be done, they went vp to the Capitoll, and Cornelius Scipio  
Nasica, by the name of chiefe Bishop led the way, and spake with  
a loud voice that they should follow him that would haue their  
Countrey safe. When he pulled the skirte of his gowne ouer his  
head, eyther to giue a token by his garmēt, that the more might  
followe him, or for a signe to them that sawe it, that he would  
fight, or for that he would as it were hide from the Gods what  
he meant to do. Being come to the Temple, and thrusting in a-  
mong Gracchus route, they gaue place vnto him, as to a most  
worthy man, whome they sawe all the Senate follow: then dyd  
his company wryng the weapons out of the others handes, and  
gathered the peeces of the broken seates, with any other things  
that they could get in the place, and bet Gracchus part so violent-  
ly, as they droue them to the bynke of the hill, in the whyche tu-  
malte Gracchus was slayne, and many with him at the Temple  
dores, before the Images of the Kings. Thus Gracchus, beeyng  
somme of that Gracchus that had bin twice Consull, whose mother  
was Cornelia daughter to scipio that conquered Affrica, meaning  
well to his Countrey; but going aboute it vndiscretely, was  
slayne in the Capitoll, being yet Tribune.

As this was the firste mischief that was done in the place of  
election, so did it not cease till many more were done from tyme  
to tyme. The Citie was deuided into two and ioy for Gracchus  
death, some lamented for themselves as well as for him, that the  
present state was no more a common wealth, but rather a Co-  
quest and crueltie. Other reioyced at that was done, whereby  
they had obteyned their purpose. This was done, whē Aristoni-  
cus contended with the Romaines for the Lordship of Asia, Gracchus

being

being thus slayne, and Appius Claudius dead, straight way Fulvi-  
us Flaccus, Papius Carbo, and Gracchus the yonger, toke vpon  
them the defence of the law, and where the possessioners denyed  
their lands to be surueyed, they made Proclamation, that the  
uerseers should accuse them, of the whiche grewe a multitude of  
difficult matter, for all the lande adioyning together, whither it  
was sold or deuided to their companions in warre, came to be  
examined how it was sold, and how it was deuided. Every man  
had not his conueyance, nor the portions appoynted them, and  
they that had, were found doubtful. And where lande should be  
deuided agayne according to the order, some of the owners must  
be put from their groundes and manors, to barren seide, and  
from frutesfull and well planted places, to fennes and marish  
groundes. And where at the beginning of the lands conquered,  
there was no great certentie kept, & now that by decre all land  
diuisible must be laboured, many had entred vpo their neighbors  
boundes, whereby the forme of the places were confounded, and  
time hadde so altered the rest, as it was hard to find the wrong  
that the rich had done, although it were great: so was there no-  
thing but confusion, euery one changing & chopping into others  
right. The Italians were very much greued at this sharpe dea-  
ling of the commissioners, and made sute to Cornelius Scipio that  
ouercame Carthage, to be their defence against those iniuries,  
who for that he had had there good seruice in the warres, was  
much greued they shoulde be misused, wherefore he came into  
the Senate house, where he did not directly speake agaynst  
Gracchus lawe, but shewed the difficultie of the matter, and wis-  
hed it should not be determined of them that had the dealing of  
it, bycause of suspition, but of some other that might be thought  
indifferent, the which he quickly obtained as a thing reasonable.  
Tuditanus the Consull was appointed to be the iudge, but he en-  
tring into the cause, and finding it so intricate, toke in hande a  
voyage against the Illirians, seeking that occasion to be ridde of  
this. They that were first appointed for the diuision, bycause no  
man required iustice of them, did nothing in the same. Whereof  
an hatred and grudge of the people did growe against scipio,

F. Flaccus  
P. Carbo.

Proclamation.

The Italians  
sute to Scipio.

Scipio.

Tuditanus.

The Illirians.  
now Slauonians.

C. iii.

that

The people of  
Rome against  
Scipio.

Sempronia and  
Cornelia suspect  
deed of Scipios  
death.

This was Scipio  
Iunior Africanus,  
nephew to Scis-  
pio Africanus  
that overthrew  
Anniball.  
Seruantes con-  
fession.

Ingratitude.

Freedom of  
the Citie.

Fulvius Flaccus.

Caius Gracchus  
the seconde  
Tribune.

that he woulde haue moze care of the nations of *Italie*, than of the people of *Rome*, whyche for hys sake had dyuers tymes gotten the displeasure of the greates men, and twice made him Consul befoze he might so be by the lawe. This beyng knowen, his enemies spake manifestly agaynst hym, affirming that he went aboute utterly to bzeake *Gracchus* lawe by force and violence, whyche when the people hearde, they were afrayde, tyll *Scipio* in an euening, takyng a payze of Tables to note what hee woulde say the next day, was founde dead without any wound, eyther by the practise of *Cornelia* mother to *Gracchus*, that hys lawe shoulde not be fozdone, and by the helpe of *Sempronia* hys daughter, who was married vnto *Scipio*, whome she loued not, nor he hir, for that she was foule and barren, or rather (as some thynke) that hee kylled hymselfe, bycause he could not fulfill hys promise. Some saye, that hys seruantes beyng racked, confessed, that certayne straunge men vnknownen to them, were sette in at the backe doze, and that they did choke their maister, and bycause they saue the people angry with him, and to bee glad of his deathe, they durst not bewray it. Thus dyed *Scipio*, and was not thoughte worthy a publike funerall, although he had done so great seruise to his Countrey. So muche could presente displeasure preuaile ouer benefytes passed. This happe gaue courage to *Gracchus* faction, although the diuision of landes was diuerslie deferred by the possessioners, wherof some thought good that all companions in warre shoulde be called to the freedom of the Citie, to make the benefyte the moze common, and so leaue the contention for land. The *Italians* accepted this very gladly, and preferred the freedom of the Citie, befoze the lande in the Countrey. *Fulvius Flaccus* being Consul, and a diuider of land, was a great doer in this matter, but the Senate did not allowe, that they that were their inferiours, shoulde now become their fellowes: so this deuice toke no place, and the people that was in hope of the diuision, was utterly discouraged, till *Caius Gracchus*, brother to him that made the lawe of landes, was thoughte the most mete man to be a Tribune, who since hys brothers deathe had liued in rest: and though many of the Senate

nate enuyed hym, y<sup>e</sup>. he stode for the office, and obteyned it with great gloze. He deuised to deceyue the Senate, by making a lawe that the people should haue a distribution of a monethes Coyne of the common stoze, whiche thing was neuer seene befoze, whereby stright he wanne the peoples heartes, and *Fulvius* beyng his friende, he was declared Tribune for the yeaere to come: for now there was a lawe made, that if a Tribune hadde neede of furtherance to perfoyme his promise, the people also all other should make choyce of hym, and so *Caius Gracchus* was chosen Tribune the second time. Hauing thus allured the people by his largesse, he wanne also the Gentlemen by an other deuice. They being in dignitie next the Senatours, in the middell betwene them and the people, he turned the iudgements diffamed by corruption from the Senatoures to the Gentlemen, obiecting agaynst them things lately committed, that *Cornelius Cotta*, *Salinator*, and *Manius Acilius*, who subdued *Asia*, being openly condemned of bribery, were released by the Judges, when the Embassadors were present, goyng about, and crying out vpon them with great slander, wherof the Senate beyng ashamed, gaue place to the lawe, the people proclaymed it. Thus were these iudgements translated from the Senatoures to the Gentlemen. When this law was made, *Gracchus* (as they report) sayd, he would dispatch the Senate quickly, which saying was found true by that followed thereof, for where the Gentlemen had the iudgements of corruption, banishment and diffamation, whyche they vsed extremely ouer the *Romaines* and the *Italians*, yea the Senatours themselves, all the Gentlemen were like Princes extolled, and the Senatoures like slaues dejected, beside forth the Gentlemen toyning with the Tribunes in elections, to gratifye them againe in euery thing they would. The Senatours were fallen into so great a feare, as though the state should streyghte haue bin changed, they only hauing the name, and the Gentlemen the authoritie, who in procelle of time, did not only ouerrule the Senatours, but did them open spight agaynst all lawe. They dealt with matters of corruption, and sette so of continuall gayne, as they vsed theyr authoritie moze rigorouslye  
Citty. and

Distribution.

A lawe for the  
Tribunes be-  
nefit.

Gentlemen,  
Equites,  
The next de-  
gree to the  
Senators after  
the order of the  
Athenians,  
when they  
were able to  
find an horse.  
Iudgements of  
corruption.  
*Cornelius Cotta*.  
*Salinator* made  
the toll of salt.  
*Manius Acilius*  
ouercame *Antiochus*.  
Corruption.  
Translation  
of Iudgements.

Crueltie of the  
Gentlemen.

and moderately. They brought in priuie accusours against the rich, and by their faction and force ouerthrew the lawes of corruption, so as the custome of triall of iudgements was utterly ouerthrowne, and a new disturbance concerning lawes of Iudges stirred vp, as like so long to continue as the former. Nowe was *Gracchus* making of long high wayes in *Italy*, seeking thereby to help the multitudes of the labouring men, to haue them ready in any enterpryse at his commaundement. He also placed diuers newe inhabitances, and furthermore stirred the Latine nation to require the freedome of the *Romaines*, as a thing to procure hate to the Senate, if they should denie it to that nation that was so nigh allied vnto them. He also gaue authoritie to other confederates of *Rome*, to giue voyces in elections, whiche might not so do by auncient manner, that he might haue the more helpe to procure lawes at his pleasure, for the which the Senate was much troubled, and commaunded the Consuls to make proclamation, that no man, vnlesse he had a right in elections, should resort into the Citie, or approach within fise miles of the same, during the time of assemble for the lawes. They perswaded *Linus Drusus* the other Tribune, to resist *Gracchus* lawes, not making the people acquainted with it, and it was graunted, that who so would resist, should not neede to shew cause thereof. And to win the commons heartes, they decreed twelue new inhabitancies to be made, wherewith the people was so wonne, as they cared not for the lawes. *Gracchus* being thus deceyued of the peoples fauour, sayled into *Africke* with *Fulnius Flaccus*, who was Tribune with *Gracchus* after he had bin Consul, where an inhabitation was appoynted, bycause of the plentie of the soyle, whych was done of purpose, that by the absence of the people, the Senate might haue some rest from these sturres. Thys inhabitation was appoynted where *Carthage* was, little regarding that *Scipio* the winner of it, did vowe it for euer to be a place of pasture. Sixe thousand was assigned, which by law ought to haue bin lesse, that they might the rather please the people. They returned to *Rome*, and gathered the sixe thousand out of al *Italy*, but when it was written out of *Africa*, that the *Volues* had destroyed

*Gracchus* maketh  
new wayes.

*Gracchus* giueth  
voyces in elections.

*Linus Drusus*.

The Senates  
deuise to ouer-  
throw the  
lawes.

*Gracchus* sayleth  
into *Africke*.

*Colonic*.

An inhabitation  
where *Carthage* was.

destroyed the plat of the citie, which *Gracchus* and *Fulnius* had layd, the Southlayers affirmed, that the inhabitantes should be vn-  
lucky, wherefore the Senate called a counsell, that the lawe of inhabitation might be reuoked. *Gracchus* and *Fulnius* being deceyued of this hope also, like mad men, sayd the Senate did lye, touching the token of the *Volues*. The burly sorte of the commons fauouring them, came with their weapons to the Capitoll; where the assemble should be for this inhabitation. When the people was assembled, and *Fulnius* beganne to speake, *Gracchus* came by to the Capitoll, garded with them that were priuie of his purpose, but being resisted of them that understode he would make new businesse, he lefte the way to the Capitoll, and toke a lowe Gallerie, there waiting to deceyue his aduersaries. One *Attillius*, a man of the commons sort, seeing him in these tymes, and making sacrifice in that gallerie, came and toke hym by the hand, eyther to perswade him, or suspecting him, or otherwise to talke with him, prayed him he would spare his Countrey: he was yet more troubled, as fearing to be apprehended, & looked angrily vpon him, whereat one of his people, without any commaundement or token giuen, but only by conjecture of *Gracchus* grimme looke, thought it now to be time to please his Captayne, if he began the fray, drew his sword, & ranne *Attillius* through. A greateshout being made, and the dead body scene among them, euery man fledde out of the Temple with feare of lyke displeasure. *Gracchus* wente to the common place, intending to say somewhat to the people touching this fact, but no man would harken to him, euery man detesting it as a wicked fact. *Gracchus* and *Flaccus* were out of hope, hauing lost this occasion, which they thoughte to haue prevented, and ranne home to their houses, accompanied with their companions. The rest of the people, as in time of danger, about midnight toke the common place, and by breake of day, *Opimius* the Consul had appoynted men in armour to keepe the Capitoll, and called the Senate together by publike officers, himselfe in the meane time abiding in the Temple of *Iupiter* children, to prouide for the necessitie. This being thus ordered, the Senate sent for *Gracchus* and *Fulnius* to answer for them.

Inhabitation  
reuoked.

*Attillius*.

*Attillius* killed.

*Gracchus* & *Flaccus*  
detested.

*L. Opimius*.

Latet ne vras  
one of the fea-  
ren hills of Rome.

Second seditio.

The vwoodden  
bridge vvas at  
that part of Tiber  
that goeth to  
the hill Ianiculo.

Gracchus and  
Fulvius stayne.  
This Gracchus  
vvas very elo-  
quent, but so ve-  
hement, as he  
vould moue  
vp and dovvne,  
and cast his  
Gowne off his  
shoulders.  
Purgation of the  
Cittie.  
Temple of Con-  
corde.  
Layd to sell  
lande.  
Division by  
money.  
Sp. Borius.

themselves in the Counsell house, but they in armour wente to the hill called *Auentine*, hoping by the strength of the place to bring the Senate to some composition, and offered libertie to bondmen that would repayre vnto them: but no man made any accompt of them, wherefore they took the Temple of *Diana*, and fortified it. Then they sent *Quintus*, sonne to *Flaccus* vnto the Senate, requesting a pause with a truce of concord. The Senate willed them to leave their armour, and come to say what they could for themselves, or else to sende no more: neuertheless he came agayne, and *Optimus* the Consull not taking him for a messenger bycause of their disobedience, caused him to be deteyned, and sent souldiours against *Gracchus*, and he fledde ouer the woodden bridge, vnto the other side of the floude into a groue, wyth one man, to whome when he saw he shoulde be taken, he offered his throte to be cutte. *Flaccus* fledde into a shoppe of one of his acquaintance. They that followed him, threatned to burne the whole streete, vnlesse they deliuered him. His friend being ashamed to betray him in his calamitie, bade an other do it, and so was *Flaccus* taken and killed, and both their heads were brought to the Consull *Optimus*, who gaue the waight of gold for reward, and the people spoyled their houses. The Consull took their companions, & committed them, till they were executed. To *Quintus* he granted to chosse what manner of death he would: then he purged the Cittie of bloudshed, & by the Senates sentence, erected the Temple of concord in y<sup>e</sup> common place. This was y<sup>e</sup> ende of *Gracchus* y<sup>e</sup> second his seditio. Not long after a lawe was made, that any man might sel the land y<sup>e</sup> was in controuersie, the which the former *Gracchus* had forbidden, whereby the riche men agayne wold buy the poore mens parts, or thrust them out by violence, til *Spurius Borius* the Tribune did deuise a law, y<sup>e</sup> land shuld be no more deuided, but remaine with the owners, & a tribute to be raysed of it for the people, the money whereof shoulde be distributed, whereby the poore had some reliefe, but to the increase of me it was no help at al. Thus was *Gracchus* lawe abrogated by a sleight, which might haue bin very good and profitable, if it had bin vsed accordingly. Not lōg after, by another Tribune, the distribution also

was

was take away, soas the people was bitterly destitute of al help, whereof followed wante of Citizens and souldyers, reuiewe of lande, of stipende, and of lawes, the space of fiftene yeares after *Gracchus* lawe, with a more quietnesse. In this meane tyme *Scipio* the Consull threw downe a Theatre that *Lucius Cassius* had begun and almost ended, eyther as an occasion of new seditio, or for that he woulde not haue the Romaine people acquainted with the Greekes pastimes. *Q. Metellus* a maister of maners, minded to haue remoued *Glaucias* that had bin Consul, and *Apuleius* hauing bin Tribune, from their dignitie, for their euill life, but he coulde not do it, bycause his fellowe was againste it. A little while after to be reuenged of *Metellus*, *Apuleius* laboured to bee Tribune agayne, bycause *Glaucias* was Dictor, & shoulde be chiefe in the election: but *Nonius* a noble mā, vsing free speech agaynst him, & reprouing *Glaucias*, was chosen Tribune. They fearyng that he being in authoritie, would punish them, sent a band of bulle fellowes as he went from the election, and killed him, entring into a shoppe to saue himselfe. This murder being committed, they of *Glaucias* faction, before the people could assemble agayne, chose *Apuleius* Tribune early in the morning, & by this meane was the deathe of *Nonius* not followed, men being afraid of the Tribune. *Metellus* was banished by y<sup>e</sup> help of *C. Marius* now fift times Consull, who bearing secrete hate agaynst him, conspired with his enemies. *Apuleius* did make a lawe to deuide certayne landes of the *Frenche*, wonne by the *Cymbrianes*, whome *Marius* hadde drinen away, as nowe no longer of the *Frenche*, but belonging to the Romaines, and therefore might be deuided. It was promised that if the people woulde allow the lawe, the Senate shoulde confirme it the fift day by an oth, and he that refused to sweare to it, shoulde be remoued fro the Senate, and be condemned to the people in twenty Talents. This was a deuice to be reuenged of *Metellus*, who for his grauitie woulde not sweare vnto it: The lawe being in this forwardnesse, *Apuleius* appointed y<sup>e</sup> day, and in the meane time sent into y<sup>e</sup> Countrey for such as had serued *Marius* in y<sup>e</sup> warres, to haue their help, but bycause y<sup>e</sup> Italianes shoulde be more aduanced by this lawe than the Romaines,

A Theatre  
vvas a place of  
Playes to be-  
seene of the  
people, and it  
vvas round fa-  
cing in one  
place. An Am-  
phitheatre vvas  
round euerye  
where. Some-  
time the Thea-  
tres serued for  
the people to  
learne Oratōs.  
*Q. Metellus*  
Censor.  
This *Nonius*, of  
other is called  
*Memmius* and  
*Munius*.  
*Nonius* killed.  
In this matter  
this Author sees  
meth to varie  
from other.

*Metellus*.  
*C. Marius* vvas  
an enimie to the  
nobilitie, and a  
laborers friend.  
voyde of lears-  
ning, and rude in  
manners, yet so  
good a Souldi-  
our, as vwhen  
*Scipio* vnder  
vvhom he ser-  
ued in Spayne,  
vvas asked  
vvhom hee  
thought meete  
to be generall  
after him, hee  
clapped *Marius*  
on the shoulder  
and sayd, perad-  
venture this mā.

D. y.

the

Objection against the law.

Thunder stoppeth any proceeding in elections and assemblies. The Citizens against the Countreymen. The lawe by force. *Marinus* dissenteth.

A device of *Marinus* to illude the lawe. The words be, *Μηχανισμός* and *σοφισμός* commentum & subtilitas.

*Metellus* refuseth the oth.

the people was not content with it. So discorde arose in the time of the meeting. *Apuleius* did put backe from the higher place all that were against the law. The people of the Citie cryed that it thundered, which when it hapned, it was not lawfull for the *Romaines* to conclude any thing in their consultations. Nevertheless *Apuleius* bande vned violence still, wherefore the Citizens girded their gownes, and tooke such weapons of woodde as they coulde get, and resisted the Countreymen. They agayne being encouraged by *Apuleius*, stucke to it, and with their staves and battes beate the Citizens so, as the lawe was wonne. *Marinus* the Consull forthwith propounded the oth, and because he knew *Metellus* a constant and sound man in his purposes, he firste shewed his owne opinion, affirming he would not sweare, and all to deceyve *Metellus* who sayd the same, wherefore both of them being commended of others, *Marinus* brake by the house. The fifth daye after, which was the time appoynted for the oth, the Consull assembled the Senate on a suddaine about tenne of the clocke, and sayde, he was afrayd of the people that fauored the lawe so feruently, yet he had deuised a shift and a subtiltie for it, and that was this, that a man might sweare to the words of the lawe so farre, so the as it was lawfull, and so for the time the Countrey people mighte be sente home, and after it might be well proued that it was no law, which by violence and by the thundering of *Iupiter* was made contrary to the order of the Countrey. When he had sayd thus, euery man was silent for feare of entrapping, and the suddaynesse of the time; wherefore he arose and went to the Temple of *Saturne*, where the common treasurers shoulde sweare. Himselfe sware first, & so did his friends: other Senators did the like for feare. Only *Metellus* would not sweare, continuing in his former sentence without dread. *Apuleius* the next day sent a Sergeant to pull him out of the Courte, but the Tribunes defended him. Then *Apuleius* and *Claudius* ranne to the Countrey multitude, affirming that they neither could haue law, nor law take place, vnlesse *Metellus* were banished: wherefore a decree of his banishment was made, and a Proclamation from the Consull, that no man should succoure *Metellus*, neyther with

fyre

fyre nor water: and one only day was giuen him for deliberation of the matter. The people of the Citie were offended, and wente aboute *Metellus* with their weapons: he thanked them for their good will, but said, his Countrey should not be brought into trouble for him. So *Apuleius* pronounced the decree of his exile, and *Marinus* confirmed it. Thus was the most worthy man of the Citie banished, after the which *Apuleius* was Tribune the third time, and for his fellow, one *Gracchus* a runnagate was appoynted, reporting that he was sonne to olde *Gracchus*, the people fauouring him for the names sake. The election of the Consuls being at hand, *Marcus Antonius* was chosen for the one, without any striking: for the other, *Glaucias* and *Memmius* contended. *Memmius* was of more estimation in the Citie. *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* feared themselves, and sente certayne men with warrants into the assemble, whiche layde vpon *Memmius*, and killed him. Thus was the soleimne assemble disturbed, no regarde being had now of law or iustice, nor reuerence of God or man. The people was grieued at it, and the nexte day gathered together to dispatche *Apuleius*, but he got the company of his new multitude of Countreymen, with *Glaucias* and *C. Sappeius* a treasurer, and tooke the Capitoll. The Senate commaunded they shoulde be taken and dispatched, but *Marinus* vnwilling to it, did for a shew arme men very slowly. Some there were that did cutte away the water that wente into the Temple, wherefore *Sappeius* that could not abide the lacke of water, perswaded them to set the Temple a fyre, but *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* yielded themselves first, and after so did *Sappeius*. And where euery man called vpon their execution, *Marinus* shutte them in the Senate house, as to deale with them moze according to lawe. But the people perceiving this to be a delay, pulled the staves of y rose of the Temple, and neuer left throwing vpon them, till they had killed all thre, whereof one was a Questor, an other a Tribune, and the third a Pretor, and all at that time clad with the robes of their office. With them also was *Rayne* a greate number of the people, entangled with their sedition, and in it the other Tribune, that was thought to be sonne to *Gracchus*, the first day of the entring

D.ij.

into

The moderatiō of *Metellus*.

*Metellus* banished.

*Gracchus* the runnagate, vvho vvvas aduanced by *Marinus*.

*Memmius* killed.

*Sappeius*, *Glaucias* and *Apuleius* killed.

into his Tribuneship, for now neyther libertie nor dignitie, neyther law nor office was able to releue any mā, whē as the Tribunes office, created for the repressing of wrongs, and defence of the people, as a sanctuary and holy thing, was wāren a worker of iniuries, and had iniurie done against it selfe. After *Apuleius* and the rest were killed, the Senate and the people decrede to call home *Metellus*, but *P. Furius* Tribune, not boine of a free man to his father, but made free of a bond man, boldly did resist them, and relected his sonne *Metellus*, beseeching him with teares vpon his knees in the sight of all the people, which yong man for that pitifull ake, was euer after called *Metellus* the dutifull. *Caius Canuleius* Tribune the next yeare, did accuse *Furius*, and the people that would not tarrie to haue him tried by iudgement, did teare him in peeces. Thus euer one mischiefe or other was committed in the common place. *Metellus* was called home, and (as they say) a daye did not suffice for them that came to welcome hym home at the gates of the Citie. Thus the thirde sedition, after the two former, made of the two *Gracchi*, beguine by *Apuleius*, and working much trouble to the *Romaynes*, was ended. In the meane tyme kyndled a stirre called the fellowes warre, whiche as it was todayne, so it shortly grewe verpe great, and caused dissention to ceasse at home, for feare of trouble abroad, and when it was ended, it raysed newe turmoyles and workers of disorde, not for makynge of Cities, or creating of officers among the people, but wth myghtye armyes seekynge one anothers destruction, the whyche I thought good to ioine with this Hystoric, bycause it proceeded of ciuill dissention, and increased to a farre greater tumulte, the begynnyng whereof was this. *Fulvius Flaccus* beeyng Consull, was the fyrste that openly encouraged the *Italians* to aske the freedome of *Rome*, that of subiectes they myghte bee coequall in authoritie. And bycause hee was so earnest in the cause; the Senatoures sente hym to a forrayne warre, where hee laboured to bee Tribune. When hys office shoulde ende, and broughte to passe that hee was chosen Tribune wth *Gracchus* the yonger, both the whyche going aboute to make lawes in the fauoure of the *Italians*, were slayne

*Furius*,

*Metellus* the dutifull

*Furius* torne in peeces,

*Metellus* reuoked,

The thirde sedition.

Fellowes vvar, and the cause of it.

*Flaccus* sent into *Tiberie*.

(as yee haue heard,) whereby the *Italians* were the more sharpe sette, takynge it greuoulye, that they were rather vsed lyke vnderlyngs than fellowes, and that *Fulvius* and *Gracchus* for theyr takes were so destroyed, after whome, *Linus Drusus* a noble man and Tribune, hadde promised the *Italians* to make a lawe in theyr fauoure, touchynge the freedome of the Citie, whereof they were verpe desirous, as the onely meane, of *Seruantes* to bee made Superiours. To gratifye the people of *Rome*, the Tribune ledde newe inhabitances, as well in to *Italie* as *Sicilie*, determined before, but tyll that tyme deferred. Hee also toke in hande to make pacification betwene the Senatoures and the Gentlemen whyche were fallen out for authoritie of iudiciall matters, and when hee sawe hee coulde not directely restore the Senate to theyr former iurisdiction, he vsed a policie wth them both, for where the Senate by reason of sedition, were scarcely the number of thre hundred, hee deuised that so many more shoulde bee chosen of the Gentlemen, and of them all, Iudges to bee chosen in tyme to come, to heare matters of corruption, whyche was nowe no more regarded, for men were wāren so shamelesse, as it was thoughte no faulte: but this policie hadde contrarie successe, for the Senate was greued that so many Gentlemen shoulde so suddaynely bee made theyr fellowes, beeyng onelyke that they in lyke authoritie would agree with them. The Gentlemen were afrayde that the whole order of iudgements shoulde be in the Senate, the which thing, now hauing tasted of great gaine, with much authoritie, they began, (not without cause) to suspect: besides forth an emulation grew among themselves, which of the shoulde be thought worthier than other, to be chosen to the thre C. and he that was, was sure to be enuied; but nothing did more trouble them, than that the triall of corruption shoulde be called agayne to the ordinary court, the which was now out of vse, and in this, the Senate and the Gentlemen, though they agreed not among themselves, yet they both conspired agaynst *Drusus*. The people was pleased wth theyr newe habitations. But the *Italians*, for whose takes the Tribune hadde beguine

*Linus Drusus*.

Increase of Senators.

*Drusus* said there was nothing novv left to be deuied, but earth or ayre.

all

It should seeme  
by some that he  
would haue  
renoked cer-  
taine inhabi-  
tantes.  
Tuscanes,  
to haue the  
same Ducato di  
Spol to.

Drusus Bayne.

Q. Valerius.

Drusus exiles  
himselfe.  
Cotta willingly  
exiled.

Mummius exiled  
who ouers  
thruvv Cornelius  
and thereot  
was called As-  
chicus, by cause  
it should be in  
Achaby.

all these things, could not away with the placing of newe habi-  
tations, for if the diuision of common land should cease, the rich  
men, some by force and some by fraude would winne it, and  
straight get it from them, and be euill neyghbours to them that  
would withholde them. The *Tuscanes* and the *Umbrians* hauing  
the like affection, were brought of the Consull in pretence to dis-  
patche *Drusus*, but in very dede to resist the lawe, againste the  
which they openly cryed and expected the day of determination.  
When the Tribune hearde of this, he came not abroade, but  
gaue audience at home in a darke gallerie, and in an evening  
dismissing the people, it hapned so that he cryed, I am hurt, and  
with y word he fell downe dead, & it was found y he was stricke  
with a Shomakers knife in y flanke. Thus *Drusus* y Tribune  
was slayne. The Gentlemen of this determination toke occasi-  
on to picke quarels against their enemies, and induced *Q. Valerius*  
the Tribune to take vpon him to accuse all them that eyther  
priuily or apertly had furthered the *Italians* in the publike mat-  
ters, hoping thereby the great men should haue bin brought in  
to slaunders and diffamation, and they be their Judges, whych  
being ridde away, they shoulde yet haue greater power in the  
common wealth. And whereas other Tribunes did refuse to  
propound the lawe, the Gentlemen with swords in hand, did co-  
passe the place, and caused the law to be made, which as soone as  
they had obteyned, they brought in accusers againste the Sena-  
tors, whereof one *Bestius* would not obey, but wente into vo-  
luntarie banishment, as he that would not giue himselfe into the  
hands of his enemies. *Cotta* appeared in iudgement, and when he  
had very boldly declared his seruice for the common wealth, and  
reprehended the Gentlemen, before he shoulde be cast out by de-  
cre, he wente away willingly. *Mummius* that ouercame *Greece*,  
being promised of the Gentlemen to be released, was deceyued,  
and forced with shame to flee iudgement, and to leade his lyfe in  
the Ile of *Delos*. The people began to be greued at this disor-  
der increasing dayly against the best men, lamenting that so ma-  
ny and so good Citizes should be so suddainely taken from them.  
The *Italians* hearing of *Drusus* death, and the cause of so many  
mens

mens exile, thinking no longer to be suffered, that such a sort of  
their chiefe patrones should be thus bled, and not hoping any o-  
ther way to obteyne the freedome of the Citie, determined to  
leauethe *Romaines*, and to make warre vpon them. At the begin-  
ning of this confederacie, they secretly gaue hostages for assu-  
rance of their faith, which thing was long hidde to the *Romaines*,  
by cause of their dissention and iudiciall causes, but when it was  
percepued, they sente diuers abroade to vnderstand the thyng  
closely, one of the whiche, marking that a yong man of the Citie  
of \* *Asculi* was deliuered to an other citie as pledge, he did utter  
it to *Seruilus* the President of that prouince: for at that time, it  
should seeme, that the *Romaines* had presidents in diuers partes of  
*Italy*, whiche manner *Hadriane* when he was Emperoure desir-  
ed to renue, but it continued not long after his time. *Seruilus* came  
in great anger to *Asculi* at a feast, and sharply rebuked them,  
wherevpon they killed him, by cause they were discouered  
by hym. They killed also *Fontius* y was his legate. They had y  
name of Legates among the *Romaines*, that were sent in commis-  
sion to the Presidents of the Countrey. After these two were  
slayne, there was as little courtesie shewed to the rest of the *Ro-  
maines*, for they were all killed, and their goodes set to spoyle. The  
conspiracie being now opened, all the neyghbours about *As-  
culi* wente to armes. The *Marsians*, the *Malinians*, the *Vestinians*,  
the *Marucians*, and beside them the *Picentines*, the *Ferentines*, the  
*Hirfians*, the *Pompeyans*, the *Venusians*, the *Iapigianes*, and the *Sam-  
nites*, whiche people before had euer bin enemies, and hurtfull to  
the *Romaines*. All other nations from the floud \* *Lario*, which flo-  
weth, as I take it at \* *Linterno*, to y Gulfe of *Ionia*, did send theyr  
Embassadors to the *Romaines*, complayning, that where the Se-  
nate had bled their seruice and trauell, alwayes in getting theyr  
great Empire, they made no regard of it, nor for all their paines  
thought th in worthy to be partaker of their Citie. To whome  
the Senate sharply answered, that if they repented theyr former  
doings, they shoulde send Embassadors, if not they shoulde sende  
none. They as men desperate, prepared for the warre, and made  
a common army of all the Cities, one of footemen, and an other

\* *Ascolo*, Thys-  
Citie is in that  
part that is cal-  
led *Aburzo*,  
neere to the  
territorie of  
*Ancona*, apper-  
teyning to the  
Pope.

There is ano-  
ther of thys  
name in *Spidia*,  
called *Asculi*, di  
*Sauriano* for a  
difference.  
President.

*Hadriane* the  
Emperoure.  
Proconsulles.  
*Seruilus* killed  
at *Asculi*.  
*Fontius* killed.  
*Marsians* in *Came-  
pania* di *Roma*.  
*Malinians* in *Came-  
pania* felici.  
*Vestinians* in  
*Aburzo*.

*Marsians* at  
*Aburzo*.  
*Picentines* *Came-  
panites* di *Lauoro*.  
*Ferentines* in  
*Catio*.

*Hirfians* *Aburzo*.  
*Pompeyans* in  
terra di *Lauoro*.  
*Venusians* in *As-  
pulia*.  
*Iapigianes* *otritio*.  
*Samnites* *As-  
burzo*.

All these nations  
be beyod *Rome*.  
\* The floud *Lario*  
*Lario*, now *Clas-  
siano* in *Campe-  
nia*.

\* *Linterno* was a  
Citie in *Campe-  
nia*, where *Scipio*  
chose to ende  
his life, after he  
had found the  
people of *Rome*  
vntthankfull.

The army of  
the Italians.

Sext. Iulius Caesar,  
I. Rutilius Con-  
sules.

Affistantes to  
the Consules.

of Horsemen, to the number of one hundred thousande. The Romaines made power as greate againste them, partly of their owne, and partlie of the Confederate Cities that yet remayned in league. *Sextus Iulius Caesar*, and *Publius Rutilius Lupus*, then Consules, were leaders both, as in a warre at hande, and dangerous. The rest remayned at home to defende the gates and the walles, and bycause mens mindes were entangled thys waye and that waye, by reason of the newe lawe, they appoynted assistantes to the Consules, whome they called Legates, menne of the best sorte. To *Rutilius*, was Ioynd *Cneus Pompeyus*, father to *Pompey* that was surnamed Greate, *Quintus Capius*, *Caius Perpenna*, and *Valerius Messala*. To *Sextus Caesar P. Lentulus*, brother of the sayde *Caesar*, *Titus Didius*, *Licinius Crassus*, and *Cornelius Sylla*. And beside these, *Marcus Marcellus*. These many appoynted to the Consuls, serued as Lieutenantes in severall places, and the Consuls wente ouer all, to whome and to the other the Romaines sente euer newe supplies, as in a trouble of greate danger.

The Italians hadde theyr Captaynes out of euerye Citie, besyde the whyche, as in a generall cause, these were the Generalles, *T. Afranius*, *C. Poncilius*, *Marinus Ignarius*, *Quintus Pompeius*, *C. Papius*, *M. Lampronius*, *C. Iudacilius*, *Hirius Asinius*, and *Vetius Cato*. These deuising theyr armies togyther, wente agaynst the Romaine Captaynes many tymes with the aduantage, and many tymes wyth the losse, the chiefe of both the whyche byrle to declare, were these: *Vetius Cato* putte to flighte, *Sextus Iulius* kyled two thousande of hys menne, and droue him to *Asernia*, a Citie of the Romaine deuotion, where standyng to theyr defence, *L. Scipio* and *L. Acilius* in slaues apparell fledde awaye, and the enemies wyth tyme and hunger consumed them. *Marius Ignatius* toke *Venasfro* by treason, and kyled two companies of the Romaines.

*P. Prosentius* dyd ouerthrowe *Perpenna* a leader of tenne thousande, kyled foure thousande, and toke the armour from the most

Generalles of  
the Italians.

Sextus Iulius  
ouerthrowne.

*Venasfro* lost.  
It is nere the  
flou. *Palturno*.  
*Perpenna* ouer-  
throwne and  
discharged.

moste parte of the rest. Wherefore *Rutilius* the Consull dischargd *Perpenna* of hys leading, and commytted the remnaunte of the Arme to *C. Marius*. *M. Lampronius* slewe eyghte hundred of them that were with *Licinius Crassus*, and chased the other to the Citie of *Grumento*. *C. Papius* gotte *Nola* by treacherie, and made Proclamation to two thousande Romaines that were there, to come and serue, whyche they dyd, and hee accepted them: but the Captaynes that refused to obey hys Proclamation, hee toke, and furnished them to deathe. He wanne also *Castabuli*, *Minturnio*, and *Salerno*, that were habitations of Rome, and caused all the prisoners and Captiues to serue in hys Campe. He burned all aboute the compasse of *Nuceria*, whyche caused the nexte Cities to yelde for feare. Hee requyring an armie of them, they sente hym tenne thousande menne, and one thousande Horse, wyth the whyche hee besieged *Acerre*. *Sextus Caesar* wyth tenne thousande French footemen, and manie Numidian Horsemenne, approached to *Acerre*.

*Papius* broughte out of *Venusio*, *Oxantha*, sonne to *Iugurthe* sometyme kyng of *Numidia*, where hee was kepte of the Romaines, and claddyn hym wyth Purple, shewed hym manie tymes to the Numidianes that were wyth *Caesar*, of the whyche manie fledde thynke vnto hym as to theyr kyng. Wherefore *Caesar* sente awaye the rest as suspected into theyr Countrey, after the whiche, *Papius* came vpon hym wyth contempte, and bette downe parte of hys trench. Hee sente hys Horsemenne aboute, whyche kyled fyre thousande of *Papius* souldyours, whiche done, *Caesar* remoued the Campe from *Acerre*.

To *Iudacilius* in *Iapigia*, the *Canusians*, *Venusians*, and manie other Cyties dyd yelde, some that woulde not hee overcome, and as manie noble menne of the Romaines as he sounde, hee slewe, the Commons and the slaues hee vsed in hys Host.

*Rutilius* the Consull, and *C. Marius* made Brydges, not farre asunder, to passe ouer the Riuer of *Liris*. *Vetius Cato* camped

C. y.

nigh

*Grumento*.  
It. *Crassus* lost.  
*Nola* yvonne, a  
Citie not farre  
from *Naples*.

*Castabuli* in *Campania*, *Minturno* in  
*Campania*, vnder  
*Marius* hidde  
himselfe.

*Salerno* beyonde  
*Naples*.  
*Nuceria* besieged,  
thirtie miles  
from *Naples*.

*Acerre* a Citie in  
*Campania*, vnder  
the *Annibal*  
burned, the  
people beeyng  
escaped.

*Oxantha* sonne  
to *Iugurth*.  
*Venusio* in *Apulia*.  
Numidianes.

*Papius* lost.

nigh the bridge of *Marius* and layde an ambushe ouer agaynst the *Consul's* bridge. In the morning he suffered him to passe ouer, and set vpon him with that sleight, and many of his people he killed on the lande, many also he drowned in the flood. The *Consull* in this conflict was hurt in the head, and dyed shortly after, *Marius* being at the other bridge, and perceyuing y<sup>e</sup> chance by the bodies that were brought by the streame, passed the flood with great speede, and set vpon *Cato's* Camp, kept off a few, and made him lodge the nighte where he had wonne the day, from whence for lacke of victuall he was compelled to depart. *Furilius* cozpse, and many other Gentlemen, being sent to *Rome* to be buried, it was an heauie sight to see the *Consull* and so many other destroyed, and cause of many daies mourning: wherefore the *Senate* decreede, that they that dyed in the warre should be buried there, least the other by the sight should be made afraide to goe to the fiede. No succesor was made to *Rutilius* that yeare, because *Sextus Caesar* had no leysure to goe to the election, but by his host, the *Senate* appointed *Caius Marius* and *Q. Cato* to rule. *Q. Pompeius* lying against *Cato*, fledde as a runagate, and brought two slaues as pledges, cladde in purple as his sonnes: and to haue the more credite, he broughte certayne wedges of leade, layde ouer with siluer and golde. He exhorted him to set vpon his men being without a Captayne easie to be ouerthrowen. *Cato* was so light of beliefe, as he wente with him. When *Pompeius* was nigh the place of embusment, he ranne vp to an hill as to espie the enimie, to whome when he had giuen his token, they appeared, and ouerthrew *Cato*, and many moe with him. The *Senate* committed the rest of his army to *Marius*. *Sextus Caesar* marching with thirtie thousand footemen, and fise thousand horses, among hilles and rocky streyghtes, *Marius Ignatius* fell suddenly vpon him, and compassed him in the same. He fledde away in a litter (because he was sicke) to a riuer, where was but one bridge to passe, there he lost the greater part of his arme, the other threw away their armoure, with whome he hardly escaped to *Theano*, then he armed agayne as well as he could, and with an other multitude that came vnto him hand ouer head, he approached

The Consul  
killed.  
*Marius*.

Heauinesse at  
*Rome* for the  
death of the  
Consull.

*Pompeius* de-  
seyueth *Cato*.

*Cato* slayne.

*Sextus Caesar*  
sleeth.

*Theano* in the  
end of *Apulia*.

approched to *Atherre*, which *Papir* had beseged. Their *Campes* lay hard together, yet for feare durst not prouoke one the other. *Cornelius Sylla*, and *C. Marius* did followe valiantly the *Marsians* that lay against them, vnto the hedges of the *Vineyards*. The *Marsians* with much adoe gotte through the hedges, in the whiche *Marius* and *Sylla* thought not good to pursue them, but *Sylla* wayting with his Camp on the other side of the *Vineyards*, encountered them as they would haue escaped out, and killed manye of them, so as the slaughter of that day was aboue fise thousande, and the harness that the *Romaines* toke, was a great deale more. By this chaunce the *Marsians* like madde men were the more fierce, and armed themselves agayne, and went on to prouoke the *Romaines*, who durst not come to hand with them, nor begin the fight, for they be a nation most warlike, and through this chance this only triumph was made of them, where before (as the saying is) neyther was there triumph of them, nor without them: About the mount of *Falerno*, *Iudacilius*, *Titus Afranius*, and *P. V. C. titius* together, did ouerthrowe *C. Pompeius*, and droue him to the Citie of *Firmito*. They wente their way, and lefte *Afranius* to beserge *Pompey*, who armed his men speedely, but would not come to fighte, yet by the coming of an other army, besente *sulpicius* about to be on the backe of *Afranius*, and he came forth on the face. The fight being doubtfull on both sides, *sulpicius* set the enimies Camp on fire, which when they sawe, they fledde to *Ascoli* without order or obedience, where *Afranius* was killed continuing in the fight. *Pompeius* proceeded to the winning of *Ascoli*. *Iudacilius* was borne at *Ascoli*, and fearing the losse thereof, he tooke eyght companies and went toward it, sending to the *Asculians* before, that as sone as they saw him a farre off, they should yssue vpon the enimies, that they mighte be assailed on both sides: but they would none of it. Notwithstanding *Iudacilius* entered through the Camp with as many as he could, and reproued his Countreyemen for unfaithfulnesse, and cowardlinesse, but hauing no hope to saue the Citie, firste he killed all his auntient enimies, then those that of late had caused the multitude to disobey him at this instant. That done, he prepared a fyre in the

*Marsia* valiant  
people in *Latio*,  
now *Campania*.

*Falerio* in *Campania* vvhether the  
good vine  
is prayled.  
*Firmito* a towne  
in the march of  
*Ancona*.

*Afranius* killed.

*Iudacilius*.

Crueltie of  
*Iudacilius*.

C. iij.

Temple,

Indacilius death.

S. Caesar dyeth.

Temple, and sette a bedde vppon it, then he did banquet wth  
hys frendes, and after he hadde made merrie with them, he  
dyanke off hys popson, and layde hym dowe on the strawe,  
and bade them sette it on fyre. Thus *Indacilius* despyous to  
dye honourable for hys Countrey, made hys ende. *Sextus Ca-*  
*sar*, the tyme of hys office beyng expyred, was made *Micecon-*  
full of the Senate. He sette vppon twentie thousande as  
they remoued theyr Campe, and kylled eyghte thousande of  
them, and vnarmed many moze, lying long at the sege at  
*Ascoli*, he dyed of a disease, and appoynted *C. Bibius* to serue  
in his place. These were the things done in *Italy*, aboute the *Io-*  
*nian* sea.

Coma in Campat  
no felici.  
Freemake men  
sent to vvarre.

Hetrurians novv  
Tuscanes.

The Italians  
make Citizens  
of Rome.

The *Hetrurians* and *Vmbrianes* on the other syde of *Rome*  
hearyng of this, they and other Countreys theyr neyghe-  
bours were disposed to rebell. The Senate beeing afrayde,  
least the enimie being rounde aboute them, they shoulde  
bee vndefended, sente garrisons of free made menne to all  
the coast betwene the Citie and *Cuma*. This was the  
firste tyme that they were admytted to serue in Warre for  
wante of free menne. Those *Italians* that remayned in good  
faith, they made free of the Citie, of the whyche all were  
desirous. Thys benefyte they sente also to the *Hetruri-*  
*anes*, who receyued that freedome verie frendelye. The  
Senate by thys curtesie made theyr welwylers the moze  
wyllyng, putte them oute of doubt that were in feare,  
and caused the enimie (for hope of the lyke) to bee the  
moze remisse. The *Romaines* dyd not receyue these newe Ci-  
tizens into the fyve and thirtie compaynes (for so manye  
they were) least that they beeyng moze than the olde, shoulde  
preuayle in elections, but broughte them into newe com-  
pays, deuided by fennes, whereby they were last in  
the elections, and manye tymes theyr voyces were in vayne,  
bycause the olde fyve and thirtie were firste called, and moze  
than halfe. Whether thys was not knowen at the firste,  
or that the *Italians* were contente wth it, afterwarde  
it was cause of newe contention. They aboute the *Io-*  
*nian*

*nian* Sea, not hearyng of the *Hetrurians* repentaunce,  
sente fiftene thousande menne in ayde to *Hetruria*, with  
long and laborious iourneys. *C. Pompeius* nowe Con-  
sull, mette wth them, and kylled fyue thousande of them,  
the rest returnyng home by waylesse places, sharpe sea-  
son of Wynter, and by eatyng of *Acornes*, were the halfe de-  
stroyed.

That same Wynter, *Cato*, *Pompeius* fellowe, made iwarre *Cato slaynes*  
vppon the *Marfanies*, and was slayne. *Sylla* laye in Campe at  
Mount *Pompey*. *L. Ignatius* wth greate despyghte, encam-  
ped wthyn halfe a myle of hym. *Sylla* coulde not abyde thys *Sylla fleeth*  
contumelie, but sette vppon hym, not tarryng for hys for-  
ragiers, and was vnyuen to flee, but when hys forragiers  
were come, he sette vppon hym agayne and putte hym to *Sylla putteth to*  
flyghte. He then Camped farther off, hauing a supplie of  
Frenchmen. He agayne placed hys Campe nere to *Sylla*. The  
armyes beeyng thus nygh together, a Frenchman of migh-  
ty stature came forth alone, and challenged anye of the Ro-  
maynes to fyghte wth hym: a little *Marusian* answered *A Combate.*  
hym, and kylled hym, wth the whyche the Frenchmenne *A Numidian.*  
were so discouraged, as they fledde theyr way, whereby the  
Campe beeyng troubled, no compayne of *Cluentius* woulde tar-  
rie, but wth confusion fledde to *Nola*. *Sylla* pursued, and  
kylled thirtie thousande in the chase. And whereas the *No-*  
*lanes* receyued them but at one gate, for feare the enimie  
shoulde also enter, he stowe aboute the walles twentye thou-  
sande, among whome *Cluentius* manfullye fyghting, was also  
slayne. *Cluentius slaynes*

*Sylla* wente agaynst the *Hirpinianes*, and besieged *AE-* *Hirpini in the*  
*quilano*. They looking for the *Lucanes* ayde that daye, desired *Frutians.*  
respite to consioer: hee percepyng theyr craft, gaue *Lucanes be they*  
them one houre, and in the meane tyme sette ladders *that novv be of*  
to the walles, whyche were made of woodde, and at the *Basilicata.*  
ende of the houre sette them on fyre. They beeyng a-  
frayde yeloed, yet he spoyled it, bycause they yeloed not of  
god

*Aquilano* taken  
Citie in *Erutia*.

Mutulus over-  
throwen.

Aspinia in Brutia.

Francis novve  
B. u. m. in Al  
braccio.

Salapia a Citie of  
Apulia, where  
Quintus was  
caught in love.  
Canus novve  
Perlett.  
Canus a citie in  
Apulia, where  
is the best vvol  
in Italy, novv  
Canossa.  
The flood  
Aniolo.  
Trebatus is dis-  
comfited by  
Cossinius.

Varinides &c.  
people of Al  
pelia.  
Pediculi in  
Calabria.

Popedius killed.

Lucians received  
to the freedome  
of Rome.

good will, but of necessitie. Other that yelded he receyued, till he had subdued all the *Hirpian* nation. Then he wente againste the *Samnites*, not that way which *Mutulus* their Captaine kepte, but an other unknowen by a compasse, and came vppon them suddenly, and killed many of them, and the other ranne hither and thither, and *Mutulus* was hurt, and with a few fledde to *Aspernia*, *Sylla* went against the *Brianes*, where the common counsell of the factions were kept. This Citie had three fortresses, and whyles the *Brianes* came wholly against *Sylla*, he sente aboute certayne, whome he willed to take any of the fortresses that they coude, and to signifye it by a smoke, whiche being done, he gaue a hote assault on the front three houres together, and got the Towne. These things that Sommer were happily done of *Sylla*, and toward winter he went to *Rome* to stand for the Consulship. *C. Pompeius* subdued the *Marsians*, *Marusians*, and the *Venusians*. *C. Cossinius* a Lieutenant did burne *Salapia*, and toke *Canus*. By the coming of the *Samnites*, with whome he fought valiantly, till many dyed on both sides. He was sayne to leaue the siege of *Canusio*, and goe to *Canus*. *Trebatus* the Captaine of the *Samnites*, sente vnto *Cossinius*, that epyther he should come ouer the riuer that deuided their armies, to fight, or goe backe, that he might come to him: he wēt backe, and when *Trebatus* was coming ouer, *Cossinius* set vppon him, and had the better in the fight, and as he woulde haue fledde ouer againe, he killed fiftene thousande of *Trebatus* men, who with them that were left, fledde to *Canusio*. *Cossinius* hauing spoyled the landes of the *Lurineans*, *Venusians*, and *Asculans*, invaded the *Podiceans*, whome he wanne in two dayes. *Cecilius Metellus* became his successor to his army, who went against the *Iapigians*, and overthrew them by battayle, in the which *Pompedius* one of the Generalles of the reuolted people was killed, the rest fled by heapes to *Cecilius*. This was the sharpe contention in *Italy*, called the fellowes warre, till all the same were receyued into the ciuilltie of *Rome*. Except the *Lucanes* and *Samnites*, the whyche (as it should seme) were after receyued also, and were appointed to their seuerall companies as the former, least beyng toynd with the olde, they should, being more in number, haue the upper hand

hand in elections.

Now beganne the Usurers to contende one against an other in the Citie, bycause some had bought debtes with the interest, beyng forbidden to take vsurie vpon vsuries by an olde law, and a payne appoynted to him that so woulde vse his vsuries. It should seme that the olde Romaines detested vsurie as muche as the *Greeks*, as a matter intollerable to the poore, and cause of debate and euill will. The *Persians* also by likereason did accompte it full of fraude and leasing, but vsurie being confirmed by custome and time, they required it accordingly. The other alledged cause of delay throughe war and sedition, and some threatened the vsurers with the statute. *Asellio* a Iudge, to whome that inrisodition belonged, sought to agree them, but coude not, wherefore he gaue them leaue to trie the controuersie by lawe, putting the Iudges in remembrance, as well of the custome, as of the law, as a thing doubtfull. When the Usurers hearde *Asellius* make mention of the olde law, they were greued, and kyled him after this manner: It was his turne to make oblation in the common place to *Iupiters* childzen, the multitude standing about the sacrifice, one of the former threw a stone at him, and hit him, wherefore he slong downe the vessell of sacrifice, and ranne toward the Temple of *Vesta*, where being preuented and excluded, he fledde into a shoppe, and there they slew him. Many that went after him thinking he had bin fledde among the *Virgines*, ranne into places where it was not lawfull for men to come. Thus *Asellio* a Iudge, sacrificing and cladde with an holy vesture of golde, as in such solemnities is wont, was killed the second houre among the Temples in the midst of the common place. The Senate made proclamation, that who so euer woulde betray the killer, if he were a freema, he should haue silver if he were bond, he shoulde haue freedome: if he were priuate to it, he shoulde haue pardon: but no mā would do it, for the Usurers kept it secrete. These murders and ciuill dissentions hapned yet now and then, but afterward Captaynes of sedition with great armies contended together by law of warre, their Countrey standing as a pray to them that could catch it, the beginning & proceeding whereof

Vsurie.

Romaines,  
Grecians, and  
Persians, hate  
Vsurie.

Asellio.

Sacrifice to  
Iupiters childre.

Vesta the God-  
desse of Virgini-  
tie.

Disorder.

Asellius killed.

¶.

after

after the fellowes warre was this.

When *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and other nations hadde invaded *Bithinia*, *Phrigia*, and *Asia*, confining to the same (as I haue shewed in my Booke of that matter,) it was by lotte assigned to *Sylla* the Consull, beeyng yet in *Rome*, to gouerne the armye in *Asia*, in that warre of *Mithridates*. But *Marinus*, who thoughte thys warre woulde be easie to dispatch, and very muche worth, desirous also of the Generalles rone, attempted *P. Sulpitius* Tribune of the people, with manye promises, to be hys friende. And he putte the newe Citizens of *Italy* in good hope, that were inferioure in elections, to be distributed thozough all the Companies, not shewing that hee wente aboute any matter of his owne, that hee myghte vse them as faithfull ministers in all assayes. *Sulpitius* straightway propounded a law for it, which if it had taken place, *Marinus* and *Sulpitius* should haue had their willes in all, bycause the newe Citizens did so farre excēde the olde, which thing the auntients perceiuing, did stoutely resist the new, and both sides vsed stones and staues in their defence. This euill growing still greater, and the Consuls fearing the passing of the law that was at hād, did proclayme a vacation for many dayes, as in festiuall tymes was wont to be done, that some intermission mighte be hadde of this lawe and inconuēience. *Sulpitius* coulde not abyde thys vacation, and therēfore willed hys faction to come to the common place with weapons hidde, and do as should fall out, not sparing the very Consuls if neede were. Thys done, he spake agaynst the vacation, as a thing contrarpe to the lawe, and had the Consulles, *Sylla*, and *Q. Pompey* forthwyth to reuoke it, that he mighte proceede to the approbation of the lawe. A tumulte began, and they beeyng prepared, drew their daggers, and threatned to kyll the Consulles if they spake agaynst them: wherefore *Pompey* secretly fledde, and *Sylla* went asyde, as to take aduice: But *Pompeys* sonne, beeyng sonne in lawe to *Sylla*, was kyled of *Sulpitius* faction, bycause hee spake somewhat liberally agaynst them. When *Sylla* returned, and reuoked the vacation, and wente to *Capua*, to the army which was to passe into *Asia*, for the war

Beginning of  
Ciull vyaries.

*Marinus*.

*Sulpitius*.

Vacation.

*Sulpitius* against  
the vacation.

Vacation re-  
soked.

of *Mithridates*, not knowing any thing yet what was meante agaynst hym. The vacation beeyng dissolued, and *Sylla* gone out of the Citie, *Sulpitius* propounded the lawe, and to *C. Marinus* for whome he had done all this, he assigned the rule of the warre agaynst *Mithridates* in *Sylla* hys place. *Sylla* hearing of it, and determining to trye it by fight, called hys Souldoyours toggyther, whyche were desirous to goe thys iourney for the gayne thereof, and knewe that *Marinus* woulde vse other Souldoyours in it, and declared vnto them what spyghte *Sulpitius* and *Marinus* hadde done hym, not shewing playnely hys meaning, for hee durst not yet make mention of any suche warre, but only exhorted them to be readye, as occasion shoulde requyre. They vnderstanding hys intente, and afrayde to be preuented of thys warfare, opened *Syllas* cogitation, and hadde hym boldly leade them to *Rome*. Hee beeyng gladd thereof, marched wyth syre Legions. All the officers of hys Campe, but one Tresourer, posted to *Rome*, and coulde not abyde to goe agaynst theyr Countrey.

Embassadours came to hym by the way, and asked hym why wyth armes hee dyd invade hys Countrey: he answered, to deliuer it from *Tyrantes*. Hee made thys aunswere twice or thyrce to seuerall Embassadoys, and wythall required, that the Senate wyth *Marinus* and *Sulpitius* myghte meete hym in the felde of *Mars*, and there hee woulde doe, as by counsell shoulde seme good.

When hee was come nygh, *Pompeys* hys fellowe resorted to hym, allowing and praysing hys doyngs, and ioyning wyth hym in all thynges. *Marinus* and *Sulpitius* not prepared for so shorte a disaunce, sente other Embassadours, as directed from the Senate, wyllyng hym not to come nygher than syue myles to the Citie, tyll they hadde consulted of the presente state. *Sylla* and *Pompey* well vnderstanding theyr meaning, promised so to doe, yet followed as sone as they were gone. When *Sylla* toke the gate called *Celimumontana*, and the wall nexte it, with one Legion, and *Pompey* toke *Collina* Gate wyth an other. The thyrde hee placed

*Capua* the chiefe  
Citie of *Campania*.

The vvarre of  
*Mithridates*  
appoynted to  
*Marinus*.  
*Sylla* to hys  
Souldyers.

*Sylla* returneth  
to *Rome* in  
Armes.

Officers of  
good cōscience.

Aunswere of  
*Sylla*.

*Celimumontana*  
Gate.  
*Collina* Gate.

ff. ff.

at

Sylla entred the  
Citie with  
armes.

Esquilia was  
the hill in Rome,  
vpon the  
which Tullus  
Hostilius kept  
his Souldiours.  
First fight of  
the armies in  
Rome.  
The boldnesse  
of Sylla.

Subura, in the  
old writing  
Succurra, a  
strete in Rome,  
where Sould-  
yers were  
placed, to re-  
leeue them of  
Esquilia.

Marius fleeth.

Holy way in  
Rome so named  
of the peace  
that Romulus  
made with  
Tatius.

Sylla reneweth  
olde lawes.  
Comicia Cetraria  
where the best  
men gave  
voyces.  
King Tullus.

at the brydge of wodde, the fourth he left as a warde vnder the walles, with the rest he entred the Citie with enimies mind and dedde: wherefore the dwellers aboute did stoppe him, by casting vpon him from aboue. He threatned to burne their houses, and then they ceased. *Marius* and *Sulpitius* came against him in the playne of *Esquilia*, with as manye, as of the suddayne they coulde bzing armed. This was the first fight that cuer was in Rome of suche enimies, not now for anye pretence of dissention, but by playne force, with Trumpet and ensignes, as in lawe of warre. To such inconueniences were they now come by nourishing of dissentions. *Sylla* hys souldiours gaue backe, wherefore he toke the standerd, and stode to it with daunger, so as the reuerence of their Generall, and the feare of dishonour that come to them that forsake their ensigne, did stay them straighte from fleeyng. *Sylla* called freshe Souldyers from the Campe without, and sente others to the strete called *suburra*, to compasse the enimies on the backehalfe. *Marius* company made but faint resistace against these new men, and fearing to be compassed on euery side, called to the Citizens that fought yet in their houses, and proclaymed libertie to seruauntes if they would come to help: but none coming forth, and they in bitter despayre, fledde out of the Citie, and so did euery noble man that was of their faction. *Sylla* passed to the way called *Holy*, and such as made any spoyle, he punished in the sight of all men. He also set garrisons in the Citie, and both he and *Pompey* watched, going aboute euery where, that no hurt should be done, eyther of them that had lost, or of them that had wonne. Day being come, they called the people to a counsel, they lamented that the state was betrayed of certayne troublesome men, and that they were constrained by necessitie to doo that they had done. Further they affirmed, that nothing of importance should be propounded to the people, but that were before debated of the Senate, renewing an auntient lawe, now of long time out of vse, and that the elections shoulde not be of the ordinarie companies of wardes, but of the generall assemblie by the rate of substance, according to the institution of King *Tullus*, supposing by these two things, that no lawe were pro-

pounded

pounded to the people before the Senate, and that elections shoulde not consist in the poore and bolde sorte, in steede of the wise and substantiall men, there shoulde not be suche occasion of sedition. Many other things they spake of the Tribunes, in writing against that power as Tyrannicall, whereby the Senate was growen into contempt by so vnfynt men: therefore they chose together three hundred of the best sorte, and whatsoeuer had bin done by *Sulpitius* after the vacation of the Consuls, they reuoked it as vnlawfull. Thus sedition from strife and contention, dyd growe to murder, and from murders to very warre, and this was the first army of Citizens that invaded the Countrey as enimies. Yet sedition ceased not by this trial of armes, for continuall inuasions were made against Rome, the walles were beaten downe, and all other extremities of warre done, no reuerence eyther of lawe, common wealthe, or Countrey, being able to refrayne the violent mindes. When *Marius* was banished, *Sulpitius* the Tribune, and with him *Marius*, sixe times Consul, and his sonne *P. Cethegus*, *Iunius Brutus*, *C. Q. Granus*, *P. Albinouanus*, *M. Lellorius*, and other, to the number of twelue Senators, as stirrers of tumult, rebellious to the Consuls, prouokers of slaues to revolt, by offering them libertie, for the whiche they were proclaymed enimies to the Romaine state; and that it should be lawfull to kill them without punishment, or bzing them to the Consuls. Their goodes were confiscate; and serchers ranne aboute to catch the, who founde *Sulpitius*, and slew him. *Marius* alone without seruant or fellow fledde to *Mynturna*, the rulers of that Citie for feare of the Proclamation, keeping him in a close house, that hadde bin sixe times Consull, and done so many notable feates, would not be authours of his death, but sente a Frenchman that was there by chance, with a sword to kill him. The Frenchman (as they say) wente in to him lying on the strawe in the darke house, and was afraide, for he thoughte that his eyes dyd cast forth beames and flames of fire, and that he did rise from hys couch, and cryed with a loude voyce, darest thou kill *Caius Marius*. The Frenchman fledde as fast as he coulde out of the house like a madde man, crying, I can not kyl *Marius*, whereby the Rulers

kill.

that

*Marius* &c. pro-  
claymed Tray-  
tors.

*Sulpitius* slayne.

*Mynturna* in  
Campania be-  
twene *Formia*  
and *Sinessa*.  
*Marius* fleeth to  
*Mynturna*.

A Frenchman  
appointed to kill  
*Marius*, can not  
do it.

*Marius* escapeth.

that doubtfully hadde determined this, were stricken with a diuine feare; and aaine spoken from his childehode, that the man shoulde be seauen times Consull, for they say, when he was a childe, seuen yong Eagles fell into his lappe, whiche the Southsayers did shewe, that he shoulde seauen times haue the greatest honoz. The Magistrates of *Minturna* remembryng this, and thinking the Frenchman was feared by Gods operation, they conueyd *Marius* out of their Citie, to saue himselfe as well as he could. He knowing that he was sought for of *Sylla*, and followed of the Horsemen, went toward the Sea by unbeate wayes, and chancing vpon a Cotage, stayed there, and couered hys body with leaues, he hearde a noyse, and lay still couered wth hys leaues, but hearing it more and more, he leapt into an old Fishermans bote, and toke it away spight of his teeth: a tempest arose, and he cutte the Cable, and hoysted the saile, and committed himselfe to fortune, and so he came to an Iland, where he founde a Shippe of his friends, with whome he sayled into *Lybia*, but being reiectd from thence by *Sextus* the Presidente, as an enemie, he liued all that Winter in the Sea, vnder the Mountaynes of *Numidia*. Being thus againe a seaboarde and known, of hys friends, there sayled to him *Cisthegus*, *Graninus*, *Albenouanus*, *Letorius*, and others, and his sonne, all the whiche being valiant men, fledde from Rome to a *Numidian* Prince, and being afrayde of Treason, departed from thence. These had good will to set vpon *Sylla*, whome they thought violently to vse their Countrey, but lacking army, they tarried till occasion might serue. *Sylla* beeyng the first that euer entred the Citie with armes, and able to haue made himselfe in Rome equall with a Monarch, after he was auenged of his enemie, he did willingly refrayne from violence. He sent his army to *Capua*, and ruled agayne as a Consull. The faction of the banished, chiefly the riche menne and women that were full of money, being deliuered of feare of the army, were earnest for the returne of their men, and omitted neyther care nor cost, laying wayte for the Consulles bodies, bycause if they were well, their matter were dashed. Nowe when *Sylla* shoulde leaue his office, the army that was appoynted him against *Mithridates*

Token of *Marius* for honor.

Hard happe of *Marius* in escaping.

*Mithridates* should be his defence. *Pompey* the other Consull, the people pityng his case, appoynted him the gouernement of *Italy*, with the army that was vnder *C. Pompeius*. When *Cneus* heard of this, he toke it euill, yet he receiued *Quintus* into the Campe, who the next day doing his office, *Cneus* wente aside as a private man, till a number pretending to heare the Consull, enclosed him and killed him, other fleeing away. *Cneus* returned as though he had bin maruellous angry that the Consull should be so vnlawfully slayne, but angry as he was, he straight toke the rule vpon him agayne. When the newes of the Consuls deathe was brought to the Citie, *Sylla* was afrayd of himselfe, and straight carried his friends with him wheresoeuer he wente, and in the night had them about him also, and so not tarryng long, he went to *Capua* to his army, and fro thence sayled into *Asia*. The friends of the fledde men had great confidence in *Cinna* that was Consull after *Sylla*, and stirred the new Citizens to the deuises of *Marius*, and thought it mete that they shoulde be mixt with the olde companies, least being last of all, their romes shoulde be lost. This was the plat, for *Marius* and his friends returne. The olde Citizens stood stiffely against it. *Cinna* stood with the new Citizens, corrupted (as it is thought) with three hundred Talentes. *Octavius* the other Consull defended the olde, *Cinna* his companie, closely armed, toke the comon place, & cryed to be mixed with the companies. The other multitude better minded, resorted to *Octavius* with their weapons also, to whome tarryng at home to take aduisement, worde was brought, & the most part of the Tribunes did resist these doings, & that there was a tumult of the new Citizens, with weapons drawn in the way against the Tribunes of the contrary side, rushing into the comon place. When *Octavius* heard of this, he wet the way called *Holy*, with a great company, & thrynging throught the midst of the contrary side, got to the comon place & stayed there. When he had thus afraide the, he went into the Temple of *Jupiters* childe to auoide *Cinna*, but they that were with him, without any commandement, ranne vpon the new Citizens, and killed manye of them, and chased the other fleeing to the Gates. *Cinna* hauyng hys trust in the new Citizens, and

*Pompey* the Consull killed.

*Cinna*.

*Octavius*.

VVay Holy.

Tumult in the which the new Citizens are killed.

and thinking to haue bene all by force, and now contrarie to his opinion, seeing the boldnesse of a few to haue ouercome, he went aboute the Citie, and called flauies to libertie, but when none came, he ranne to the nexte Cities, whiche not long before were made free of Rome, that is, *Fibur*, *Prenesse*, and other as farre as *Nola*, and stirred them to sedition, and gathered money for the warre. *Cinna* being thus occupied and deuising, some Senators of his minde fledde vnto him, as *C. Melonius*, *Quintus Sertorius*, and the other *Murici*. The Senate did decree, that *Cinna* should no more be taken as Consull nor Citizen, bycause being Consull, he left the Citie in tumulte, and called bondmen to libertie, and in his place they appointed *Lucius Merula*, *Iupiters* Prieste. They saye that this holie Prieste only mighte euer weare the wand of his batte alway, where as other might not do it, but in sacrifices onely. *Cinna* went to *Capua*, where was an other armye of the *Romaines*. He did make sute to the Rulers of it, and to as many Seliators as were there. He went in the middelt as Consull. He threwe away his maces, and like a priuate man wepte, and sayde. If you (O Citizens) receyued I this dignitie, the people gaue it me, and the Senate haue taken it from me with out you, and as I suffer in mine owne cause, so am I grieved for your sakes: why should we now desire fauoure at the companies in our elections? What neede haue we of you: how shal you be any longer Lords of elections, of assemblies, or of chiefe officers, if you cannot mainteyne that you haue giuen; and take away when you see cause? When he had spoken thus to stirre them, and lamenting muche his owne cause, he rente his garment, and ranne from the Chaire, and fell flatte among the, and still lay downe, till they for pitties sake toke him vp; and set him againe in his Chaire, and toke him the bundells of authoritie, and bade him hope well, as became a Consull, and to vse them as occasion should require. The officers of the Campe by this meane did relent, and were to *Cinna* the oath of a Souldiour, and so did all the rest. When done, he wente boldly to the confederate Cities, and stirred them, as for whose sake he suffered this calamitie. They reioysed him with money, & many of the other great

*Tibur* nowve *Tibula* fifteen miles from Rome. *Prenesse* nowve *Pratima* in *Champaigne* of Rome. *Nola* nine miles from *Naples*. *Cinna* depofed.

The thing vvas called *Apey*, which vvas a wand & vound about with ywooll in the height of his hatte. *Iupiters* Priest. *Cinna* to the Souldiers.

*Cinna* restored to his dignitie.

great men of the Citie came vnto him, whiche did not like the quiet state of the common wealth. Thus *Cinna* did. *Octavius* and *Merula* the Consuls, fortified the Citie with rampiers, and preparation of engines of warre. They sente for Souldyers to the Cities that remayned obediante, and into *Fraunce* their next neyghbours. They also called home *Cneus Pompeius* the *Dycon* full, leading an armye at the coast of the *Ionian* Sea, to come with all speede to serue hys Countrey. He so dyd, and planted hys host at the Gate called *Collina*. *Cinna* came also, and encamped by him.

*Caius Marius* hearing of thys, passed the Sea to *Hetruria* with his fellowes banished, and Seruautes, and there came to him aboute fyue hundred of hys friendes of Rome: he with vile apparell and long heare to moue pittie wente to the Cities, shewing his victories and honoures agaynste the *Germanes*, and hys fyre tymes Consulshippe, and (that whyche pleased them best) promised to doe for them in the late of elections: and so he gathered fyre thousande *Toscans*, and came wyth them to *Cinna*, who gladly receyued hym into the societie of his doings.

Being mette togyther, they ordered theyr army at the floude *Tiber*, and denided it into thre parties, *Cinna* and *Carbo* ouer agaynste the Citie, *Sertorius* aboute it, and *Marius* towarde the Sea.

They made Bridges ouer the Riuer, that they myghte keepe victuals from the Citie. *Marius* toke *Ostia* and spoyled it. *Cinna* sente to take *Arimeno*, that no army shoulde come out of nyghe *Fraunce*. The Consuls were afrayde, hauyng neede of an other army, and bycause they coulde not call home *Sylla* being entred into *Asia*, they commaunded *Cecilius Metellus* that was aboute the remnaunt of the fellowes warre agaynste the *Samnites*, that he shoulde dispatche it as honestly as he coulde, and come to helpe hys Countrey that was inuaded. He wrote too muche vpon termes wyth the *Samnites*, whyche when *Marius* hearde, he graunted them all theyr demaundes, and so the *Samnites* ioynd with *Marius*. *Appius Claudius* a Captayne, and

The Consuls prepare for defence.

*Collina* a gate in Rome, nowve *Salaria*.

*Marius* returneth.

The *Germanes* were called *Cimbrians*, now thought to be *Danes*.

*Ostia* spoyled, being at the mouth of *Tiber*, about twelue miles from Rome. *Arimeno* is in that part that now is called *Romania*, next to *Lombardie*, and vvas the division of olde *Italy* at the floud *Rubicon*. *Cecilius Metellus* is too precise, and giueth occasion of aduantage to his enemye.

*Marius* entrencheth Rome. *Appius Claudius* receyueh *Marius* into the Citie.

G.

keeper

keeper of the hyll *Janiculo*, and the walles there, hauing receyued a good turne, and myndfull of the benefyte, opened the gate by breake of day, and so *Marius* entred, and *Cinna* followed, but they were sone repulsed by *Ostanius* and *Pompey*, that came agaynst them.

It chaunced so, that there was greates lyghtnings that fell vpon *Pompeys* armye, whereby he and manye noble menne were destroyed. *Marius* kepte all victuals from the Citie that came from the Sea, or aboue from the freshe water, and hee rode to the nigh Citie, where anye Cozne was layde for the Romaine stoze, and by suddayne comyng to *Antio*, *Aritia*, and *Lanuinio*, hee tooke them all, and some other Citie by Treason. And thus keeping awaye victuals by lande also, hee approached towarde Rome boldly, by the way called *Appia*, befoze any victualles coulde bee broughte from anye other place, and wyth *Cinna*, *Carbo*, and *Sertorius*, Camped twelue myles from Rome, *Ostanius*, *Crassus*, and *Metellus* dyd lye agaynst them at Mount *Albano*, and considering for the tyme to come, although they were superioure in strength and number, yet hadde they a compassion to putte theyr Countrey in hazarde by one battayle.

*Cinna* sente Trumpettes aboute the Citie, proclayming libertie to Seruauntes, whereby a multitude of fugitiues came vnto hym. The Senate was afrayde thereby, and doubtyng of the people, bycause of the want of thyngs in the Citie, chaunged theyr mynde, and sente Embassadours to *Cinna* for reconciliation. Hee asked them firste, whether they came to hym as a Consull, or as a priuate person. They doubted what to answer, and returned to Rome.

Nowe many of the freemen came vnto him, some for faction, and some for feare of famine, and to see the squirele of it: and nowe proudly he approached the walles, and Camped within an arrowe shotte. They that were with *Ostanius* were in feare and doubte, and slowe to fight, bycause of the runnawayes, and ofte sendyng betwene, the Senate was greatly amazed.

They

They thoughte it vniust to depose *Lucius Merula*, *Iupiters* Prieste, that was chosen in *Cinna* place, and hadde not offended, but being oppressed wyth the greates myseries, they sente to *Cinna* as Consull, and as they looked for no greates good thereby, so they requyred *Cinna* to sweare, that hee woulde commytte no murther. Hee refused to sweare, but promised that willingly hee woulde bee no cause of manslaughter. Hee wylled also, that *Ostanius* that came in at the other gates, shoulde gette hym away, least some displeasure mighte be done hym agaynst his wyll. Thys he answered from an hygh Throne as Consull, to the Embassadours of the Citie. *Marius* standyng nerte the Senate, was silent, but by his cruell countenance, it was perceyued that he was bent to murther.

The Senate accepted thys, and willed *Cinna* and *Marius* to enter, well knowyng that *Marius* dyd all, and *Cinna* assented to it. *Marius* spake in testyng wyse, that it was not lawfull for a banished manne to enter, wherefoze the Tribunes dyd reuoke the banishmente, and dissolve the decree made agaynst hym by *Sylla*. When they entred the Citie wyth the feare of all that receyued them. They made spoyle of the contraye parte, wythoute stoppe. *Cinna* and *Marius* sente theyr othes to *Ostanius*, but the Southsayers and Diuiners hadde hym not trust them, and his friendes counselled hym to flee, but hee protesting neuer to leaue the Citie, whyles hee was Consull, wente among them to *Janiculo*, with the noble men, and parte of the armye, where hee remayned, and late downe in the seate, cladde with his robe of rule, being wayted vpon wyth the rodde and axes, as Consulles were wont. *Censorinus* came agaynst hym with certayne Horsemenne, his friendes perswadyng hym to flee with his armye, and bynnyng hym an Horse, he woulde not allowe of it, nor once ryle, but abode the deathe. *Censorinus* cutte off his heade, and broughte it to *Cinna*, and was the fyrste Consulles head that was sette vpp in the common place: but after him, the heads of the other that were slayne were set by also, and this mischiese

G. y.

begin

*Marius* repul-  
sed.

*Pompey* de-  
stroyed by  
lightning.

*Antium*, novv  
*Neptuno*.  
*Aritia* tenne  
myle from Rome.  
*Lanuinio* novv  
*Indouina*.  
*Marius* keepeth  
victuals from  
Rome.  
The vway cal-  
led *Appia* vvent  
from *Portus Cas-*  
*pentis* to *Brundis*  
disse, priued  
wyth foures  
square stone.  
Mount *Albano*  
nigh Rome,  
wyth a lake, of  
the vvhich a  
prophecie  
vvent of the  
Romaines vi-  
ctorie.

Resorte to  
*Cinna*.

The Senate  
sendeth to *Cinna*  
as Consull.  
Doubtfull  
answyere.

*Marius*.

*Marius* scorneth

The banish-  
mente of *Marius*  
reuoked.  
*Marius* and *Cin-*  
*na* glue their  
oth for *Ostanius*.  
He is counselled  
to flee.

The constancie  
of *Ostanius*.

*Censorinus* com-  
meth to kill  
*Ostanius* con-  
trary to the  
oth.

*Ostanius* Con-  
sul headed.

beginning with *Octavius*, continued still in such murders of them that were counted enemies. Searchers ranne straighte aboute for to fynde their foes; and there was no regarde of Senator or Gentleman, nor no difference made. All the heads of the Senators were put vp in the common place. There was neyther reuerence of the Gods, nor respect of men, or anye matter made of murder, but all bent to cruell actes, and from actes to horrible sightes, killing, crueltie, and cuttyng off the heads of them that were kyled, to the feare & astonishmet of the beholders, making thereof most miserable shewe. *C.* & *Lucius, Julius, Bruthzen, Atilius, Eranius, P. Lentulus, G. Numitorius*, and *M. Bibius* were slayne, beeyng mette in the way. *Crassus* fledde wyth his sonne, and preuented them in killing him, then himselfe was killed of the pursuers. *Marcus Antonius* an orator fledde into a ferme house, the keeper whereof receyued him gentlye, and hydde hym, and sendyng a Seruaunte for *Wylne* to a Tauerne oftener than hee was wonte, the Tauerne asked hym why hee boughte *Wylne* so ofte, he tolde hym secretly in his eare, then the Wintner sente one straighte to *Marius*, and opened the matter, whereof hee was so glad, as he mynded to haue gone and kyled hym himselfe, but beeyng stayed of his friendes, a Captayne of a bande was appoynted to it, who sente hys Shouldeours into the house, whome *Antonius*, beeyng so singulare, and Orator, dyd deteyne wyth swete speeches; dyuers wayes mouyng them to pitie. The Captayne maruellyng at the matter, wente into the house, and founde them attentiuely hearkeing to hys tale, wherefore hymselfe kyled hym, as he was yet eloquente in speakyng, and sente hys head to *Marius*, *Cornelius* lying hydde in a Cottage, hys meime carefullye kepte hym. They founde a dead bodye, whych they threwe into a fyre that they hadde made, and when the searchers came, they sayde it was theyr maisters bodye, whome they hadde fyrste strangled. Thus was hee saued by hys Seruautes.

*Ancharius* wayted when *Marius* shoulde make sacrifice in the Capitoll, trustyng in the tyme of sacrifice to fynde hym the more mercifull. When he hadde begunne the sacrifice,

sacrifice, and saue *Ancharius* comyng vnto him, he commaunded hym to be killed there, so hys head, *Antonius*, and other Consules and Senators were sette vp in the common place. None of theyr bodies thus slayne, were thoughte worthy to bee buried, but the carcasses of so many noble men, were throwne downe to be deuoured of Dogges and Foule. Many other horrible actes were done vpon them, expulsion from their possessions, publication of their goodes, depriuation of their dignities, & reuocation of all things that *Sylla* had done, whose friends and kinsfolke were killed, his house pulled downe, his goodes confiscated, and he proclaymed enemye to his countrie, his wife and his daughter with great daunger escaped: finally, there was all sortes of mieries and mischiefe that could be inuented, and for a shewe of law and authoritie, after so many murders without law, accusings were broughte in against *Merula* *Iupiters* priest, for anger of his office, whiche he toke without any displeasure to *Cinna*, and against *Catulus Lucilius* who was felow with *Marius*, in the warre agaynst the *Cimbrians*, and once saued by *Marius*, but now thought vnthankfull, for that he was soe agaynst him after he was banished. They were kept in close pryson till the court day, and then called to iudgement, & where they must be foure times cited by certen distaunce of houres, *Merula* in the meane time cut hys baynes, and by a wytyng made by him, did testifie, that he had layde of his priestly attyre when he cut his baynes, for it was not lawfull for a Priest to die with that vpon him. *Catulus* choked himself in a chamber new made and moyst with a smoke, and thus they two died. The bondmen that came to *Cinna* by proclamation were al made free, and seruyng him as Soldiours they did not onely rume aboute and spoyle euery house, but also slew whome soeuer they mette, not sparyng their olde maysters. *Cinna* many times did monishe the, but they were neuer the better, wherefore in the night when they were at rest, he sent 5 French bandes, and killed them euery one. Thus these slanes receyued worthy punishment, for theyr vnfaithfulnesse agaynst their maysters. The yeare folowynge, *Cinna*, the seconde tyme, and *Marius* the vij. tyme were chosen Consuls, to whom

G. liij.

after

*Ancharius* killed in the Temple.*Sylla* proclaymed rebell.Accusers, *Merula*.*Catulus Lucilius*.*Merula* dieth.*Catulus* dieth.*Cinna* killeth the freemade.

Consulion.

Noble men killed. *Crassus* killed.*M. Antonius* Orator, beuerrayd by a Wintner.*Marius* glad to haue *Antonius* killed.

Eloquence.

*Cornelius* saued by his Seruautes.

Marius dyeth.

Flaccus in Marius  
place, dyeth  
in Asia.Ages of Sylla  
in Asia.

after his banishment, and proclamation that any man might kill him, the token of seven Eagles appeared agayne vnto him. He being bent to all extremitie agaynst *Sylla*, died the firste moneth of his seuēth Consulship. *Cinna* took *Valerius Flaccus* in hys place, and sente him into *Asia*, who beyng dead also, he chose *Carbo* to be his felow in office.

*Sylla* thynkynge long to returne agaynst hys enimies, made shortly ende with *Mithridates*, and, as we haue sayde before, in thre yeares, and them not complete, he destroyed one hundred and threescore thousande menne. He restored to the Romaine Emperre, *Græcia*, *Macedonia*, *Asia* and *Ionia*, with other nations that *Mithridates* had oppressed. He took from hym hys nauie, & shutte hym within the compasse of his fathers kyngdome: he returned with an armie mightie, obedient, experte, and courageous in theyr doyngs past, he brought also a multitude of shippes, money and furniture of all thyngs fitte, whereby he was feared of hys enimies. *Cinna* and *Carbo* beyng perplexed, sente diuerse ouer all *Italy* to prouide money, menne and viatual, the ryche menne with theyr substaunce they made sure, the Citties they styrred, especially the newe made Citizens, as for whose sake they were now in daunger. They prepared a nauy with great speede, they called home the shippes of *Cicilie*, they kepte the coaste sure, & omitted nothing that might be done, with speedy care and diligence. *Sylla* with haughty harte wrote to the Senate of himselfe, shewyng what he had done in *Lybia*, when he was Treasourer, agaynst *Jugurth* kyng of *Numidia*, what agaynst the *Cimbrians*, what in *Cicilie*, when he was Admirall, and what in the felowes warre, when he was Consul: but the late affayres done agaynst *Mithridates*, he chiefly extolled, rehearsing at large the infinite sorte of nations that he had taken from hym and made subiecte to the *Romaynes*, notwithstanding all the whiche, bycause he had receyued certayne afflicted Gentlemen of *Rome* banished by *Cinna*, and comforted them in calamitie, he was of hys enimies proclaymed rebell to hys countrey, hys house was pulled downe, hys friends were slayne, his wyfe and chyldren coude scarcely saue themselves and

*Sylla* vrrighteth  
to the Senate.

and fle vnto hym. But nolwe he woulde come and be auctored of them and the whole Cittie for theyr doyngs, as for the other Citizens, and them that were newe made he woulde not blame any of them. These letters being redde, every man was afrayd, they sent Embassadors, to treat of attonement with his aduersaries, and if he requyred any assuraunce, that the Senate woulde fulfill it, and commaunded *Cinna* his officers to leaue gathering of mē, till *Sylla* aunswere were heard. They promised so to do, but when the Embassadors were gone, they made themselves Consuls for the nexte yeaere, bycause they woulde not returne of the suddayne, for the elections, and wente aboute *Italy*, gathering men: whiche they sente into *Lyburnia*, as they were ready, there intending to sette vpon *Sylla*. The firste that wente had prosperous iourney, the nexte were beaten with tempest, so as when they came to lande, they returned every man to theyr Countrey, as though they woulde not willingly serue agaynst the Citizens. The other hearing of thys, refused to sayle into *Lyburnia*. *Cinna* was displeased, and warned them to assemble, myndyng to compell them: they with anger wente, thynking to be reneged. One of the Sergeantes makynge way for *Cinna*, and hitting one of the Souldyers ouer the legges, another of the army stroke the Sergeant agayne. *Cinna* commaunding him to be taken, they all made a great shoute, and fell to throwyng of stones. They that were next hand drew their swordes, and kyled him. Thus *Cinna* being Consul, was murthered. *Carbo* called fro *Lyburnia* them y sayled thither, and being afraid of these doings, woulde not returne to *Rome*, albeit y Tribunes did earnestly requyre him to come to y election of a new fellow in office, at leghth threating him y they would make him priuate, he came & propounded y electio of a new Consul. The day being unlucky, he appointed an other. That daye also lightnings falling vpon the Temple of the Mone, & Goddess of Come, y maisters of Cere monies did differre y election, til after y standing high of y Sommer Sunne, & so *Carbo* was Consul alone. In the meane tyme *Sylla* made this answer to the that came to him fro the Senate, that he could not be friend to them, that had dealte so outrageously

Dalmatia is  
now part of  
Slauonia.The Souldyers  
refused to goe  
against their  
Countrymen.Cinna killed,  
Carbo afrayde to  
goe to Rome.Lightnings  
vpon the Tēple  
of the Moone  
and Ceres.The aunswere  
of Sylla.

by

by him, but with the Citie, that desired his preservation, he had no quarrell: yet he said they should be most sure, that would trust to him, whome to defend, he had a welwilling armye. By thys worde it was chiefly vnderstanded, that he woulde not dissolue his army, but intended to play the Tyrante. He requyred hys dignitie, hys substance, his Priesthode, and anye other office he had, to be restozed vnto him without exception, and with the Embassadoures he sente certayne of his, to require the same, the whiche hearing that Cinna was slayne, and the Citie troubled, returned from Brunduse to Sylla, doing nothing: then Sylla with fve Legiones of Italyans, syxe thousand Horse, and certaine other of Peloponeso and Macedonia, marched, hauing in the whole fortie thousande, from Pireo to Patra, and from Patra to Brunduse, with xvj. hundred Shippes. The Brundusianes receyued him willingly, wherfore he gaue them priuiledges which they yet holde. From thence he remoued his army and went forwarde. Metellus surnamed the duetifull, that was left to finishe the fellowes warre, and for Cinna and Marius came not into the citie, but remained in Liguria to see what would happe, came vnto him. He called, as fellow in the warre, and he accepted his societie as yet Proconsull, for they that be once chosen, do continue till they returne to Rome. After Metellus, Cn. Pompeius, that not long after was called greate, sonne to him that was killed with the lightnyng, as we sayde before, came vnto him with a legion of the Picenes, who for the glozy of his father, mighte doe muche with that people, and to auoyde suspition, not thought to be Syllas friende, and shortly after brought two legions moze, and was the moste forwarde man in the auncement of Sylla, wherfore Sylla had him in greate honour, and as they say, would onely rise to him when he came, though he was but very yong: and this warre ceasing, he sente him into Lybia to breake Carbos friends there, and to restoze Hiempsall, whome the Numidians had expulsed, for the whiche Sylla graunted him to triumph of the Numidians being yet yong, and but a gentleman. By this meane, Pompey growyng greate, he was sente into spayne agaynst Sertorius, and after into Pontus agaynst Mithridates. Cethegus also came

Peloponeso novv Morea.  
Pireo vvas the porte of Athens  
novv Porto liene.  
Patra in Achaea.  
Sylla giueth priuiledges to Brunduse.

Metellus the duetifull cometh to Sylla.

Pompeius cometh.

Pompey honored of Sylla.

Hiempsall restozed by Pompey.

Cethegus

came to Sylla, that was his most earnest enimie, with Cinna and Marius, and with them put out of the Citie. He humbled himselfe vnto him, and promised to do what seruice he woulde haue hym. Thus hauing a very greate army, and many noble friends, he vsed them as Lieutenants, but he and Metellus were yet Proconsuls, and had the highest place: for it was thought that Sylla being Proconsull in the warre against Mithridates, was not yet discharged of it, though he were iudged a Rebelle of Marius. The hate he bare to his enimies, was greuous and close, who being in the Citie, and well coniecturing of his nature by his last inuasion thereof, hauing the taking of the same yet in their eyes, and their detraies made against him still in memozy, his house ouerthrowen in their sight, his goods confiscated, his friends killed, and his familie hardly escaped, were in marvellous feare, and thinking no meane to be betwene victorie and vtter destruction, did with feare conspire with the Consuls against him. They sente aboute Italy, they gathered men and money, leauing off nothing in thys extremitie, eyther of foresight or diligence. Caius Norbanus, Lucius Scipio, both Consuls, and with them Carbo, who the yeare before was in authoritie, hauing all like hate against Sylla with feare & conscience of what they had done, against him moze than other, gathered in the Citie as great an army as they could, and an other out of Italy, and went seuerally against Sylla with two hundred bands of fiftie men at the firste, but after with moze than these, for the fauor of most men enclyned towarde the Consuls: for the doings of Sylla coming against his countrey, had the shewe of an enimie, but that the Consuls and their friends dyd, had a pretence of the State. The common sort knowing their former offenses, ioynd with them, as partakers of their dread, for they perceiued certainly that Sylla did not minde the correction, asrayning, or punishment of a felow, but the destruction, slaughter, and vtter vndoing generally of all, whiche opinion was not vayne, for this warre consumed all, in the which, tenne thousand, & twentie thousand did many times fall in one fight, and about the Citie fiftie thousande of both sides was slayne, and to the rest Sylla left no kinde of crueltie vndone, neyther to priuate men, nor to whole

The preparation of Syllas enimies.

C. Norbanus.  
L. Scipio.  
Carbo.

The Consuls against Sylla.  
Twenty thousand men.

Sylla seemeth as an enimie to his Countrey.  
Consuls carry authoritie.

Prophecies.

Monstrous  
tokens.Capitoll burn  
ned.The sharpnesse  
of this vvarre.Three yeares  
lasted this  
vvarre.

The battayle  
at Canusio.  
This is the  
place called  
Come, vvhich  
Anniball gaue  
the Romaines  
their great  
ouerthrowe.  
Another of  
that name Ca-  
nusio.  
Theano in A-  
polia.

whole Cities, till he had made himselfe a Monarke of the Ro-  
maine Empire, and brought all to his will and pleasure. All this  
was (as it were) by inspiration shewed befoze vnto them, for  
fearefull things against reason did beere all men priuately and  
publicly ouer all Italy, and the olde prophesies most fearefull  
were called to memoize, and manye Monsters were dayly scene.  
A Hule did bring forth. A Woman deliuered a Wiper for a  
child. God with earthquakes shaked the Citie, and ouerthrowe  
many Temples: and that that most greeued the Romaines, the Ca-  
pitoll that befoze from the Kings had continued foure hundred  
yeares, was sette a fyre, and no man coulde tell the cause, all the  
which did foreshew the multitude of men to be killed, the ouer-  
throwe of Italy, the Captiuitie of Rome and hir Citizens, and the  
change of the common wealth. This warre beganne when Sylla  
arrived at Brundise the CLXXXIII. Olympiad. The length of it  
is not so great, as the sharpnesse of the extremities, euerye man  
his priuate meanes was followed, bycause the vehemencie of  
their affections caused in short time the more and sharper effects  
to followe. Thre yeares it continued in Italy, till Sylla gotte the  
principalltie. In spayne it continued longer, but the battayles,  
the skirmishes, the expugnation of fortres, the sieges, and all the  
formes of warres in Italy, both of the whole armies, and of part  
of them, by their severall Captaynes were many, and al notable.  
The greatest and most worthy of the whiche to speake brieflie  
were these. The first was at Canusium by the Proconsuls against  
Norbanus, where Norbanus lost vij. th. men, and Sylla lxx. but many  
more were wounded. Norbanus fledde to Capua. Sylla and Metellus  
being at Theano, Lucius Scipio came with an other armye verie  
faintly, and desired peace might be made. They that were with  
Sylla sent to Scipio to agree vpon articles, not so much hoping so to  
do any good, as bycause they thought his armye woulde rather re-  
uolt, by reason of their discouragemēt: yet they met, & Scipio tooke  
hostages for the agréemēt, & went, & came into the field. Thre of  
eyther side did conferre, so as it was not knowen what they dyd.  
Scipio thought good to send Sertorius to Norbanus his felow, to signi-  
fie what was spoken of, both armies remaining in quiet looking  
for

for answer. Sertorius in his Iourney tooke Suesse, that was a towne  
of Sylla. Sylla sent a messenger to complaine with Scipio. He either  
priuie to the fact, or doubting of the answer, as a thing not fitte  
for Sertorius, sent the hostages againe to Sylla. His army being of  
sended at this deede of Sertorius in a time of treaty, and at the sen-  
ding againe of the hostages, not being required, layde al the blame  
vpon the Consuls, & priuily cōpacted to reuolt to Sylla. If he woulde  
draw nere, which he doing, they al wet vnto him, leauing Scipio  
the Consull, & Lucius his sonne in the tente, & were taken of Sylla.  
We thinke it is a strange thing, farre vnfitte for a Captayne, to  
be ignozant of such a practise of his whole army. When Sylla coulde  
not persuaade Scipio, he did let him & his sonne goe without hurte,  
& sent other men to Norbanus to treat of conditions, eyther bycause  
he was afraid of the force of Italy & conspired with the Consuls, or  
he went about to deceiue him as he had done Scipio, but no man  
coming with answer (bycause it seemeth Norbanus feared the like  
blame of his army) Sylla marched toward him, wasting al things  
as an enimie. Norbanus did the like, but toke other wayes. Carbo  
made haile to the Citie, & proclaimed Metellus, & other that were  
gone to Sylla. Rebels. At this time the Capitoll was on fire, & some  
say it was Carboes worke or the Consuls, some say Sylla sente to  
do it, but the certētie is unknowen, & I could neuer learne which  
way it came. Sertorius being befoze chose Pretor of Iberia, after he  
had deteined Suesse, he fled into his prouince, and the former Pre-  
tors not receiuing him, it caused the Romaines to haue much to do.  
The army of the Consuls encreased euery day fro the more part of  
Italy, & from the hither side of France, aboute Eridanus the Riuer. Sylla  
was not idle, but sente some of his into euery place of Italy.  
He gotte many for loue, some for feare, some for money, and some  
for hope, and thus was the rest of that Sommer consumed. The  
yeare folowing, Papirius, Carbo agayne, and Marius, nephew to the  
mighty Marius, being xxviij. yeares old, were chosen Consuls, the  
winter & the cold continuing long, did deuide the afunder. At the  
beginning of the Spring, about the floud Aesis, fro morning tyl  
midday, was a greate battaille fought, betwixt Metellus and Ca-  
rinna, one of Carboes Pretors, at the which Carinna losing manye,  
fled

Suesse taken in  
the time of  
treatie by Ser-  
torius, a Citie in  
Campania nigh  
Mont Mafico.

Scipio the Con-  
sull betrayd of  
his army.

Jupiters Temple  
in the Capitoll  
on fire.

Sertorius fleeth  
into Spayne.

Riuer of Poo.

Aesis now  
Fiumicino be-  
twene Spolet  
and Ancona.  
The fight be-  
twene Me-  
tellus and Ca-  
rinna.

¶ If.

fled

fled away, all y<sup>e</sup> Countrey y<sup>e</sup>lded to *Metellus*, & forsooke the *Con-*  
suls, *Carbo* came vpon *Metellus* & beseged him, til he heard y<sup>e</sup> *Marius*  
the other Consull had a great ouerthrow at *Preneeste*. Then he re-  
moued his Camp toward *Arimino*, y<sup>e</sup> reuerward wherof was set on  
of *Pompeius*, and greatly distressed. *Sylla* toke *Setia*, & *Marius* who  
was lodged nigh him, withdrew by little & little, til he was come  
to the place called *Holy Port*, there he set his mē in order, and gaue  
*Sylla* a battel, in y<sup>e</sup> which he fought very scarcely, til his left wing  
began to giue backe, of the which fīue bāds of footemen, & two of  
Horsemen, not loking for any other turne, threw downe their en-  
signes, & fled to *Sylla*, & this was the cause of *Marius* ruine, for af-  
ter many were slayne, y<sup>e</sup> rest fled to *Preneeste*, whom *Sylla* followed  
in chace. The *Preneestines* did receyue them y<sup>e</sup> came first, but when  
they saw *Sylla* at hand, they shut the gates, & toke in *Marius* with  
ropes. The other about y<sup>e</sup> walles were al slayne & taken, wherof  
many being *Samnites*, *Sylla* comāded to be killed, as antient en-  
emies to the *Romaines*. At this time also, the residue of *Carbo*s army  
was overcome of *Metellus* fīue bāds, whiles they fought, reuol-  
ting vnto him. *Pompeius* ouerthrewe *Marcus* at *Sena*, & sacked the  
Citie. *Sylla* hauing *Marius* shut in *Preneeste*, made a trench about the  
Citie, & a great wall a good way off, appointing *Lucretius Offella* to  
y<sup>e</sup> charge, not otherwise meaning to deale with *Marius*, but with  
famine. *Marius* not loking for any help, would needs kill his pri-  
uate enemies, and sent to *Brutus*, the Pretor of y<sup>e</sup> Citie, to assemble  
thē for another purpose, & to kill *Pub. Antistius*, & the other *Papirius*  
*Carbo*, *Lucius Domitius*, & *Lucius Scaenola*, the great Bishop of the *Ro-*  
*maines*. These two were slayne in counsell, as *Marius* commanded,  
*Domitius* fleeing, was stricke at his going out, & *Scaenola* was slaine  
a little before y<sup>e</sup> Senate house. Their bodies were cast into y<sup>e</sup> *Re-*  
*uer*, for now it was out of vse to burie thē that were killed. *Sylla*  
sent his army seuerally by diuers wayes to *Rome*, & willed thē to  
take the gates of the Citie, & if they were repulsed, to retyre to  
*Ofia*. The Citie receiued thē as they came, with great feare, and  
opened their Gates whē they would come in, and whē they came  
to the Citie it selfe, they opened the Gates, for being pined with  
hunger, and oppressed with desperation of presente euils, they  
were

*Preneeste* not  
farre from *Rome*.  
*Arimino* now  
in *Romania*.  
*Setia* not farre  
from *Terracina*.  
The battayle  
betweene  
*Sylla* and yong  
*Marius*.

Part of yong  
*Marius* Souldi-  
ers reuolt to  
*Sylla*.  
*Samnites* killed.

*Sena* a Citie in  
*Tuscanie*, an hun-  
dred miles on  
this side *Rome*.

Crueltie of  
yong *Marius*  
against some  
Citizens.  
P. *Antistius*,  
P. *Carbo*,  
L. *Domitius*,  
and L. *Scaenola*  
slayne.

were in vze to suffer the mightier power, whiche *Sylla* when he  
knew, came forward with his Camp, and planted it in the fīelde  
of *Mars* before the gates, and entred. All the contrarie faction  
fleeing out of the Citie, their goodes he made common, or caused  
them to be sold by Trumpet. He called the people to a Counsell,  
and lamenting the present time, badde them be of a good chēre,  
for he wouide set all in quiet, and bying the common wealth to  
better estate, and whatsoeuer he should ordeyne, all should be for  
the best. Hauing thus disposed his matters, leauing certayne of  
his friends to garde the Citie, he went to *Clusio*, where the rem-  
nant of the warre was. In the meane time, certayne Spanishe  
Horsemen sente from the Captaynes of *Iberia*, came to the *Con-*  
suls, with whome *Sylla* making a fight on Horsebacke, he kyled  
fiftie of them at the floud *Clanis*, and two hundred and 70. fledde  
vnto him, the residue *Carbo* destroyed, eyther hating the suddaine  
reuolting of that natiō, or fearing the like losse by them. At that  
time with the other part of his armies, *Sylla* ouercame his en-  
emies about *Saturnia*, and *Metellus* comming to *Ravenna* by shippe,  
did winne the region of the *Priranes*, abundante with grasse and  
Cornie. Certayne other of *Sylla*s people entring *Naples* by treason  
in the nighte, slewe all that were there, sauing a few that fledde,  
and toke away the Gallies of the Citie. Betwene *Carbo* & *Sylla*  
was a sore fight at *Clusium*, till the Sunne wente downe, & when  
they had fought with like courage on both sides, nighte did ende  
the fight. In the fīeld of *Spoletto*, *Pompeius* and *Crassus*, both Lieute-  
nants to *Sylla*, did kil thre thousand of *Carbo*s Souldiers, and be-  
seged *Carinna* that was Camped ouer against them. *Carbo* min-  
ded to releue *Carinna* with his other host, which *Sylla* understan-  
ding, placed an embushment, and as they were passing, destroyed  
two thousand of them. *Carinna* in the darke nighte, full of rayne  
and showres, although his enemies perceyued, but cared not for  
it, for the foule tempest he fledde away. *Carbo* understanding that  
*Marius* his fellowe was distressed with hunger at *Preneeste*, com-  
maunded *Marius* to goe thither with epght Legions, agaynste  
whome *Pompeius* lying in awaite in a straighte, put them from  
their iourney, and hauing killed many, held the other as beseged

*Sylla* entreth  
*Rome*.

*Sylla* to the  
people.

*Clusio* is vnder  
the dominion of  
*Sena*, vwhere  
*Porcena* the king  
of *Tuscanie* helde  
his Court.  
Spanishe Horse-  
men.  
*Clanis*, *Clanuis* not  
farre frō *Naples*,  
at the Citie  
of *Acerra*.

*Saturnia* in  
*Campania*.  
*Priranes* not  
farre from  
*Otranto*, but  
farre from *Ra-*  
*uenna*.  
*Naples*.

The battell be-  
tweene *Carbo*  
and *Sylla*.  
Fight at *Clusio*.  
Fight at *Spoletto*  
an antient  
Citie, the vvhich  
che valiantly  
drove away  
*Anniball* after  
his victorie at  
the lake of  
*Perugia*, and  
*Rucke* continu-  
ally to the *Ro-*  
*maines*.  
*Carinna* fleeth.  
*Marius* goeth to  
releue *Marius*.

The army re-  
solte h from  
Marinus.

M. Lamponius,  
Pont. Telsius,  
Gutta Caprinus  
come to releue  
Marinus.

Marinus issueth  
vpon Lucretius.

Placentia is in  
Lombardy, vvhich  
Annibal ouer-  
threw the Ro-  
maines.  
A fight of Carbo  
and Norbanus  
against Metellus.

Arretio one of  
the vvellue Cl-  
eles of Tuscanie,  
about thirtie  
miles from Flo-  
rence.  
Albinovanus.

Fimbria killed  
himselfe in  
Asia, not to be  
taken of Sylla.  
Albinovanus kil-  
leth his friends,  
and fleeth to  
Sylla.

The ende of  
Norbanus at  
Rhodes.

vpon an hill, wherevpon *Martius* without any companion, the  
siers being still kept, fledde away. The army laying the blame of  
the deceyre vpon him, fell to diuision, and one whole legion vn-  
der their ensignes without anye commaundement, marched to  
*Ariminum*, the other wrote every man to his Countrey, so as  
there remayned but seauen bandes with the Captayne. *Martius*  
with this infelicitie came to *Carbo*. *Marcus Lamponius* from *Luca-*  
*nia*, *Pontius Telsius* from the *Samnites*, and *Capuanus Gutta* leading  
seauenty thousande men, came to deliuer *Marinus* from the siege.  
*Sylla* vnderstanding of it, kepte them backe at a streight where  
they must needs passe. *Martius* being vtterly boyde of all helpe  
without, made a fozte in the playne that was large betwene  
both hostes, into the which he brought his army and ensignes to  
fozte *Lucretius*, with the whiche attempting manye warres in  
bayne, he retyred againe into *Preneste*. At this tyme, *Carbo* and  
*Norbanus* in *Placentia* came on the suddayne in the evening to the  
place where *Metellus* lay, and being within one houre of y night  
among the Vineyards, fondly and furiously set vpo him, thinking  
by their suddaine assault to ouerthrow *Metellus*, but being ouer-  
come by the iniquitie of the tyme and place, entangled among  
the vines, tenne thousand were slayne, vij. thousand yelded to the  
enemie, the rest ranne away, and but one thousande departed in  
order to *Arretio*. Another Legion of *Lucanes*, led by *Albinovanus*,  
hearing of this losse, fledde to *Metellus* for aughte he coulde doe.  
*Albinovanus* in greate rage came to *Norbanus*, but shortly after  
making a secret compact with *Sylla* to be assured as he should do  
a notable seruice, he invited *Norbanus* and his chiefe Captaynes  
to a baquet, as *Gaius Antipetrus*, *Flavius Fimbria* his brother y in  
*Asia* had killed himselfe, & al other his officers presēt of y Camp.  
All the whiche being come (except *Norbanus*) who onely was ab-  
sent, he slew them in his tent, and fledde to *Sylla*. *Norbanus* hearing  
of the losse at *Ariminum*, and that diuers of their armyes were  
fledde to *Sylla*, supposing nowe no moze trust to be in friendship  
(as in aduersitie it hapneth) toke a priuate little boate, and say-  
led to y Rhodes, in the which place, being required after of *Syl-*  
*la*, and y *Rhodianes* doubting what to do, he killed himselfe in the  
middest

middest of their common place: *Carbo* commaunded *Damasippus* at  
*Preneste* to take two Legions, and to deliuer *Marinus* fro the siege,  
but he could not do it, bycause the streightes were kepte of *Sylla*.  
All the Frenchmen that from *Rauenna* dwelte to the *Alpes*, dyd  
reuolte to *Metellus*. *Lucullus* did ouercome another part of *Carbo*.  
his host at *Placentia*, whiche when *Carbo* heard, hauing yet thirtie  
thousande Souldoyers at *Clusie*, two Legions of *Damasippus*, and  
many other with *Carinna*, and *Martius*, and a greate number of  
*Samnites*, who refused no payne in passing the streightes, beeyng  
out of al hope, cowardly sayled into *Lybia* with his friends, being  
yet in opinion to turne *Lybia* against *Italy*. They that remayned  
at *Clusie*, came to a fight with *Pompey* before that Citie, and lost  
aboute twenty thousand of their men, whiche losse had, the rest  
returned to their owne Countreys.

France on this  
side the Alpes.  
Lucullus.  
Placentia novve  
Paxencia in Lom-  
bardy.

Carbo quayleth.

The battayle  
at Clusio.

*Carinna*, *Martius*, and *Damasippus*, with the *Samnites*, met at the  
streightes, to passe by very fozte, which when they could not do,  
they marched toward *Rome*, thinking (as voide of men & strength,  
and for lacke of victual) to take it. They encamped at *Albano*,  
tenne miles off. *Sylla*, fearing that their comming myghte mo-  
leste the Citie, sente his Horsemenne with all diligence to en-  
counter them by the way, and himselfe with his mighty army  
came at midday, and lay at *Porte Collina*, a little from *Venus*  
Temple.

The enemies encamping also at the Gates of the Citie, a  
great fight beganne a little before the Sunne set. In the ryght  
wing *Sylla* had the better, the left wing hauing the worse, fledde  
to the Gates. The olde men that were there, seeing the enemie  
also comming among the other, let downe the *Porticulice*, and  
killed many, whereof some were Senatoures, and some Gentle-  
men. The other of fozte and necessitie turned to their enemyes,  
and fought all night with a great slaughter.

A fight before  
Rome.  
Part of Syllas  
army fleeth.  
The Porticulice  
let downe,  
cause of slaugh-  
ter.

In this battell was slayne *Telestinus* and *Albinus*, both *Pre-*  
tors, and theyr Campes taken, *Lamponius*, *Lucanus*, *Martius*, *Ca-*  
*rinna*, and other Captaynes of *Carbos* faction fledde. Greate  
was the slaughter at this fight, for it is saide, there was slayne  
about fiftie thousand, and aboue eyght thousand take prisoner.

Fiftie thousande  
slayne before  
the gates of  
Rome.

and

and bycause the greater part of them were *samnites*, *Sylla* caused them all to be shotte to death. The next day *Martius* and *Carinna* were brought captiue vnto him, whome he did not pardon after the *Romaine* manner, but put them to death, and sent their heads to *Lucretius*, to naye them on the wall at *Preneſte*, which when the *Preneſtines* saw, and hearing that al *Carbo's* armies were destroyed, and *Norbanus* fledde out of *Italy*, and that the rest of *Italy* with the Citie of *Rome*, were for *Sylla*, they did yeelde the Citie to *Lucretius*. *Martius* hidde himſelfe in a Caeue, and shortly after killed hym ſelfe. *Lucretius* cutte off his head, and ſente it to *Sylla*, who hanged it vp in the common place, giuing him this taunt for his pong peares to be a Conſull. A man muſt firſt be a Mariner before he can be a Maiſter. When *Lucretius* had receyued *Preneſte*, he kyled part of the *Senatoures* that were for *Martius*, and part he putte in priſon, all the which, *Sylla* at his coming put to deathe, and commaunding all the *Preneſtines* to come without armour into his Campe, he choſe of them ſuche as he thoughte had done hym ſeruite, whiche were but few. The other he deuided into three partes, *Romaines*, *Samnites*, and *Preneſtines*. He pardoned the *Romaines*, although as he tolde them, they had deſerued death. Both the other he commaunded to be done to death with darter. The women and the childzen he ſuffered to goe away free. The Citie he ſacked, whiche was very riche, and thus was *Preneſte* taken. *Norba* an other Citie did ſtill ſtoutely reſiſt him, till *Æmilius Lepidus* gotte into the Citie by policie in the night, whiche thyng the Citizens perceyuing, and being in deſperation, part killed one an other, part killed themſelues, part hung themſelues, part ſhut their doores, and part ſet their houſes a fire, whiche by the winde grew ſo great, as the Citie was burned, and no man had the ſpoyle. Thus they manfully died.

*Italy* beeyng thus afflicted with fire, famine, and ſlaughter, the Captaynes of *Sylla* went to euery place, ſetting garrifons where ſuſpect was, and *Pompeius* went into *Lybia* and *Sicilia* againſt *Norbanus* and his partakers. *Sylla* called the *Romaines* to a Counſell, ſpeaking verpe magnifically of himſelfe, and verpe horribly for them, making this concluſion, that he would reduce the *Romaine* people

people to better ſtate if they obeyed him, but he purpoſed not to ſpare one of his enimies, but extreemely to puniſhe them, were they *Pietors*, *Queſtors*, *Tribunes*, or any other that had conſpired with his foes, ſince the daye that *Scipio* brake promiſe wth him: which being ſayd, he proſcribde to death fortye *Senatoures*, and a thouſand ſix hundred Gentlemen of the *Romaines*: he is the firſt that we finde, did proſcribement to dye. He appointed rewards for the killers, and the bewrayers of the offendoures, and penalties for them that did hide any of them. Shortly after he added moze *Senatours* to the firſt, which ſuddaynely were kyled where they were founde: ſome in the ſtreets: ſome in their houſes, and ſome in the Temples: ſome were broughte vnto him on high, & thzowen befoze his ſeete: ſome were dragged, & ſome were beaten, no mā daring ſpeake one word at the pitiful ſight hereof, for feare of the ſmart: ſome were baniſhed, and their goodes gryn to other: ſome were ſought for that were fledde, who being ſcourged euery where, were miſerably done to death. Againſt the *Italians* alſo were many murders, many baniſhmēts, & many publicaties of their goodes, that had any way obeyed *Carbo*, *Norbanus*, or *Martius*, or any of their officers, for the which, ſharpe iudgemēt was giuen ouer all *Italy* Many and diuers accuſations alſo were made vpon Captaynes and armyes, and them that lente any money, or ſhewed other ſeruite or counſell againſt *Sylla*. Hoſpitality alſo and curteſſe done by the way in tourneys, or any other lyke frienſhip, as lending or borrowing of money, or keeping company, was puniſhed. The rich men were moſt ſharply handled in all theſe things, & when accuſations failed in particular men, *Sylla* turned to whole Citie, ſome he puniſhed by pulling downe their ſortz, ſome their walles he made equal with the ground, to ſome, he put a publike payne, or elſe a yearely tare, ſome he gaue in habitation to them that had ſerued him, among whome alſo he deuised the houſes and landes of the Citizens, whiche thing made them ſure to him all his life, and as men that were certen of nothing but by his weale and ſafetie, they mainteyned his quarell after he was dead. This was now the ſtate of *Italy*. *Pompey* had intercepted *Carbo*, and ſuch noble men as were with him, flying from

*Sylla* to the *Romaines*.

Proſcription is condemnation of death wthout iudgement.

Horrible crueltie of *Sylla*.

Extremiſtie.

*Sylla* crueltie againſt the *Samnites*. *Martius* and *Carinna* put to death.

*Martius* killeth himſelfe.

*Sylla* taunteth.

The taking of *Preneſte*, and cruell handling of it.

*Preneſtines* played.

*Norba*.

The miſerable end of the Citizens of *Norba*. There is another Citie of this name in *Spayne* called *Norba Augusta*, now *Alcanant*.

*Sylla* to the *Romaines*.

Cosyra an Island  
in the coast of  
Africa.  
Carbo put to  
death.

from *Lybia* to *Sicilia*, and from *Sicilia* to *Cosyra*, commanding all to be killed, before they come in his sight, except *Carbo*, who was brought bound unto him, and layde before his feete, hauing bin thrice Consull. After a long rebuke, he condemned hym to death, and sente his head to *Sylla*, who hauing all thinges as he would against his enemies, sauing *Sertorius*, who was farre off, and the only enimie remaining. He sente *Metellus* to ouerthrowe him in *Iberia*. All ciuill matters he vsed as he listed, lawes, creations by voyces, elections by lottes, was no moze spoken of, euery man fearing, eyther hiding themselves, or holding their peace, or confirming by decre, as sure and irreuocable, whatsoeuer he had done, eyther as Consull, or Proconsull. They set vpon his Image of golde on his backe, in the common Palace with this Title,

Cornelius Sylla the happy Captayne.

For so did flatterers vse to call him in his fortunate fights against his foes, whiche name beginning of flattery, remayned firme and stable. I haue scene in some writings, that he was called by decre *Sylla* the gracious, whiche thing is not incredible to me, because he was after named the Fortunate, which he names very nigh to lucky and gracious. There is also an Oracle of continuance when he searched for things to come.

*Credite me (O Romaine) Venus hath giuen great power,  
Vnto Aeneas lasting line. But thou, honour  
Each of the Gods yearely, and do them not forget.  
Thy giftes to Delphos send, and one, the Mount so great,  
Of cloudy Taure, shall climbe, where Venus aunsient race  
At Carcs Citie dwell, and doth surname the place,  
And offering, there thine axe shall take the royall mace.*

The Romaines wrote the same vpon his image, whiche as I thinke, they did to taunt him, or to mollifie him: he sent a crowne of golde, and an axe with this inscription.

*To thee (Venus) these giftes the Monarch Sylla sends,  
According to his dreame that all his battell tends,  
To Mars, and martiall foes, shew whole intente he bends.*

Being nowe a King or Tyrante, not chosen but by force and violence, wanting an apparance to seme to be chosen, he inuener

ted this craft. In old time, kings for their vertue did rule Rome, when any of the did die, one Senate after an other did rule due dayes, til the people had chosen an other to be kyng, & him & ruled those due days, they called a king betwene, for in that meane time, he was a king. The electiō of & Cōsuls was euer done by them & ended their office, but if by chace there was no Cōsul present, the was there also a king betwene made, til & Cōsuls were elected. *Sylla* following this custome, no mā being Consull after the death of *Carbo* in *Sicilia*, & *Marinus* in *Preneste*, he wēt out of & Citie, & commanded the Senate & a king betwene should be chosen, & so by the *Valerius Flaccus* was chosen, thinking he would haue proceeded to & Cōsuls electiō: but *Sylla* senerally by his letters, willed *Flaccus* & he should propound to the people, that *Sylla* thought it expedient & one should be created the ruler in the Citie, & was named Dictator, now not vsed four C. yeares since, & whomsoeuer they chose, they should perswade him not to giue it ouer at a time, but to continue it, til he had appeled Rome, Italy, & other kingdomes, now afflicted with scitish. Euery mā in his mind thought this was meant of *Sylla*, & he did not much dissemble it, for in the end of his letters, he signified & he it was, if it should so seme to the, & should be so profitable to the cōmō wealth. Thus he wrote. The Romaines & now could do nothing in lawfull electiōs, nor had now any authoritie, embracing a shew of electiō, as an Image & pretence of a libertie, in waite of al things did create *Sylla* a Tyrant to rule as he would. The office of Dictator hauing some similitude of a Tirāt, in old time, was sone ended, but now & first time, without any limitatiō, it was made very tyrannie indrede. Only for the names sake of election, they chose him Dictator to make lawes, & vse the cōmon wealth as he thought good. Thus the Romaines hauing kings first, in the hundred *Olimpias*, & after being a populare state, with yearely Cōsuls, another hundred *Graeke Olimpias* being passed, they had kings agayne, after the *Clr. olimps*. In Greece, ther was now no moze actiuitie vsed in the *olimps*, but reming of the race, for & Champions & other sightes, *Sylla* had removed to Rome, as some recreatiō to the people after the warre with *Mithridates*, & the troubles of Italy, for he pretended that he

A diuise of  
*Sylla* to be cho-  
sen Dictator.

Interregnum.

A King for the  
meane time.

Interrex.

*Valerius Flaccus*

Dictator.

The office of a  
Dictator did  
ende in two  
monethes.  
Kings.  
Cōsuls.  
Kings.  
*Olimpias* a kinde  
of sheeues vs-  
ed in Greece  
very syae  
yeares, accord-  
ing to the  
which they  
made their age  
comptes of  
yeares.

A. J.

would

Pensitur.  
Faustus.

Oracle.

V When he  
vnto the  
Greenes, he na-  
med himselfe  
*Epiphroditus*,  
that is, accep-  
table to *Venus*.

would refresh and comfort y<sup>e</sup> people after their long laboures, & to shew a figure of a comon wealth, he willed the to chosse Consuls, so first were chosen *Marcius Silius*, & *Oratilius Dolabella*, and he lyke a King overlooked them. Being Dictator, foure and twenty axes were bozne before him, as was wont before the old kings. He had also a great gard aboute his body. Some lawes he made, and some he reuoked. He wouide haue none to be Dictor before he were Quæstor, nor none Consull, before he were Dictor, and forbade any man to haue that office twice, before tenne yeares distance. The Tribuneship of the people he so defaced and diminished, that no man cared greatly for it, for he ordeyned that hee that was once Tribune, should haue none other authoritie: wherefore all they that were renowned or noble, utterly refused that office, and I can not affirme whether *Sylla* did translate it to the Senate, as it now is, or no: and because the Senate was consumed by warre and ciuill discorde, he chose thre hundred of the order of Gentlemen to be Senatoures, and haue voyce by companies in elections. The Seruants of them that were slayne, being yong and lustie, he made free, to the number of tenne thousande, and declared them Citizens of Rome, and named them of himselfe, *Cornelians*: and by this meane he had of the commons tenne thousand to do his commaundements. He prouided the same throught out Italy, and to the xiiij. Legions that serued vnder him, he gaue much lands in diuers Cities (as I haue said) whereof parte was neuer deuided, and part was forseyte by penaltie. He was to be feared in al things, and so ready to anger, as he slew in the midst of the Pallace, *Lucretius Offella*, by whome he beseged *Marinus* in *Preneſte*, and wonne that Citie, and obteyned his great victorie, because he desired to be Consull before he hadde bin Quæstor or Dictor, being of the Gentlemens order. And after he had denyed him, he not leauing his sute, because he trusted in the greateser uice he had done, but made request to the Citizens, he called the people to a Counsel, and thus said. Friends, know you, and giue eare to me, I haue killed *Lucretius*, because he was disobedient, vnto me, so the he shewed a reason. A certaine Ploughman was, bitten with Lyce, and stayed his Plough twice to picke them out

Some none  
M. Titius and  
Corn. Dolabella,  
Consuls chosen.  
*Sylla* Dictator.

Alteration of  
offices.

Tribuneship  
defaced.

Increase of  
Senatoures.

Seruants made  
free, and named  
*Cornelians*.

Lands given.

*Lucretius* killed.

*Sylla* to the  
people.

out of his cote, but when they bit him the third time, he thre to his cote in the fire. So doe I aduise all, as subuined, that they doe not proue the fire at the third time. Thus he astonished all men, by sing his authoritie at his pleasure, & triumphed of the warre against *Mithridates*. Some in a iest, called his rule, a negative kingdome, because only the name of a King was denied: but other, turning it to the contrary in deedes, named it a playne Tyrannie. So so great inconuenience had this warre brought both the Romaines, Italians, and all other nations, partly with Pirates, partly with *Mithridates*, and partly *Sylla* his inuasions, partly with consuming their treasure in sedition, and oppression of extreame exactions: all the nations and kingdomes, all confederates and Cities, as wel tributaries as other, that by league and oth had ioyned themselves to the Romaine Empire, & so they societie in warre, and other seruice, liued with their owne lawes and were free: he caused all to pay and to obey him, and fro some, portes & prouinces granted by league, were take away. *Sylla* receiued to his protection *Alexander* sonne of *Alexander* King of *Egipt*, brought vp in the Ile of *Cos*, and of the deliuered to *Mithridates*, and from him fledde to *Sylla*, and by decree made hym king of *Alexandria*, being now destitute of a man King, because the women that were of the royall blood, wanted a man of their kinne, thinking to get great gayne of this rich Countrey, but the *Alexandrines* when he had reigned nineteene dayes, sharply bearing himselfe of *Sylla*, brought him from the Court into the common schole, and there killed him. So they for the greatnes of their proper kingdome, and not feeling the smart that other had done, cared not for others power. The yeare following, *Sylla* vsing still the authoritie of Dictator, yet to shewe it a forme of popular State, was chosen Consull, and with him *Metellus*, surnamed but full, and by this example peradventure, they that be now kyngs of Rome, do admit Consuls, & they them selues be Consuls sometime also, thinking it no dishonour to haue that office with a greater authoritie. The yeare following, the people desired *Sylla* to be Consul againe, but he refused it, & appointed *Seruilus Isauricus*, & *Claudius Pulcher* to that office, and he withoute any compulsion,

Denied Kingdome.

All nations plagued by *Sylla*.

King of *Egipt*.  
Thus *Alexander* was left in C<sup>os</sup> of his Grand-mother *Cleopatra* with great riches.

*Alexandrines* kill their king.

*Sylla* being Dictator, is chosen Consull.  
*Metellus Pius*.  
The Emperours were Consuls.  
*Sylla* refuseth the Consulship.  
*Seruilus* called *Isauricus*, for *Isauria* a countrey in little *Asia*.

A. iij.

gaue

Sylla giueth  
ouer his rule.

Sylla, Ptolomeus,  
Antiochus, Seleucus, & others.

The rare reli-  
gation of Sylla  
authoritie.

Confidence of  
Sylla.

Sylla suffereth a  
yong man to  
reuite him.

The auntyver  
of Sylla.

Cesar follo-  
ueth not the  
example of  
Sylla.  
Cuma is a plea-  
sant place, not  
farre from  
Naples.

gaue ouer the office of Dictatorship freely, bring the highest di-  
gnitie of all other, and surely I maruell, that he, who was now  
chiefe of all other, and alone in authoritie, woulde giue ouer so  
noble a dignitie, not to his children, as *Ptolomeus* in *Aegypt*, *Antiochus* in *Cappadocia*, and *Seleucus* in *Syria*, but to them that had  
suffered by his tirannie. It seemeth beyond reason, that he, who by  
violence, passing so many perils, hadde made himselfe a Prince,  
should so freely leaue it, & beyond all mens opinions, haue no feare  
of the alteration. After he had killed more than a hundred p. mē  
in warre, slaine so many ciuill enemies, aboue nine C. Senators,  
xv. Consuls, and 2600. Gentlemen, and banished a great number  
more, some of the whiche he spoiled of their goodes, some their  
liues, not suffering them to be buried, that he was neither afraid  
of them at home nor abroade, nor of the Cities, of some of the  
whiche, he had bet downe their fortis and walles, from some, takē  
away their goodes and landes, and put tributes vpon them, but  
would needes become a priuate man. So great a confidence and  
fortune had this man, that in the middest of the common place he  
durst say, & therefore he gaue ouer his authoritie, that he might  
render an accompt of it if he were required. The rodde and the  
axes he layd away. The gard of his person he remoued, and wēt  
alone with his friends in the middest of the people, the multitude  
beholding and amazed at the thing. Only once as he went home,  
a yong man reuiled him, and bycause no man did forbid him, he  
toke courage to giue him euill language, til he came to his house,  
so as he that before was so furious against the greatest men and  
Cities, could now patiently suffer this yong man: only thus he  
said, entring his house, either by natural reason, or by a diuinitie  
of things to come: This yong man will be the let that another  
man hauing such authoritie, wil not so giue it ouer, which thing  
shortly after happened to *C. Romaines*, for *Caius Caesar* would not so  
leaue his power. Surely *Sylla* appeareth to be in all things behe-  
ment, from a priuate man to make himselfe a Tyrant, and from  
that to be a priuate man againe. This done, he gaue himselfe to  
quietnesse of *h* Countrey, & went to *Cuma*, a Citie of *Italy*, to his  
owne lands, leading a quiet life at the sea side, and sometime hu-  
ting

ting in the field, not for any misliking of the priuate life in the ci-  
tie, nor for want of power to enterpise anything that he woulde,  
for, for his age, he was in good strength, and of body very sound.  
About *Italy* he had an hundred and twenty thousande men, that  
lately warred vnder him, which had receiued great gifts, & much  
land of him, and in the citie there were tenne thousand of *Corneli-  
ans*, and other multitudes of his factious, & friends faithfull to him,  
and feareful to other, all the which had their whole trust in him,  
of that they had done, & in him reposed the suretie of all they had.  
Notwithstanding all this (as I thinke) he was weary of war, wea-  
ry of dominion, & weary of the Citie, & therefore sought a vacation  
as it were, and quietnesse in the Countrey. After this, the Ro-  
maines being deliuered of tirannie, fel again to sedition: for whē  
they had created *Caius Catulus* one of *Syllas* faction, and *Lepidus B-  
milus*, of the contray, Consuls, enemies one to another, and rea-  
die to contend by and by, it was certaine that a new inconueni-  
ence would take beginning of these. They say, that whiles *Sylla*,  
lay in the Countrey, he had a vision that a God called him, the  
whiche in the morning he told to his friends, & with greatespeede  
made his testament, which being signed that day, in the evening  
a fittetooke him, and in the night he dyed, of the age of lx. yeares,  
a mā, in all things most happy to his end, & as he was surnamed,  
so was he fortunate in deede, if he be happy that can do what he  
list. And there was a contention in *Rome*, about him, some would  
haue his body brought with great pomp through *Italy* to *Rome*,  
& ther in the common place, to be honored with publike funeral.  
*Lepidus* and his friendes were against it, but *Catulus* and other of  
*Syllas* side preuailed, so his body was brought through *Italy* in a  
litter of gold in royal manner, numbers of musitians, horsemen, and  
other armed multitudes followed. All his Captaines & Lieutenants  
that had serued vnder him, came to this pomp, fro euery place in  
armour, and as they came, so were they set in order. Other mul-  
titudes also repaired, as neuer had bin sene at any businesse. The  
ensignes and axes that he vsed in his dignitie, were borne before,  
and when he was broughte into the Citie, greatespore, and ex-  
ceeding swete odde increase. Two thousande Crownes of  
Golde and more, were of purpose made, and presented.

The power of  
Sylla.

New occasion  
of sedition by  
the Consuls,  
*C. Catulus*, and  
*Lepid. Aemilius*.  
Vision of Sylla.

Death of Sylla.  
Age of Sylla.  
Happy.

Contention for  
the buriall of  
Sylla.

Syllas corpe in  
a litter of gold.

Funerall of  
Sylla.

The

The gifts of Cities, of Legions that had serued him, and of e-  
uery priuate friend, were deliuered, other ornaments were added  
to his funeral, the sumptuousnesse wherof, no man can expresse.  
His body being brought in with the army, the religious people,  
both holy men, and sacred Virgines, did receiue and beare by  
course: the Senate and Magistrates, with all their tokens of of-  
fice, did the like: the troups of Horsemen, the bands of footmen,  
deuided in order, did attende: seuerall beneuolence was shewed  
by bringing banners of golde, wearing bachelles of silver, which yet  
be vled in triumphes. There was a great nūber of Trumpets,  
which in order did sound an heauie noyse. The Senate prayed  
him first, then the Gentlemen, after the army, and all the people,  
whereof some desired his life, some that feared him and his ar-  
my, did now no lesse maruell about his dead body: for remēbring  
in their minds the noble feates he had done, and the manner of his  
death, they could not but be astonished, confessing him to be of al  
other, though their enimie, the most happie man, so as being  
dead, he was dreadfull vnto them. Being brought into the com-  
mon place befoze the Tribunall, where Orations were wonte  
to be made, the most eloquente man that then was aliue, made  
the funerall Oration, bycause *Fausus* his sonne was yet under  
age. The noblest of the Senate did take the litter, and beare it  
into the fildes of *Mars*, wher none was wonte to be buried but  
kings. The Horsemen and the army marched aboute the fyre  
whyles his body was consumed. This was the end of *Sylla*.

The Consuls going from the funerall, did contende wth  
wordes and spitefull speche, intending betwene them to make  
diuision of the rule that belonged to the Citty.

*Lepidus* to flatter the *Italians*, required they might be restored  
to the lands that *Sylla* had taken from them. The Senate fearing  
this falling out, did bind them both by oth, that they shoulde not  
contende by armes. *Lepidus* being appointed by lotte to the pro-  
uince of *France* beyond the *Alpes*, did not returne to the election,  
bycause he intended the next yeare to make warre vpon *Sylla* sa-  
tion, without respect of his oth, for it seemed he had fulfilled his  
promisse, in keeping of it during his office.

This

This his purpose not being secrete, the Senate sent for him: *Lepidus* maketh  
He, not ignorant why he was called, came with al his army as  
though he would haue entred *Rome* therewith, but being forbid-  
den, he proclaymed warre by a Trumpet.

*Catulus* of the other side did the like: not long after making a  
battel in the fildes of *Mars*, *Lepidus* was overcome, and without a  
ny great chace he fled into *Sardinia*, where being vexed wth a  
consuming discafe, he dyed. His armye disturbed in sundry par-  
tes, was dissolved the greatest part of it, *Perpenna* led into *Spain*  
to *Sertorius*.

The laste worke left to *Sylla* was this warre of *Sertorius*, con-  
tinuyng eyght yeares with difficultie, not as *Romaines* agaynst  
*Spaniards*, but as one with another agaynst *Sertorius*, who ruled  
in *Iberia*. He, when *Carbo* and *Sylla* were at warre, toke the Ci-  
tie of *Senesi* by composition, as we haue said, and fled from thence  
to his office, leading wth hym an armye of *Italians*, and gathe-  
red more of the *Celtiberians*, wth whome hee expelled the offi-  
cers that were there for *Sylla*, who would not admit hym, and  
fought very valiantly with *Metellus*, that was sent agaynst hym  
of *Sylla*, and being couragious to any feate, elected a Senate of  
thre hundred of his present friends, which he called the *Romaine*  
Senate, in dispyght wherof hee named it, the *Choice Counsell*. *Sylla*  
being dead, and after hym *Lepidus*, *Sertorius* hauing another ar-  
my of *Italians*, which *Perpenna* brought vnto him as a Pretor of  
*Lepidus*, he had an opinion to be able to make warre vpon *Italy*:  
which the Senate fearing, sente another armye and another  
Pretor, whiche was *Pompey*, to the army that was befoze in *Ibe-  
ria*, who being but a yong Gentleman, was renowned for the  
seruice he had done vnder *Sylla* in *Libya* and in *Italy*. He passed the  
*Alpes* very boldly, not that way that *Anniball* did so notablye,  
but byake another way by the fountaines of *Rodanus* and *Erida-  
nus*, both the whiche floudes, haue theyr springs not far asunder  
from the high *Alpes*. *Rodanus* runneth by the Frenchmen that  
be beyond the *Alpes*, into the *Tirrene* sea: the other within the  
*Alpes* flowing to *Ionis* and in steepe of *Eridanus* is called *Padus*.  
Being come into *Iberia*, *Sertorius* straight did ouerthrowe one le-

A Battel be-  
twene the Con-  
suls.*Lepidus* over-  
come and  
died in *Sardinia*  
in the ten of *Thi-*  
*bya*, called *Sanda-*  
*lionis*, bycause it  
is like the sole of  
a foote.*Sertorius*.*Sertorius* occi-  
dō  
of nevv warre.*Sertorius* maketh  
a Senacela  
Spain.*Perpenna*.*Pompey* into  
Spain.*Rodanus* Rofie in  
Fraunce.  
*Eridanus* Poo in  
Italy.The receiuing  
of his body.Prayers of *Sylla*.Affections of  
men.Funerall Ora-  
tion.  
*Fausus* his sonne  
under age.  
In the fildes of  
*Mars*, none but  
kings.

Conuention.

The Consuls  
bound by oth.*Lepidus* refuseth  
to returne to  
the election.

gion goyng a foraging with their baggage and slaues. The Citie of *Lautone* in *Pompeius* fighte he spoiled and ouerthrew.

At this siege a woman being misused of a souldioz, with courage beyonde nature of hir kinde, pulled out hys eies. *Sertorius* hauing vnderstanding of the chaunce, putte to death the whole bā, being counted corrupted in like things, though it were al of the *Romaines*: then winter coming on, they rested. The Spring appoaching, they came forth, *Metellus* and *Pompey* frō the mount *Pirnei*, and *Sertorius* with *Perpenna* from *Lusitania*. They met at a Citie called *Sura*, where giuing battell, though an horrible thunder, in y clere aire; which is inauellous, & lightnings out of reason did flash vpon thē, yet they as expert souldioz without feare kept y fight, & made great murder one of another, til *Metellus* had ouerthrown *Perpenna*, and scattered his men, & *Sertorius* ouercome *Pompey*, who was hurt in y thigh with a darte, and escaped wyth much dāger. This was the end of the first battel. *Sertorius* had a white Harte tame, & to him very louing, the which being losse, he toke it for an euill token, & woulde not come forth for grieve, thinking his Hart had bin takē of his enimies, who scorned him for it: but when y Hart was seene again, & came running to him, by & by, as by y prouoked, he set vpo his enimies, & made diuer light fightes. Shortly after they fought a great battel about *Saguntia*, frō none till night, in y which he ouercame *Pompey* in the battel of honor, & slew .v. of his enimies, & lost halfe so many of his own. *Metellus* of y other side, killed .v. of *Perpenna's* camp.

The nexte day *Sertorius* with an huge nūber of *Barbarians*, a litle before night set vpo *Metellus*, & had broke his campe, if *Pompey* had not appoched, & made him leaue his bold enterpriser. These thinges being done in somer, they retired to their winter harborow. The yere folowing, being y. *Clivj. Olimp.* of y confedered nations did fall to the *Romaines*, *Bythinia* giuen by *Nicomedes*, & *Cyrene* by *Tolomeus Lagus*, called *Appion*, leauing it to thē by *Westra* ment. On the other side, great enimies discovered against them, *Sertorius* in *Spain*, *Mithridates* in y East, rōuers ouer al y sea, a stie in *Creta*, & a tumult of the ffece players of *Italy*, very sodain and sharp. The *Romaines* diuiding their power for this purpose, set .ij. legions into *Iberia*, which being come, *Metellus* & *Pompey* remoued

from

frō their winterings at y mount *Pirenei* into *Iberia*. *Sertorius* & *Perpenna* came frō *Lusitania*, at the which time, many fled frō *Sertorius* to *Metellus*, with the which *Sertorius* being grieved, he hadled many cruelly & barbarously, wherby he grew into hate of the army & the rather for y he remoued the *Romaines* frō the custody of hys body, & put the *Celtiberians* in their place. They could not abide to be repproued of vnfaithfulnesse, though they serued an enemy to *Rome*, but this thing chiefly grieved thē, that they were counted rebels to their coutry, for his sake, & yet suspected of him, & that with him ther was no difference betwene a fugitiue & a faithful. The *Celtiberians* also vsed thē dispitefully, & taunted them as vnfaithful: notwithstanding the *Romaines* did not vterly forsake him, bycause of their comodities: for there was not a moze valiant nor fortunat captaine than hee, in somuche as the *Celtiberians* woulde call hym *Anniball* for hys promptnesse, who was the moſte politicke and forwarde Capitayne that they coulde re hearſe. After this sort stode the army with *Sertorius*. *Metellus* people did daily molest the Cities, & copell many to yelde vnto thē. *Pompeius* beleeged *Palantia*, and wyth tymber had made waye to scale the wall. *Sertorius* came to the reliefe, and remoned the siege. *Pompey* burned hys timber worke, destroyed the walles, and retred to *Metellus*. *Sertorius* repaired the Citie, and speedily wet toward *Calagym*, where, encounting with thē y lay there, he killed .x. of them. And these were y doings in *Iberia* this yere.

The yere folowing, the *Romaine* capitaines with greater courage set vpo the Cities y held with *Sertorius*, & toke some of thē, & other they sought to get by pollicie, as they did, not vsing they whole force at euery attemp. But y yere folowing came stronger to the field, & did their things with moze confidence. Nowe *Sertorius* began to decay, God being against hym, and hee omitting the lawes & trauailes of a captain, gaue himſelfe to delicatenesse, and womē, feasting & drinking: for these causes he was many times ouercome, falling into furies & rages for euery triffl, & suspected euery man. Wherefore *Perpenna*, y from the faction of *Emilius*, came vnto him w a gret army, begā to doubt of him, & conspired against him wyth ſenne other, the which beeyng discovered, some were hanged, and some escaped, but *Perpenna* not beeyng named,

h. i.

as

Joseph.  
A valiant  
woman.

A whole hand  
put to death.

Pyrenei mount-  
tanes diuide  
Spain frō France,  
Lusitania, Port  
ugall.  
Battel at Sura  
nowe Sacrona.

Metellus ouer-  
cometh Per-  
penna.  
Sertorius ouer-  
cometh Pompey.

A white Harte.  
Some thinke  
this battel was  
fought at Segor-  
brida a towne  
in that part of  
Spain also.  
Seguntia nowe  
called Muruidra

Pompey loseth,  
Metellus gay-  
neth.

Bythinia is the  
nexte Region  
to Troy, ouer-  
against Thracia.  
Two regions  
fell to the Ro-  
mains by Te-  
stament.

Trouble.

Sertorius remou-  
eth the Ro-  
mains from the  
guard of his  
person.  
Sertorius cruel.

Chiefe of the  
Romaines.

Arigon.

Sertorius compar-  
ed to Anniball.

Sertorius decay-  
eth.

Perpenna.  
Conspiracie.

Death of  
Sertorius.Misericie causeth  
pittie.

Porting det.

Perpenna founde  
to be heyre to  
Sertorius.

Perpenna cruel.

Fight betwene  
Pompey and  
Perpenna.Overthrow of  
Perpenna.

as was his marvellous good hap, perscuered the rather in his purpose, he desired *Sertorius* to a banquet, and although he neuer wente withoute his Guard, yet at the leaste, little respect being had, and hee and all they ouerladen with Wine, *Perpenna* cut off his heade in the place where he feasted. The armye wyth great ire and tumulte rose againste *Perpenna*, chaunging theyr hate into lone of the Capitaine, for though before they hadde no greate lykynge of hym, now that hee was deade, remembraunce of his vertue tourned their mindes to pittie. And in this present case, they contemned *Perpenna* as a private man: and thinking their only weale did consist in *Sertorius*, they could not abide *Perpenna*, & not only they, but the *Lusitanes* and other *Barbarians* thought as much, whome *Sertorius* chiefly vsed in the warre, and when the tables of his Testament were vnsealed, and *Perpenna* founde to be his heyre, euery man hated hym the more, because hee was not onely a Traytour to his Capitayne, but to his friends and benefactour, and then hadde they not helde theyr hands, but that *Perpenna* hadde hymselfe, and pleased some with gifts, and some with promise, some he made asrayde with feare, and some he sharply vsed with the terroz of other. To the common sorte he humbled himselfe, and suche as were in prison by *Sertorius* he deliuered, and to the *Lusitanes* restozed their pledges, wherfoze they were content to take him as their Capitaine. This honoz had he after *Sertorius*, yet not without great difficultie, for being cruell, he soone fel to sharpe punishing, and of the *Romaines* that came with hym, he killed thre of the noblest sorte, and his own *Prophet*. Now was *Metellus* gone to the other side of *Iberia*, thinking *Pompey* to be sufficient to ouerthrowe *Perpenna*, who a while spent the tyme in makynge skirmishes, not bringynge forth their whole power. The tenth day, with all their battailes they came into y<sup>e</sup> field, thinking with that one worke, to make an end. *Pompey* passed little of *Perpenna*'s experience. *Perpenna* distrustfull of his armies continuance in obedience, was y<sup>e</sup> rather willing to try all at once. *Pompey* giuing the onset the more fiercely, & *Perpenna* not abiding as a Capitaine, and the army boide of goodwill, was soone overcome, & euery man flyng, *Perpenna* bid him vnder

a tuffte of bushes, fearing more his own, than his enimies, & being taken of certaine horsemen, they dragged him to *Pompey*, & of his owne people hee was euil spoken of, for his offence against *Sertorius*: he made great ado to be brought aliue to *Pompey*, to reueale vnto him gret matter of y<sup>e</sup> *Romaine* factiō, eyther to tel the truth or to saue himselfe, but *Pompey* sent to haue hym kylled before he came in his sight, fearing leaste hee might haue vttered some strange matter y<sup>e</sup> might haue bin y<sup>e</sup> beginning of a newe stir in *Rome*, wherin *Pompey* seemed to do very well & wisely, & was a great opinion therby. This was the end of the war in *Iberia*, and of *Sertorius* life, which if he had not bin dead, would not haue bin finished, neyther so soone, nor so easly.

Death of  
Perpenna.V Viselome of  
Pompey.The warre of *Spartacus*.

In this time in *Italy*, a Sword-player that keppe in *Capua* for shews, called *Spartacus* a *Thracian* borne, had serued in war wyth the *Romaines*, & now was as a slave in custodie for to shew his cunning in plaies: he perswaded lxx. more of his fellows, to aduēture for their libertie rather thā to be slaves for shews, & with the forcing y<sup>e</sup> keepers, he ran away, & arming such as he met with staves & swordes he fled to the Mount  *Vesuvius*, whither many slaves, & some freemen, flyng to him frō the Countries, he receiued the, & robbed the plaines adioynning, he appointed two officers, *Aenomaus* and *Crissus* other two Sword-players, & making equall diuision of his pray among them, in short tyme great multitudes came vnto hym. Whom to overcome *Varinius Glabrus* was first sent, & after hym *Publius Valerius*, not w<sup>th</sup> an army of any regard, but such as for hast they could gather by y<sup>e</sup> way. For y<sup>e</sup> *Romaines* did not think it shold need any other, nor looked for such effect at a Sword-players hand. But when it came to the battell, the *Romaines* were overcome: *Spartacus* killed *Varinius*'s horse, & it lacked but little, that y<sup>e</sup> *Romaine* Capitaine was not take of a vile Sword player, after this fight, more & more resozted to *Spartacus*, and he had now an army of lxx. M. for whom, he made armoz & al other prouision. The *Romaines* sent the Consuls with two legions, against whome *Crissus* came wyth lxx. M. and was overcome at Mount *Garganus*, losing two partes of his army and his life also.

Spartacus.

vnuos ap iunoy

Aenomaus,  
Crissus, orVarinius Glaber.  
P. Valerius vvere  
overcome of  
Spartacus.Firme the battell  
betwene Spar-  
tacus and the  
Romaines.Mount Garganus  
in Appulia  
nowe called  
Mount S. Angela.

It. lxx.

Spartacus

*Spartacus* came  
cometh the  
Consuls.

*Spartacus* passed ouer mount *Apennine* to go into France be-  
yond the *Alpes*; but one of the Consuls laye in the waye and  
stopped his passage, and the other followed him: he fought with  
them both and ouercame them in seuerall fights: so as the Con-  
suls retzred with tumult. *Spartacus* did sacrifice thre hundred  
Romaines to his selowe *Crassus*, and with twentie thousand Ro-  
maine footemen, he wente to Rome, burning all vnprofitable  
buildings, and killed all Captiues and the beastes of cariage, to  
march the faster. Many fugitiues comming vnto him, he would  
admitte none.

Sacrifice of mē

*Thurnus* in *Apulia*  
vvhich the Ro-  
maines made a  
colonie and  
called it *Copia*.

The Consuls encountred him at *Picene*, where was a notable  
fight, and many of the Romaines slayne, and losse the day. Yet  
durst he not go directly to Rome, because he did not thinke him-  
selfe equal with the Citizens in seates of warre, nor had an ar-  
my thoroughly instructed, for nether a Citie toke his part, but on-  
ly slaues and fugitiues, and a confused multitude following him:  
he turned to the mountaines at *Thurnus*, & besieged the towne: he  
forbad any merchant to bring gold or silver into his campe, or to  
be sold; but heasse & yron he admitted, paying wel for it, & did not  
hurt the that brought it. Whereby hauing matter aboundant, he  
made verie sayre armour, and used to seeke pray in the coun-  
trei, and fought with the Romaines againe, and had the victorie &  
went away with a great spoyle. Now were three yeares past,  
and this warre remayned horrible to the Romaines, which at the  
first they contemned, as a play of fence. The election of 2 new  
Consuls being come, such a terror was of him, as no mā desired  
the office, till *Licinius Crassus*, notable in Rome for his house and  
riches, toke it vpon him; and with sixe other legions wente a-  
gainst *Spartacus*; and being come nigh, he receyued the armie of  
the two Consuls, of the which he put to death every tenth mā, as  
hapt by lot, because they had bin so oft ouercome. Some thinke  
otherwise, that they al fought and were ouercome, and the he so  
punished them by the tenth, & killed foure thousande, hauing no  
doubt of the multitude. But whither so euer he dyd, it auayled  
much to the ouerthrow of his enemies, for by and by he set vpon  
them ten thousand of *Spartacus* men that camped by the, where of

Three yeares  
warre.

*Licinius Crassus*.

*Crassus* doth  
execution.

*Crassus* ouercome  
meth.

he killed two partes, and then with like courage so fiercely en-  
countering with *Spartacus*, he ouercame him with a notable fight,  
and chased him to the sea, where he thought to escape by ship in-  
to *Sicilie*, but he ouertoke him, and enclosed him in a trench, and  
when he had forced him to flee to the *Sammites*, *Crassus* killed sixe  
thousand of them at the sunne rise, and as many at the sunne  
set, thre only of the Romaines being killed, and seauen hurt, so  
great an alteration was there of victorie, after the executiō of  
that punishment. *Spartacus* looking for horsemen to come vnto  
him, did not now come forth with all his men, but by tymes  
did much annoy the besiegers, sodaynely issuing vpon them &  
throwing firebrands into their campe, burned their wall, and  
put them to much difficulties and trouble. A Romaine Captiue  
he hung vpon in the midst of his campe, shewing to his souldi-  
ours what they should suffer if they did not ouercome. The Ro-  
maines in the Citie seeing of this siege, and thinking it a dishon-  
to be so long holden with a sword-player, appointed *Pompey*, who  
was returned from *Iberia* with his army, (waying the difficultie  
of the thing) to take the charge thereof. *Crassus* seeing the glory of  
this warre should be taken from him by *Pompey*, made hast to trie it  
with *Spartacus*; and *Spartacus* thinking to prevent *Pompey*, would  
haue made agreemēt with *Crassus*, but being relected he thought  
to proue the vttermost, and with his horsemen that were come,  
he issued out of the campe, with al his bands, and fled as fast as  
he coulde to *Brundise*; *Crassus* following him; but when he heard  
that *Lucullus* was come to *Brundise* with his army from the  
warre of *Mithridates*, then in desperation of all things he encoun-  
tered with *Crassus*. The fight being long and difficulte, as among  
so many souldiours driven by desperation, *Spartacus* was hurte  
in 2 thigh with a dart, by 2 which wound falling on his knee,  
he defended himselfe with his shield, & fought with the that  
came vpon him, many of the which he ouerthrew, till he & the co-  
panies about him were discomfited; the other multitude with-  
out order fled, and were killed without number: of the Romaines  
a thousand were slayne.

The third bat-  
tel.  
*Spartacus* flyeth  
toward *Sicilie*.

The fourth bat-  
tel.  
*Sammites*, now  
*Abruzo*.

*Spartacus* holden  
in.

*Pompey* appoin-  
ted to this warre.

The last battel  
vvhich *Sparta-  
cus* was slaine.

*Spartacus*

*Spartacus* being dead was neuer founde, a great multitude fro the battaile went to the Mountaines, agaynste whome *Crassus* followed. They diuiding themselves into fortie partes, fought it oute, till they were all slaine, saue sixe thousande, which being taken, were hanged in the way betwene *Rome* and *Capua*.

Thys dyd *Crassus* in sixe moneths, contending with *Pompey* for glozie, and would not leaue his armye, bycause *Pompey* would not leaue his, and both of them sought to be Consul.

*Crassus* hauing bene Pretor according to *Syllas* law, *Pompey* neither hauing bin Quæstor nor Pretor, being yet xxiii. yeares of age, promised the Tribunes to reduce their office to y<sup>e</sup> antient authoritie: and being both chosen Consuls, neyther of them would leaue their army. *Pompey* sayde he would stay for *Metellus* to make his triumph of *Iberia*.

*Crassus* affirmed that *Pompey* ought first to giue ouer.

The people perceyuing that discorde was readye to ryle, and two armies at hand, requested y<sup>e</sup> Consuls sitting in their places to come to reconciliation, which at the first they both denyed: but the southeyers declaring great and grievous calamities to follow, unless they were agreed, the people agayne with lamentation did beseech them, recording the miserable time of *Sylla* and *Marius*: with the which things, *Crassus* being moued, rose ffrom his seate, and came to take *Pompey* by the hand and to be reconciled. *Pompey* rose also in hast and came fast to hym, and on embzaced another, gret thanks with shoutes, was gyfte vnto them, and the people would not let them depart, til they had determined the dissolution of their armies.

This contention, that by all mens opinions seemed, would haue growen very great, was happily ended the ix. yeares of the Ciuil warre from the death of *Tiberius Gracchus*.

The end of the first booke of

Ciuil dissensions.

*Capua* the chiefe citie of *Capua*. Contention betwene *Crassus* and *Pompey*. *Crassus* seeketh to be Consul, after *Sylla* appoyntment. *Pompey*, after the same manner. Both chosen Consuls.

The people require reconciliation.

*Crassus* relenteth first.

## The second Booke of Appian of Alexandria touching the ciuill discorde of the Romaines.



After the Monarchie of *Sylla*, and all that *Sertorius* & *Perpenna* did in *Spaine*, other like Ciuil businesse fel among the Romaines, til *Caius Caesar* and *Pompey* the great, warred one vpon another. *Caesar* slue *Pompey*, and certaine in the Senate killed *Caesar*. How this was done, and how both *Pompey* and *Caesar* were destroyed, thys second Booke of

Ciuil causes shal declare.

*Pompey* had lately scoured the seas of *Romers* whiche robbed *Pompey*. in euery place beyond all reason: and after them subdued *Me- thridates* king of *Pontus*: and set order in his kingdome, and al y<sup>e</sup> nations as farre as the *Easte*. *Caesar* was yet a yong man, forwarde in worde and dede, bolde to any thing, and hoping of euery thing, inclined to ambition sobeyond al measure, as beyng Pretor and *Edilis*, he grewe in great dette, to gette the good wyl of the people, which is euer wont to embzace them that be benefiful.

Pretor had the charge of the law. *Edilis* of houses and provision.

*Caius Cateline* was also notable, for his great fame and noble bloude, a very rashe man, thinking it once good to kill his owne sonne for the loue of *Aurelia Orsilla*, bycause she would not graunt to marry with him, hauing a child aliue. He was friend to *Sylla*, of his faction, and a very great follower of him: through hys ambition he was in much want, & by the enticing of some greate men and women, laboured to be Consull, that by that meane, he mighte make hys waye to Tyrannye, and being in good hope to haue the election, he was repulsed, and *Cicero* chosen,

*Cateline*. *Cateline* killeth his sonne.

chosen, a man most eloquent and sweete in speech. *Cateline*, did  
Cateline repulled  
and Cicero cho-  
sen consull.  
 New man.  
VVine vncary  
of their hus-  
bandes.  
Senatours Gen-  
tlemen.  
Fulvia uttereth  
the conspiracie.  
Q. Curius.  
Manlius chiefe  
minister of Cate-  
line.  
The maner of  
the practise.  
 chosen him, and in despite of them that had chosen him, for the  
 basenesse of his kinne, called him a new man, (for so doe they  
 terme them, that grow noble of themselves, and not of their  
 auncestours) and for that he was a straunger in the Cittie, he  
 named hym a Fernier, by the which word they call them that  
 dwell in other mens houses. And for this, he refused to deale in  
 publique matter, wherein was plenty of strife and contention,  
 and no great nor present furtheraunce to a Monarchie. Yet he  
 gathered much money of many wiues which hoped to be rid of  
 their husbands by this hurley burley. He conferred with some of  
 the Senatours & them that be called Gentlemen, and some of the  
 Commons, straungers and seruants be also allured. But his  
 chiefe Counsellours were, *Cornelius*, *Lentulus*, & *Cethegus*, which  
 were then officers in the cittie. He sent about *Italie* to them that  
 had spent their gaires got by the violence of *Sylla*, and were des-  
 sirous of the like enterprises again. To *Fesule* in *Tuscane*, he sent  
*Caius Manlius*, & other into *Ancona* and *Appulia*, the which pre-  
 sently did gather men for him. All these practises did *Fulvia*, a  
 noble woman, bewray unto *Cicero*, whose louer *Q. Spurius*,  
 a man for his lewde life remoued from the Senate, and admit-  
 ted to *Catelines* conuentions, ambitious and very light, did boast  
 with his woman, that shortly he shoulde be made a great man.  
 Rumours were now rayled of their doings in *Italie*, and *Cicero*  
 set gardes in diuers places of the cittie, and sent some noble men  
 to haue an eye to the suspected places. *Cateline*, although no man  
 durst lay hands on him, yet, because the truth was not tried out,  
 perceyuing the time to be suspicious, and putting al his hope in  
 speedyng, sent his money afoze to *Fesule*: and giuing order with  
 his confederates to kill *Cicero*, and in one night to set the cittie a  
 fire in sundrie places, he posted to *C. Manlius*, to make an other  
 army of the sodaine, to inuade the cittie after the burnyng. He  
 caused the ares & rodde, to be borne befoze him like a *Procon-  
 sul* very fondly, & went to *Manlius*, taking by souldiours by the  
 way. Now was it thought good to *Lentulus* & his companions, as  
 soone as they heard *Cateline* to be at *Fesule*, that *Lentulus* himself &  
*Cethegus* shoulde beset *Ciceros* house early in the morning w weapons

poss hid, & that they being let in, because of their dignities, should  
 speake with him, & by talke draw him a good way off, and when  
 they had him from other company to kill him. Then shoulde *L. Cicero*  
*Sextius* a Tribune, by & by call an assemble by the ordinarie offi-  
 cers, & accuse *Cicero* as a man fearful, troublesome, & a disturber  
 of the cittie, when there was no such cause: and the night after  
 this Oracion of *Sextius*, to set the cittie a fire in other. xij. places, to  
 spoyle it, & kill the best men. This was the opinion of *Lentulus*, *Cethe-  
 gus*, *Statilius*, & *Sextius*, chiefe of the conspiracie, & wayted for the time.

There were embassadours of *Sauota* to complain of their gouer-  
 nours, which by *Lentulus* were admitted to the conspiracie, & they  
 shoulde stirre their countrie against the *Romaines*. *Lentulus* sent *Vul-  
 turtius* of *Crotone* with the to *Cateline*, carrying letters without a  
 ny name. The Embassadours being afraide, did communicate to  
*Fabius Sanga*, who was their patrone, as euery other cittie had in  
*Rome*. *Cicero* vnderstanding this by *Sanga*, apprehended both them &  
*Vulturtius* as they were goyng away, & brought them to the Se-  
 nate, to whom they confessed al they had learned of *Lentulus*, and  
 with much ado bewrayed, that *Cornelius Lentulus* had oft sayde,  
 & by destiny. iij. *Cornelius* shoulde be Monarches of *Rome*, whereof  
 he were part, *Cinna* & *Sylla*. When these things were declared, the  
 Senate put *Lentulus* out of his office. *Cicero* committed euery of  
 them to the houses of the pretors, & straight returned & called for  
 sentenco. There was much ado about the counsell house, for the truth  
 was not yet knowne, & the conspirators were afraide of them-  
 selues. The seruants, & freemake men of *Lentulus* & *Cethegus*, got  
 many artificers with them, and wnt to the backe sides of the pre-  
 tors houses to haue taken a way their maisters, whiche, when  
*Cicero* heard, he ran out of the counsell house, & hauing set garde  
 in euery place, came againe, and hastned the iudgement. *Syllanus*  
 spake first, as he that was elected to be Consull next: for it was  
 the *Romaines* maner to haue him speake first, that shoulde solom in  
 the Consuls office, because (as I thinke) he shoulde commonly execute  
 the decrees, & thereby, consider the moze ripely & warily of euery of  
 them. *Syllanus* was of opinion the these men shoulde haue extreme  
 punishment: and many other consented to his iudgement, till  
*Nero* muste say his minde, who thought it good to kepe them

*Cicero* to be kil-  
led, the cittie to  
be burned.

Cities had pa-  
trones in *Rome*.  
*Linnus*.

*Cornelius*, a great  
surname in  
*Rome*.

Privilege of Co-  
sul elect.  
*Syllanus*.

Disagreement,  
touching the es-  
timate.

*Casars sentence  
vpon whom  
Cicero durst not  
contende.*

*Quo.*

*Citizens put to  
death without  
iudgement.*

*Cicero telleth  
the people that  
the conspirators  
be dead.*

*Cateline slayne.*

*Cicero both elo-  
quent and  
prudent.  
Cicero called  
father of the  
countrie.*

in prison til *Cateline* were ouerthrowen, and the thing throughe knowne. *C. Casar*, who was not without suspition to be priuie to this conspiracie, with whom *Cicero* durst not contend, bycause he was so accepted to the people, added moze, that *Cicero* shoulde place them in such Cities of *Italie* as he thought good, til *Cateline* were dispatched, and then to be brought to iudgemente, that no extremitie shoulde be vsed againste so noble men, that myghte seme boyde of right or reason. This sentence seming indifferēt, many allowed of it, and rathly consented to it, til *Cato* plainly had discovered the suspitiō against *Casar*; and *Cicero* fearing that this night some trouble would folowe, & that the multitude that were acquainted with the matter, and then remayned doubtful in the common place, would do mischief: and for some inconuenience, as wel of the one as of the other, determined to execute the without iudgement, as apparant offenders: *Cicero* brought euery one of them, (the Senate yet sitting) to the comon prison, and without knowledge of the people, put them to death. Then he went to the that were in the common place, and told the, they haue lined: wherat they dispersed with feare, were glad to hide theselues as wel as they could: & so the citie, that at that present was in great feare, receyued a little comfort. *Cateline* had now gathered xx. M. and armed the fourth part of them, & was going into *Gallia* for moze preparation: but *Antonie* the other Consul, encountred him in the *Alpes*, and without great ado, ouerthrew him, as one that furiously had taken so horrible a thing in hand, whiche when it came to the triall, without order, executed the same, although neither he nor none other of the nobles y were of that conspiracie, would agree to flee: but running among the enimies, were slain in the midst of them. Thus the rebellion of *Cateline*, which had almost brought the Cittie to utter destruction, was dissolued: & *Cicero* y befoze was only notable for his eloquence, now also both for worde and dede was extolled and playnly appeared the preseruer of his perishing countrie: wherfore thanks were giuen him in the whole assembly, and diuerse shoutes of prayse made vnto him: & wheras *Cato* thought hym worthy the name of father of the countrie, the people confirmed

it

it with a cry. This honorable name being giue first to *Cicero*, is now attributed also to such Emperors as be worthy: for this title is not giue to euery king with the rest of his other title, but in tyme with great ado is decreede vnto him, as a perfecte testimony of hys excellent vertue.

*Casar* was chosen Lieutenant for *Spaine*, and of hys creditours *Casar* was staide in *Rome*: for so much did he owe moze than hee was worth (as they report) he saide hee had neede of two thousande and five hundred millions, to haue nothing: yet agreeing with hys creditours as well as he could, he went into *Spaine*, where he did not deale with Citie matters, or by sessions take order for their causes, thinking that nothing serued hys purpose, but thered men, and in tyme subdued all the rest of *Spaine*, til hee had brought it subiect and tributarie to the *Romaines*. He sent muche money to the common treasure of *Rome*, wherfore the Senate graunted him a triumph: he made preparation of a great shew in the suburbs of *Rome*. The tyme of election of newe Consuls was come, and he that stode for the office must be present, and if he were once entred, he could not returne agayne to make triumphs. He being very desirous of the Consulship, and not yet ready for the triumph, sente to the Senate and desired he might aske the office by his friends in his absence, although it were against the Lawe: But *Cato* spake against it, so as the laste day of the election was spent in reasoning. Wherfore *Casar* set aside the triumph and came running to the election & desired the office.

At thys time *Pompey* was in great power and glozy for his victory against *Methridates*: he required that many things which he had graunted to Kings, Princes and other estates, might bee confirmed by acte of Parliament. The which request many enuied, specially *Lucullus*, who made warre agaynst *Methridates* befoze, and brought him so weake, that it was an easie matter to overcome him, so as indeede the seate against *Methridates* was properly hys, and *Crassus* toke parte with *Lucullus*. Wherat *Pompey* being grieved, he ioynd with *Casar* and promised by oth to make hym Consul, and *Casar* reconciled *Crassus* to *Pompey*.

And these three hauing greatest power of al, did serue one another

*About two thousand five hundred millions. Casars doings in Spayne.*

*A triumph graunted to Casar.*

*Election.*

*Cato agaynst Casars request.*

*Pompey.*

*Lucullus agaynst Pompey.*

*Crassus with Lucullus.*

*Pompey with Casar.*

others turne, insomuche as one *Varro* a writer, in one of hye booke, did cal this agrement, a triple falling headlong.

The Senate hauing them in suspition, did chosse *Lucius Bibulus* the other Consul, to withstande *Caesar*, and they straighte fell to contention, and made priuate preparation of armour one againste another.

*Caesar* was a deepe dissembler, & in the Senate house vsed speeches of reconciliation wyth *Bibulus*, that by their dissention, the common wealth might take no scathe. Hec gining credite to this pretence, being binaduised and vnprepared, and ignorant of *Caesar*'s meaning, founde that hee hadde made greate prouision in secrete, and deuised lawes for the poore agaynst the Senate, diuidyng landes vnto them: the best that was aboute *Capua*, he appointed as of the common treasure, to be bestowed vpon them that had bin fathers of thre children, and by thys meane he wane the harts of the multitude. For twenty thousande were accompted only to take the benefite of thre children.

Many of the Senate were agaynst this purpose. Wherefore *Caesar* with a fained anger that they would not admitte so litle a thing, ran oute, and would not call the Senate togither al the yeare after. But in the common place hee woulde speake to the people, and enquired of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, how they liked of the lawes, who grauntg their consente, he willed the people to come to the approbation of them, with their weapons hid.

The Senate (bycause it was not lawfull to assemble, vnlesse both Consuls were present) went to *Bibulus* house, bycause they had not foreseene to make resistace to *Caesar*, & exhorted *Bibulus* to withstande the lawes, that it might not seme hee was ouerruled by negligence, but of necessitie, *Bibulus* was perswaded, and wente into the Common place, whiles *Caesar* was yet speaking to the people. When was there much strife and disoord, and some hurte, for they wyth theyr weapons, brake the rodde and maces of *Bibulus*, and wounded the Tribunes that were about hym.

*Bibulus* not abashed, offred his throat, and wyth a loude voice, called *Caesar*'s royle to y deede, saying: If I cannot perswade *Caesar*.

far to Iustice by my death, I throwe vpon hym all thys blame and mischiefe. Notwithstanding, hys friendes, though they agaynst hys will, conueyed hym into the nexte Temple of *Iupiter* possessor.

*Cato* was sente for, and lyke a young man, thurst in among them, and beganne to speake: but being ouerprysed with *Caesar*'s men, he was putte out againe: yet priuily comming in another way, he ranne vnto the place of speache, and determining to speake nothing else, he sharply cried out agaynst *Caesar*, till hee was pulled downe.

Then *Caesar* pronounced the lawes, and caused the people to sweare vnto them, as euer to continue in effect. He commaunded the Senat to sweare also. Whereof manye, and *Cato* not agreing, *Caesar* threated death vnlesse they sware, and the people confirmed it, so that for feare they sware, and so did the Tribunes also, bycause it auailed no moze to resist, the lawe being pronounced by other.

*Petius*, a manne of the common sorte, came running among them with a naked sword, saying he was sent of *Bibulus*, *Cicero* & *Cato*, to kill *Caesar* and *Pompey*, and that the sword was deliuered hym of *Posthumus* one of *Bibulus* Sargeants. And although euery man suspected this deuise, yet *Caesar* stirred the people, and appointed the nexte daye to examine *Petius*. He was comitted to prison, and was deade that nighte.

Thys chaunce also being diuersly construed, *Caesar* didde not omitte to worke it for hys purpose, affirmyng, that they that were afraid, had done it. Wherevpon, the people did graunte reuenge to be had of his enemies.

Then *Bibulus* lettyn all goe oute of hys handes, as a priuate manne, came not oute of his house all the reste of the yeare of hys office. For *Caesar* made no moze inquisition of *Petius*, but hauing all the power of the common wealth alone, made moze lawes to allure the people, and to confyrme all that *Pompey* hadde done, accordyng to his prynciple.

There

*Caesar* receyue  
his fellowe  
*Bibulus*.

The Senate in  
*Bibulus* house.

Remitted by  
*Caesar*.

The lawe con-  
firmed by an  
other.

*Petius* deade.

*Bibulus* gyueth  
ouer.

There were that had the name of Gentlemen in the citie, and were in the midde place betwene the Senate and the people: These men might do much, both for their own substance, & for y<sup>e</sup> gathering of tributes & tolles, which the people did pay, wherof a number attended vpon them moſte aſſuredly. They made ſuit to the Senate to be diſcharged of parte of the rent. The Senate made ſome ſticking at it, but *Caſar* not regarding that, only viſing the people, did remitte the thirde parte of the rent vnto them.

They hauing beyond their expectation obtayned ſuche benefite by hys goodneſſe, did extoll hym like a God, and ſo *Caſar* by one deuile, had another companie ſtronger vnto hym than the people was. Then *Caſar* made ſhewes and huntings, vnto them, ſpēding vpon euery thing moze than he was able, exceeding all y<sup>e</sup> had bin before tyme in ſumptuous preparation, & bountifull rewardes. Wherefore they made him ruler of *France*, bothe on thys ſide and beyonde the Alpes for ſyue yeares, and for his office he had ſoure legions appointed.

He conſidering that his abſence ſhould be long, and that enuy woulde be greater than the greateſt fauour, beſtowed his daughter in marriage vpon *Pompey*, although *ſcippo* were yet aliue, fearing that *Pompey* (though he were his friend) might enuy the greateſſe of his felicitie: he made the moſte ſeditious men officers for the next yere, & *Aulus Gabinus* he declared Conſull, who was his chiefe friend, and married *Calphurnia* daughter to *Lucius Piſo*, that ſhould be Conſull with him.

*Caro* crying oute, that rule was rated by making of wanton marriages: Tribunes he appointed *Vacinius* and *Clodius* called the Faire, who was ſowly diffamed for a ſuſpition wyth *Iulia*, *Caſars* wife, in the ſacrifice that belinged onely to women.

For the whiche, although *Caſar* didde putte awaye hys wife, yet he made nothing adoe wyth hym, bycauſe he was accepted to the people: yet other did accuſe hym for diſparaging the holye ſacrifice, and *Cicero* did ſpeake againſt hym. *Caſar* was called to gyue witneſſe, but he ſaid nothing, and rather made hym Tribune of the people to entrap *Cicero*, who ſpake againſt the alliance of the thre men, as a thing tending to tyranny.

Thus

Thus did grieve giue place to gaine, and one ennemie benefited, that another mighte be hindred: and it ſhoulde ſeeme that *Clodius* had gratified *Caſar* befoze in the getting of hys office in *France*. Theſe thinges didde *Caſar*, beyng Conſull, and when hee hadde gyuen ouer one office, hee ſtraighte coueted another:

*Clodius* accuſed *Cicero*, that hee hadde contrarie to lawe putte to death *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* befoze the Senate had giuen ſentence: *Cicero* that in that matter had vſed moſte noble courage, nowe being called to anſwere, was verſe fainte harted. Hee put on a mourning veſture, and ful of weeping and ſorrowe, he humbled himſelfe to all that he met in the ſtreates, not being aſhamed to trouble them, whom he neuer knew, ſo that his behauior was ſo vnſeemly, y<sup>e</sup> they which ſhould haue pitied him, laughed him to ſcorne: to ſo great fearfulneſſe for one cauſe of his owne was he fallen, y<sup>e</sup> all his life had done moſt gloriouſly for others, euen (as they ſay) *Demosthenes* of *Athens*, was not able to anſwere in his own cauſe, but befoze he was condēned, fled away. *Clodius*, with ſpite did mock his lowlineſſe to me abroad, whereby being brought to deſperatio, he alſo tooke a volūtary baniſhmēt, many of his friends going forth with him, and the Senate recommending him to Cities, Kings, & Princes. *Clodius* pulled downe hys houſes both in the Citie and Country, & pleaſed hymſelf ſo well with thys act, as he woulde needs compare wyth *Pompey*, who had then the greateſt auctoritie in the Citie. Wherefore he called *Milo* that was fellow to *Clodius*, and a boldier man than hee, putting hym in hope of the Conſulſhip, to be againſt his fellow, and to make a decreē for *Ciceros* returne, ſuppoſing that *Cicero* woulde nowe deale wyth matters and actions againſt *Clodie*, & no moze buſy hymſelf in ſpeaking againſt the preſente auctoritie.

Thus *Cicero* that by *Pompey* was caſte oute, by the ſame was called home the ſixteenth moneth after his baniſhmēt, and hys houſe & ſerues were builded of the common coſte. He was receyued with great glory, euery man waſtyng for hym at the gate, ſpending one whole daye in embowments and welcoms, euen as hapned to *Demosthenes* at his returne from exile.

¶

In

*Cicero* accuſed  
by *Clodius*.

*Demosthenes*.

*Clodius* pulleth  
downe *Ciceros*  
houſes.

*Cicero* reſtored.

*Caſar* ſhewes  
paſſing.

Made ruler of  
*France*.

*Caſar* gyueth his  
daughter in  
marriage to  
*Pompey*.

*Caſar* maketh  
ſeditious.

*Clodius* ſuſpe-  
cied wyth *Caſar*  
for ſeditious.

*Cicero* againſt  
*Clodie*.

In this meane tyme, *Cesar* had done greate feates among the Frenchmen and Britains, as I haue shewed in my booke of the French matters, and being full of riches, he came to that part of Fraunce that confineth with Italy at the floude *Eridanus*, to recreate his army a while after their continuall warfare. From whence, he sent to diuerse men, greate summes of money. The yearely officers by turne came to visite hym, and so did the Presidents of Prouinces, the Generals of armies, and other noble men, so as sometime there were a hundred and twenty places about hym, and moze than two hundred Senatours, some, to thanke him for their offices, some, to seeke money, and some for one thing, and some for another. For nowe he toke vpon hym all thynges by the greatnesse of his armye, the abundaunce of riches, and by friendship, that he had wonne of all sortes.

Both *Pompey* and *Crassus*, fellowes of his power, came to him. They agreede that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should be Consuls againe, and that *Cesar* shoulde haue the rule of the nations he had, for other five yeares, and so they departed.

*Domitius Aenobarbus* stood agaynst *Pompey* for the Consulship, and when the day was come, bothe came in the night into the fielde to the election. And such was the strife, as it came to stripes, till one with a sword stroke hym that bare *Aenobarbus* to the ground, and then euery man fled from hym. He had much adoe to be conueyed home in safety: *Pompeys* gone was found bloudy and borne home: So nigh peril were both parts. Thus *Pompey* and *Crassus* being chosen Consules, they decreede to *Cesar*, other five yeres, as they had determined, the Prouinces and armies they diuided betwen them. *Pompey* tooke *Spaine* and *Barbarie*, to the which he sent his friends, and he remained in *Rome*. *Crassus* chose *Syria*, and the nations next vnto it, for desire he had to make war vpon the *Parthians*, which he thoughte would be bothe easie and profitable, & to his renoume. But as befoze he wēt out of the citie, all tokens seemed vnlucky, so the Tribunes did forbid hym to molest the *Parthians*, that had made no fault. And because he would not regarde, they made publique execration vpon hym, whiche he contemning, was in the same warre, with his sonne

of that name destroyed, and scarcely .xx. of an. C. did escape by flight into *Syria*. But this calamitie of *Crassus* is declared in the booke of the *Parthian* warres. The Romaines being molested with dearth, made *Pompey* General Provider of victuals, and as they were wont in *Pyrrats* war, ioyned .xx. Senators with hym as assistants vnto him. He sent them to euery country, and made suche speede, as *Rome* was by & by fulfilled with plenty of victuall, whereby he grew into greater glory and auctoritie, than he was befoze. At this time *Cesars* daughter that was married to *Pompey*, dyed, wherfore euery man was afraide that this affinity being broken, they two would contende with greate force. The state of the citie was in trouble and disorder, for the rulers did all for gaine and ambition, & with force & weapons moued sedition. They were not ashamed of bribery nor corruption so they might be made rich. The people would not giue their voyces, vntill they were hyped. There was scene .viij. C. tallents putte in pawne for the nomination to an office. The yearely Consuls were relect from armies and prouinces, being taken away by the power of these three men. They that were of worst behauiour, sought their gaine by armies and publike matters of the Citie, & by the elections of their priuate successors, by reason wherof the honest sort did utterly leaue to rule, insomuche as in this disorder, the Citie was .viij. moneths without a Magistrate. *Pompey* of purpose did wink at all this geare, that the necessitie of tyme might make hym a ruler alone: and now it was spoken in euery place, that the only remedy to these mischiefs, was the auctoritie of one, whom it behoued to chouse, being mighty of power, and gentle of nature, signifying that *Pompey* had a sufficient army, & counted a lover of the people, & for his honoz, did leade the Senat, in lyfe sober and sincere, and in conuersation affable, either in dede, or appaunce. He in worde seemed to be angrie at this expectation, but in effect he wrought it secretlye all that ever he coulde, and willingly looked awaie at the disorder of the common wealth, and the lacke of officers in the same confusion. And whereas *Milo* did serue his tourne against *Clodie*, and was well beloued of the people, for the returne of *Cicero*, looked for the

M. ij.

Consul

The calamitie of *Crassus*.The death of *Cesars* daughter.

Rome disorder.

First three men.

Rome eight moneths without a Magistrate. Dictator.

*Cesar* cometh to *Lombardy*.Refuted to *Cesar*.*Domitius Aenobarbus*.

A fray at the Election.

Diuidion of Prouinces

Milo deceyued  
by Pompey.

The Authour  
nameth Pompey  
the

Clodie killed.

The manner of  
Milo at the  
deathe of Clodie.

Clodies bodye  
brought to  
Rome.

Clodies funeral  
for the Senate  
house on fire.

M. Cecilius.

Milo purgeth  
humble.

Consulship, at due time required for that office, he did keepe hym backe, by delaying the election. Wherefore Milo taking it vnkindly, that hee shoulde finde Pompey vnfaithfull, wente into the Countrey to *Latinio*, which Citie they saye *Aeneas* comming from *Troy*, did first builde in *Italy*, being from *Rome* aboute eighteene myles. *Clodie* came ryding from hys house, and met hym at *Bouille*, and passed the one by the other, onely in countenance shewing their enmitie. A seruante of Milos ranne to *Clodie*, (whither beyng commaunded, or to dispatch his maysters enemye,) and stroke hym with his swoorde on the hinder part of the heade. *Clodie* beyng wounded and full of bloude, hys horse-keeper caried hym to the nexte Tynne. Milo stayed with his seruants, and comming vnto hym betwene breathing and dying, dispatched hym, pretending that neyther he desired, nor deuised thys murder, but being sure he shoulde alwayes bee in daunger, hee purposed not to leaue the thing vnperfect.

This chaunce being tolde at *Rome*, the people were displeased, and watched all night in the common place. Some broughte *Clodies* body the nexte day and laide it in the *Palatce*: the which certayne Tribunes, friends to *Clodie*, accompanied wylth the multitude, toke away, and bare it to the Senate, eyther for honoz, bycause hee was of that order, or for reproch to them for suffering such vnlawful factes.

The rather sort of this route brake down y seates & chaires of the Senate house, and made a fire, with the whiche the Senate house and many other bygges, did burne at *Clodies* funeral. Milo was so lustie, that he was not so muche afraide for the feare done, as hee was angry that suche honoz of buriall shoulde be shewed to *Clodie*. He gathered a number of seruants & cuntrymen, he sent mony to the people, & corrupted *Marcus Cecilius*, one of the Tribunes, and with a bold courage came to *Rome*. *Cecilius* straight receiued him at his coming, & brought him to the common place among the that had taken mony, as to an assembly. He pretended to be sozry, that any delay shoulde be had in iudgement, trusting that if he myght by these that were present, be acquitte, he shoulde auoid the sharper sentence. He shewd he did not misde

the

the matter, (for he would not haue brought his wife and familye to such a feate) he spent the rest of the tyme against *Clodie*, as an impudent man, whose friendes as impudent as he, had burnt the Senate house for his sake. Whyles he was thus talking, y other Tribunes and the multitude slenderly armed, rushed into the common place. *Cecilius* and *Milo*, in seruantes clothing fled away: much murder was committed vpon the other, not asking who were Milos friendes, but without respect killed both Citizen and straunger, and chiefly them that differed from the rest, eyther in gay garments, or golde Rings: for in such a disordered state, tumulte growing by rage of this pretence, the mosse parte beyng seruantes and armed, against the other not armed, they fel to spoyle, they left nothing vndone, they entred houses, they ranne about to see in deede what they might easily catch, and in woord to seeke out Milos friendes: and Milo was their pretence many dayes, to doe all mischief with fire and force.

The Senate for feare assembled, and were bent vpon Pompey, whom some would haue had Dictator by and by, bycause the present time appeared to haue need of that remedy: but by *Catos* perswasion, they chose him Consul without a felowe, that he should haue the authoritie of Dictator by ruling alone, and yet be answerable bicause he was but Consul. He was y first Consul that had two great prouinces with armye and money, and the Monarchie of the Citie, being Consul alone: *Cato* was appointed by decree to go into *Cyprus*, that he shoulde not trouble Pompey at home, and to put *Ptolomie* out of his kingdome, by a former laue made by *Clodie*: who being once taken with *Pyrrates*, *Ptolomie* for nigardise, sent him two talents for his ransom, *Ptolomie* when he heard of thys decree, threw his money into the sea, and kyled himself. *Cato* set the Country in order.

Pompey did giue punishments for many offences, and specially for bribery & corruption: for he thought y all common infection of the Citie rose of thys, and therefore had neede of present medicine. He also decreed, that any man that would, might cal men to account from his first Consulship to this time, and that was about twentie yeares, in the which *Cesar* was Consul.

M. iij.

friends

Milo fleeth

His friends  
killed.  
Great hurt done  
in Rome.

The name of  
Milo, pretence of  
mischiefe.

By *Catos* persua-  
sion, Pompey chose  
to rule alone.

Pompeys lawes  
against bribery.

friendes suspecting this to be done in despite of calumny-  
tion of him that so long a time was comprehended, exhorted  
him to deale with present matters, rather than to looke back-  
warde and trouble men that were honorable. And among o-  
ther naming *Caesar*, he was offended, as one boide of all suspi-  
tion, and so appoynted the time from his seconde Consulship:  
he saide it was very necessarie so to begin, to make a perfitte  
repeale of the common, almost wasted with euill men: which  
when he had saide, he pronounced the lawe, whereof folowed  
by and by a number of sundry actions: and that the iudges  
shoulde not be afrayde, he with an army suerlawe their do-  
yngs. Firste, being absent, *Milo* was condemned for *Clodius*  
death, and *Gabinus*, of disobedience and mischief, for going  
into *Egypt* with an army without decree, the booke of *Sybill* for  
blodyng it. *Memmius*, *Hipsus*, *Sextus*, & many other were con-  
dēned, cyther of bribery or corrupting the people. *Scaurus* was  
called by *Pompey* to make answer, notwithstanding y the peo-  
ple did intreate for him. And when the second time the people  
did resist his accusers, a violence was made by *Pompeis* souldi-  
ours, wherby the people ceased, & *Scaurus* was also banished, &  
al their criles recozded, & *Gabinus* was confiscate after his ba-  
nishment. The Senate giuing open prayse to *Pompey* appoynt-  
ed two legions more vnto him, & continuāce in his prouinces.  
*Memmius* being condemned of bribery, and *Pompeius* lawe gi-  
uing release to them that accused an other, he called *L. Scipio* fa-  
ther in lawe to *Pompey*, into the like iudgement of corruption.  
Wherefore *Pompey* putting on the garment of the condemned  
fozt, many of the iudges did the like: but *Memmius* in contempt  
of the state, gaue ouer y accusation. Then *Pompey*, hauing as it  
were, made that direction that belonged to his Monarchie,  
toke *Scipio* for his felowe the rest of the yeare: and after hym,  
though others were receiued into office, neuerthelesse he ouer-  
looked & ruled all, and then was all in all in *Rome*. For the good  
wil of the Senate was much enclined to him in despite of *Ca-*  
*sar*, who in his Consulship seeking his priuate pleasure, seemed  
to make none account of the: and so that *Pompey* had quickly

Lavy of account

Condemnation  
of Milo, &c.  
Calpurnius, Memmi-  
us, Hipsus, Sextus  
et alii, condemned.Scaurus bani-  
shed.Pompeys father  
in law accused.Pompey putteth  
on mourning  
weede.Pompey taketh  
a felowe.Senate esteemeth  
Pompey.

reconered the sicke cōmon wealth, without molesting or hin-  
dzing any man, furder than his office. But the banished men  
fledde still to *Caesar*, and bad him beware of *Pompey*, and that his  
law of corruption, was most made against him. *Caesar* did con-  
ferte them, and yet sayde well of *Pompey*. He only laboured the  
Tribunes to make a lawe, that it might be lawfull for *Caesar*  
to aske the seconde Consulship in hys absence: the which, *Pom-*  
*pey* being yet in office and not resistyng, was graunted, yet  
vnderstandyng that the Senate did worke against him, & sea-  
ryng that his enemies would make him a pryuate man, he de-  
uisid to keepe his strength still, till he shoulde be declared Con-  
sul, and requested of the Senate a little longer tyme for hys  
office in *Fraunce*, or at the least for parte of it. But *Marcellus*  
that was Consul after *Pompey*, was agaynst it, the whiche  
when it was tolde *Caesar*, he layde hys hande vpon the hilt of  
his sword (as they say) and answered, *Then this shall gye it*  
*me*. Hes buylded newe *Como* nighe vnto the *Alpes*, with the  
priuiledges of *Italie*, whiche is, that so many as be officers a  
yeare, shall be Cittizens of *Rome*, whiche was a greate pzeo-  
gatiue to *Italie*.

Banished men  
flye to Caesar.

Marcellus.

Answer of  
Caesar.Displeight of  
Marcellus.

Marcellus.

Pompey preten-  
deth regarde to  
Caesar.Paulus and Curi-  
us by money.

One of newe *Como*, that had thus borne office, and thereby  
thought to be free at *Rome*, *Marcellus* in despight of *Caesar* did  
beate with rodde, whiche the *Romaines* doe not suffer for no  
cause: and in rage he belwzaying his harte, bad him take this  
token of hospitalitie and goe shewe it to *Caesar*. This spight  
bled *Marcellus*, and perswaded to sende succours to his pro-  
uinces befoze the time expyzed. But *Pompey* was agaynst  
that, vnder a shewe of conuenientie and beneuolence: that it  
was not mete that so noble a man, so many wayes profita-  
ble to hys Countrey, shoulde be thus maligned for so shorte  
a tyme, and decreed, that with the tyme, *Caesar* shoulde gye  
ouer hys rule: After this, *Casars* chiefe enemies were cho-  
sen Consuls *Aemilius Paulus* and *Calpurnius Marcellus* cousin  
to the former *Marcellus*. *Curius* an other greate enimie of *Ca-*  
*sar* was elected Tribune, well beloued of the people & a great  
speaker.

Caesar

*Caesar* coulde not winne *Claudius* for no money, but *Paulus* he made his friends with an hundred and fiftie talentes; that he shoulde neyther doe wyth hym nor against hym: it cosse him more to win *Curio* because he was so muche in debt. Wyth this money, *Paulus* builded a publique place, called *Paulus* Palaice, one of the fayre woorkes of Rome. *Curio*, that he shoulde not be discovered by change of the sodaine, required the office of making and paing of many and long high wayes, and to be overseer of the same five yeares together, knowing he shoulde obtaine none of these, and trusting that *Pompeys* friends would speake against him, & so haue some pretence against *Pompey*, which things coming to passe indeed as he thought, he had an occasiō of offence. *Claudius* propounded to send successours to *Caesars* prouinces, for the time was now at hand. *Paulus* said nothing. *Curio* seeming to dissent fro both, praised *Claudius* opinion, & as agreeing to it, said it was meete that *Pompey* shoulde giue ouer both prouince and armie as well as *Caesar*, for so shoulde the state of the Citie bee cleare and out of feare on bothe sides. Many being against this, as not right, because *Pompeys* time was not yet expired, *Curio* thetewed himselfe plainly and sharply, that it was not reason to sende successours to *Caesar*, vnlesse *Pompey* did giue ouer: for being suspicious the one of the other, the Citie shoulde neuer haue sure peace vnlesse all men were priuate. Thus he spake, because he knewe that *Pompey* would not leaue his power, and because he saw them offended with him for his iudgements of corruption.

This opinion being honest, the people praised *Curio*, as the only man that for the common weale, cared for neyther of these displeasure: and they brought him home, casting flowers, as vpon a champion of a great and difficult cause. For at that time nothing seemed more dangerous, than to dissent from *Pompey*, who passing about Italy somewhat sickely, subtillye sente vnto the Senate, praying *Caesars* actes, and rehearsing his owne fro the beginning, and that the thirde Consulshippe being giuen hym, and prouinces with an army accordingly, he did not seeke it, but was called to it, being thought meete for the redresse of the

*Curio* seeketh a quarrell.

*Claudius* *Claudius*.  
Question for  
*Caesar* propounded

The people  
praiseth *Curio*.

*Pompey* to the  
Senate.

the common wealth, and that I (quoth he) receiued but willingly, I doe willingly giue ouer to them that will haue it, before my time prefixed. The manner of this writing wrought a good liking to *Pompey*, and a misliking to *Caesar*, that would not giue ouer when his time was ended. When *Pompey* was come to the Citie, he spake as muche in effect, and then promised to giue it ouer, and as a friend and wellwiller to *Caesar*, toke in hand that hee also would leaue with glad mind. For now being in yeares, and hauing taken greate paines in the armies against the most fierce nations, and wonne great honoz to his Countrey, he would seeke rest, with the offices and sacrifices of the Citie. Thus he spake, that successours might be straight sent to *Caesar*, and he standing vpon his promise only. But *Curio* correcting his fitteltie, sayd, it was not ynough to promise, but to giue ouer in dedde, nor that *Caesar* shoulde be put from his armie, before he were in priuate state, neyther shoulde it be commodious for him to mainteyne priuate enmitie, neyther for the Romaines, that suche a power shoulde be with one, rather than with the other, that if eyther of them would hurt the Citie, the other shoulde haue to resist: and now holding in no longer, he openly reprovved *Pompey*, as a seker of tyrannie, and if it were not now, that he gaue ouer his army for feare of *Caesar*, he would not giue it ouer at all, therfore he thought good, that if they disobeyed, they shoulde both be declared enemies, and an army gathered against them: & by this talke he couered, that he was corrupted by *Caesar*. *Pompey* being grieved, and thzeatning, went angerly away into the suburbs. The Senate now had them both suspected, but thought *Pompey* the more tractable. *Caesar* they misliked, because of their suspicion in his Consulship, and therfore did not thinke it safe to dissolue *Pompeys* power, vnlesse *Caesar* did resigne, being abroade, and of a more aspiring mind: but *Curio* was against it, and that it was expedient, that after *Pompey*, *Caesar* also shoulde giue ouer all, which, when he could not obteyne, he brake vpon the counsell, leauyng all vnperfit, for so might a Tribune do. Wherefore *Pompey* repented him that he had restozed the Tribuneship to the auncient power, which *sylla* had made very slender. Only this was decreed at their

*Curio* against  
*Pompey*.

*Pompey* departs  
teth angry.

Senate better  
liketh of *Pompey*.

The authoritie  
of a Tribune.

¶

departure,

departure, that *Cesar* and *Pompey* shoulde be sente into *Siria* to keepe the Countrey, bycause of *Crassus* misfortune. And *Pompey* bysing policie, required his legion againe, that he had sente *Cesar*, after the losse of *Titurins* and *Cotta* his Captaynes.

*Cesar* gaue euery man two hundred Drammes, and sent them to *Rome*, and with them sente another of his owne, but beeing vnderstanded y there was no danger in *Syria*, they went to winter at *Capua*. They that were sente of *Pompey* for them to *Cesar*, tolde many hard tales againste *Cesar*, and made *Pompey* beleue, that *Cesars* army being waiked with weerinesse, and long payne, was desirous to come home, and when they were come on thys syde the *Alpes*, they would reuolte to *Pompey*. Thus they talked eyther of ignorance, or being corrupted, but euery man was sure to *Cesar* in promptnesse and painefulnesse, both for the continuance of seruice for the gaynes that grewe by victories in the warre, and for the greate liberalitie of *Cesar* himselfe, for he gaue them freely to serue as he would haue them, which they all knowing, did likewise abide it.

*Pompey* giuing credite to these tales, neyther gathered armye, nor prouided for so greate a businesse. The Senate did requyre euery mans opinion. *Claudius* craftely propounded, and byd aske disloyntly, whether they woulde sende successor to *Cesar*, and whether they would *Pompeys* power shoulde be taken from him. To this many made denyall, but to *Cesar* they decreed successors. *Curio* asking agayne if they would haue both leaue their powers, yris. denyed it, but *CCCLxx*. leauyng contention for commoditie, enclined to *Curios* sentence: then did *Claudius* dismisse the counsell, crying, *VVinne you, that will haue Cesar your Lord*.

A rumor being raysed, that *Cesar* suddaynely was past the *Alpes*, and commyng to the Citie, there was greate feare and tumulte of all sydes. *Claudius* commaunded the armye at *Capua* to be sente againste *Cesar*, as an entiny, and when as *Curio* reproued it as a lye, *Claudius* sayde, If I may not followe that is fytt by common decre of my selfe as Consull, I will doe it. And when he had sayde thus, he ranne out of the Senate house into the suburbs with his fellow, and offered a sword to *Pompey*.

*Cesar* reuwar-  
deth *Pompeys*  
Legion.  
*Cotta* and *Titurins* slayne in  
France.  
A Dramme  
was a coyne, of  
the valew of  
two Grotes.  
Tales of *Cesars*  
Army.

The Souldyers  
of *Cesar* sure  
were him.

Consultation  
for *Cesar* and  
*Pompey*.

Contention in  
the Senate.

*Claudius* giueth  
a sword to  
*Pompey*.

*pey*: *Cuen* I (quoth he) and this man, commaunded thee to goe against *Cesar* for thy Countrey, and we giue thee, eyther the army that is nowe at *Capua*, or any other that is in *Italie*, and that thou mayest gather together what thou wilt. He obeyed, as commaunded of the Consuls, onely adding, *vlesse somewhat maye be better*, dissembling, or euen then pretending a shewe of honestie. *Curio* now had no moze authoritie ouer the Citie, for it was not lawfull for the Tribunes to goe out of the walles, yet he complayned to the people of these doings, and required the Consuls to proclayne, that no man should obey *Pompey* in gathering of men: but not preuayling, and the time of his Tribuneshippe drawing to an ende, being afrayde of himselfe, and doubting to be no moze able to help *Cesar*, with diligence went vnto him, who had nowe sayled the *Oceane* Sea from *Brittayne*, and passed from the French, that benere the floud *Rhene*, to the Mountaines of the *Alpes*, with fise thousande footemen, and thre hundred horsemen. He came down to *Raenna*, which was coine to *Italy*, and the end of his prouince, receiuing *Curio* with great curtesie, and thanking him for his trauayles, he consulted with him of the present state. *Curio* thought good to sende for all his army, and to march to *Rome*. *Cesar* thought it better yet to treate of reconciliation, and willed his friends to compound for him, that giuing ouer all other prouinces and armies, he might onely reteyne two legions, and *Illiria* with *France* within the *Alpes*, till he were declared Consull. *Pompey* thought it sufficient, but bycause the Consuls did resist it, he wrote to the Senate, and *Curio* running in thre dayes thre thousande and thre hundred furlongs, he gaue the letter to the newe Consuls, entryng the Senate house the fyfte daye of the newe yeare. It byd conteyne a solenne rehearsal of all *Cesars* doyngs from the begynnyng, and a protestation to leaue his armye, if *Pompey* byd the lyke, and beeing yet in authoritie, if *Pompey* woulde not gyue vypp, no moze woulde he, but forthwith come to reuenge his Countrey, and wryth speede to seeke for hymselfe, at the whyche, euery man cryed out, and that *Lucius Domitius* shoulde bee his successor, as in a warre proclayned, *Domitius* went on with foure

*Pompey* recey-  
ueth the sword  
with a condi-  
tion.

*Cesar* out of  
*Brittayne*,  
*Rhene* deuiled  
France and  
Germany.  
The old diu-  
sion of *Italy*  
was at *Raenna*,  
and the floud  
*Rubicon*, and  
thereabout.

Request of  
*Cesar*.

After this ac-  
compt, it should  
be three hun-  
dred myles.  
*Cesars* letters to  
the Senate.

*L. Domitius*.

*P. H.*

lately

Determination  
against Caesar.  
Antonius,  
Cassius,  
Tribunes.

Antonius lamenteth.

Antonius prophesieth.

Caesar sheweth  
the Tribunes to  
his army.

Preparation for  
Pompey against  
Caesar.  
Thessalians  
Countrey of  
Greece.

Speediness of  
Caesar.

Caesar's manner  
in warres.

lately gathered. *Antonius* and *Cassius* being Tribunes after *Curio*, and liking well of his determination, the Senate the more earnestly did affirme the army of *Pompey* to be their safetie, and *Caesars* their destruction. And *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* the Consuls, commaunded *Antonius* and *Cassius*, to go from the assemblee, least by vsing the office of Tribunes, they mighte happily haue some displeasure. When *Antonius* cryed aloud, and ranne fro his seate in a rage, and lamented by they should deface the office sacred, and a Sanctuary, and reica them with a despight, that had gyuen their counsell for the common weale, not hauing committed any offence or crime against any man. This being sayde, he lept out as a man by inspiration, forespeaking warres, murders, attendures, banishments, spyles, and all other mischiefes to come vpon them, protesting greates exrecrations to them that were the cause of it. *Curio* and *Cassius* went out with him, for now parte of *Pompeys* army was sene to come, and besette the Senate house. They by and by, secretly in y night, putting on seruants apparell, went to *Caesar* in an hired wagon. *Caesar* shewed them as sone as they were come vnto the army, in that apparell, and to stirre them the more, said these men for doing well, are made enemies, and being persons of such degree, speaking somewhat for them, were thus villanously banished. Nowe was the warre open on both sides, and proclaymed euidently. The Senate thinking that *Caesar* would not suddainely come with his army fro the French, and that he woulde not enterpryse so great a feat with so fewe, appointed to *Pompey* to gather a great number of *Thessalians*, old practised souldiers in the warre, and to take vp new, of the nations that were fitte to serue. All the common treasure they decreed to him for this warre, offering also their priuate substance if neede were, to be ready for this seruice: and they sent to the Cities for more, with great hast and vehemencie, leauing nothing vndone, that might be with speedy consideration. *Caesar* sending for his owne army, putting more confidence in amazing his enemies with suddaine approche and terror of boldnesse, than in mighty preparation. With five thousande began he this greates warre, which he sent to take the comocious places of *Italy*. And certaine

certaine of his Captaynes, accompanied with the boldest sorte, in peaceable manner, he willed to goe to *Arimeno*, and of the suddaine, to surprize the Citie, whiche is the firste of *Italy* out of France. He in the euening, as though he had not bin well, wente from the Table, leauing his friendes sitting still, and taking a Coach, he ranne to *Arimeno*, his Horsemen following a certaine distace off. And passing thus as farre as the floud *Rubicon*, which deuidenth *Italy*, he stayed his course, and behelde the Riuer. He deeply waying in his mind all the mischiefes that might followe, if he passed the water in armes, turned to his friends, and sayde, The refrayning from this passage, shall be the beginning of troubles to my selfe, but the going on with it, shall bere all the world. When he had thus said, as a man rapte with a furie, hee stong ouer, speaking the common word, *The Die is cast*. When he hasted to *Arimeno*, and toke it earely in the morning, and so wet forward, leauing garrison in conuenient places, and the other by the way he wanne, eyther by violence, or by gentlenesse. There was fleeing and running away from euery place with much feare, and remouing without reason, and lamente, not yet knowing what the truth was, supposing that *Caesar* was come to inuade with all his might and power. Which when the Consuls heard, not suffering *Pompey* to take the stayed way of warre according to his skilfulnesse in the same, forced him to goe about *Italy*, and make men, as the Citie should by and by haue bin taken. The other Senatours hearing of *Caesars* suddaine approche beyonde all opinion, were afraide, because they were not yet prepared, and with griefe repented they had not accepted *Caesars* offers, which then they thoughte reasonable. Many porters, and tokens from heauen did afraie them. God sente downe rayne of bloud, Images did sweate, lightnings fell vpon many Temples, a Mule broughte forth, many other fearefull tokens did foreshew the ouerthrow and mutation of the common state. Supplications were commaunded, as in common calamities. The people remembring the times of *Silla* and *Marinus*, cryed out, that *Caesar* and *Pompey* should giue over their powers, as the only way to ceasse warre. *Cicero* sent to *Caesar* for reconciliation, but

Then France extended to *Arimeno*, which is now in that part of *Italy* that is called *Romagna*. One of the 18. Colonies, that ayded the *Romaines* against *Amiball*, *Rubicon* deuidenth *Italy*, ouer the which he that passed in armes, was a Rebel. *Caesar* stayed at the Riuer of *Rubicon*. The saying of *Caesar*. *Caesar* entreth *Italy*. *Caesar* taketh *Arimeno*. Feare of *Caesar*.

The Consuls suffer not *Pompey* to take the right course of warre.

Tokens.

Saxons.

Pompey to the  
Senators.Pompey forsaketh  
Rome.Corfinio is now  
Pompey's.Caesar taketh  
Domitius, and  
giveth him  
leave to goe  
vvhether he list.

Now Albani.

Durraxo de-  
scribed.  
This is not in  
the Italian.

the Consuls were againste every thing, and *Faunius* tested at *Pompey* for a word he once spake, that at his call he would strike the earth with his foote, and fetch for the an army. You shall haue it (quoth he) if you will followe me, and thinke it no grieue to leaue *Rome*, and after *Rome*, *Italie* to, if neede be: for places and houses be not strength and libertie, but men (wherefoeuer they be) beare these with them, and when you haue reuenged your selues, you shall haue houses ynough. This spake *Pompey*, as it were thzeatning them that would tarry and sticke to leaue their lands for the loue of their Countrey. And streyght hee wente out of the Senate house and Citie too, and toke his iourney to *Capua* to the armye there, and the Consuls followed him. Other tarried wyth greate doubte, and kepte that nyghte togyther in the Senate house, but when daye was come, the most parte went out, and followed *Pompey*.

*Caesar* followed *Domitius* at *Corfinio*, who was sent to be his successeure, hauing not aboue foure thousande, and besieged him. And they of the Citie, perceyuing that *Domitius* would flee away, kepte the gates, and toke hym, and brought him to *Caesar*. He curteously receyued the army, yeldyng vnto hym, that other myghte be encouraged to the same, and suffered *Domitius* vntouchd, wyth all his money and substance, to goe where he would, thynkyng for that gentlenesse he would haue tarried wyth hym, and was not againste hym to goe to *Pompey*.

These thyngs beeyng thus done of the suddayne, *Pompey* wente from *Capua* to *Brunduse*, to passe the *Ionian* Seas to *Epirum*, to make his prouision for warre there: he wrote to all nationes, Lieutenants, Princes, Kyngs, and Cities, cuerpe one with all the speede they coude, to contribute to this warre. These were dispatched with speede.

*Pompey*'s olone army was in *Spain*, beeyng ready for the march when occasion shoulde call them.

Of the Legions that *Pompey* had himselfe, he deliuered to the Consuls, to leade from *Brunduse* to *Epirum*, and they streyght sayled safe to *Durrachium*, whiche Towne some men, of this ignorance, thynketh to be *Epidamnus*. A Barbarian Kyng called *Epi-*

damnus

*damnus* buylded a Citie at this Sea, and of himselfe called it *Epidamnus*: his nephewe by his daughter, supposed to be *Nep-tunes* sonne, buylded a porte to that Citie, and called it *Durrachium*. The brethren of *Durrachos* made warre vpon him, and *Hercules* comyng from the *Ale Erithea*, toynd with him for parte of the lande, wherevpon the *Durrachians*, as copertioner of theyr Countrey, accompte hym the founder of it, not denyng *Durrachos*, but moze desirous of *Hercules*, because he was a God.

They saue further, that in this syghte, *Ionius*, sonne to *Durrachos*, was slayne of *Hercules* by chance, and that *Hercules* buryed his body, and thzeue it into the Sea, that it myghte beare the name of him. In processe of time, certaine *Phrygians* gote the Citie and Countrey, and after them, a people of *Iliria*, called *Taulantines*, after whome, another people of *Iliria*, called *Liburnians*, wyth their swift Shyppes, dyd spole theyr nearest neighbourers, and of this it is thought the *Romaines* did call theyr swift Shypps *Liburnium*, wherewyth they gyue their fyrste onset in fighte by Sea.

They that were dyuen from *Durrachis* by the *Liburnians*, gote helpe of the *Corcyrans*, valiante men by sea, and expulsed the *Liburnians*, and so the *Corcyrans* makyng a mixt inhabitance, it is taken to be a *Græke* porte, and they changyng the name as vnlucky, called it *Epidamnus*, by the name of the old Citie.

*Thucydides* doth name it so, yet this name hath preuailed, and it is called *Durrachium*. The Consuls and their company came to this Citie. *Pompey* abode at *Brunduse*, and gathered together the rest of the army. He tarried for the Shyppes that carried the Consuls. He made the Towne strong, to keepe *Caesar* from the walles, and in the enening tyme, sayled wyth his company, leauyng the boldest Souldyers to defende the Towne, the whyche also in the nyghte sayled ouer wyth good winde. Thus *Pompey* wyth all his armye lefte *Italy*, and sayled into *Epirum*. *Caesar* stood in doubt whyche way to turne him, & where to begyn the warre, seeyng well that all the force on euery syde flowed to *Pompey*. He feared the army that *Pompey* had in *Spain* very great and expert.

least

Hercules.  
Erythra novv  
Cales.Ionian Sea.  
Phrygia of Asia  
the Iesse.Taulantines.  
Liburnians.  
Liburnia  
Naues.Corcyrans be  
of the Ile  
Corfu.

Thucydides.

Consuls arriv-  
ued at Durraxo.Pompey leaueth  
Italy.

least whyles he followed his fleeing enimie, they should beset him on the backehalfe, therefore he thoughte it best to trye the fiede first with these in *Iberia*. He deuided his power in fyue partes, some he lefte at *Brundise*, some at *Hidrunto*, and some at *Tarento*, as garrisons for *Italy*. Other he sente with *Quintus Valerius* to get *Sardinia*, an Ile plentiful of Cozne, and he gotte it. *Asinius Pollio* he sente into *Cicilie*, where *Cato* was Lieutenant, who asked hym whether he had authoritie from the Senate, or the people, to enter violently into another mans prouince: he aunswered, that he that was Lord of *Italy* had sente him. *Cato* aunswered a gayne, that bycause he would spare the inhabitance, he would deferre the reuenge till another time, and so sayled into *Coreyra* to *Pompey*.

*Caesar* came to *Rome*, and comforted the people with hope and promises, being stricken with the feare and memorie of *Sylla* and *Marinus* euill times. He said further, that he would vse curtesie to his enimies. As when he had taken *Lucius Domitius*, he let him go with all his money unhurt. He bzake the lockes of the common treasure, and threatned death to *Metellus* the Tribune that would haue resisted him, and tooke away the money that no man durst touch, being layd by there, against the inuasions of *France*, with publike execratio to them that did stirre or remoue it, vnlesse for the warre of *Celtica*: *Caesar* sayd, I haue ouercome those *French* *Celtes*, and haue deliuered the Citie of that execration. He made *Emilius Lepidus* Gouvernoure of the Citie, and *Marcus Antonius*, the Tribune of *Italy*, and the confederate army in it. Abzoade he sent into *Sicilie*, *Curio* to succede *Cato*, *Quintus* to *Sardinia*, & *Cneus Antonius* to *Illiria*, and to *France* within the *Alpes*, he appoynted *Licinius Crassus*. He commaunded two legions of yong souldyers to be ready with speede, and to lye at the coastes, both of the *Tuscane*, and *Venetian* seas, to whome, for Captaines by the sea, he sent *Hortensius*, and *Dolabella*.

*Caesar* hauing thus made *Italy* too strong for *Pompey* to enter, he went into *Spayne*, and at his firste encounter with *Afranius* and *Petreius*, Lieutenantes to *Pompey*, he seemed too weake. When they ioynd together moze at hande aboute the Citie *Ilerda*,

*Caesar*

*Caesar* lay in barraine rocky places, and was sayne to fetch hys victuals by the passage of the riuer *Sypria*: a sodayne floud came and bare away the brydge, whereby a great number left in the straytes, were slayne of *Petreius*, and *Caesar* himselfe with hys other army, was much molested, with the harde place, with hunger, sharpe season, and with his enimies, so as he was little better than besieged there til the sommer came. *Afranius* & *Petreius* went into the furdor parte of *Spaine* to gather another armye. *Caesar* preuented them, stopping their passage, and compelled the to retyze from whence they came. In doing of thys, he compassed a parte of their army that came to take vp grounde for their campe. They helde their shieldes to their heades, which is a token of yelding. *Caesar* neyther toke them, nor hurt them, but suffered them vntouched to goe to *Afranius*, and by such meane, he wanne his enimies harts in all places.

Hereof was manye conuenticles among the souldiers, and talke of reconciliation by the whole multitude. Wherevppon it seemed good to *Afranius* and some other, to leaue *Spaine* to *Caesar*, and to depart safe to *Pompey*: but *Petreius* was agaynst it, and ranne among the souldiours, and killed them that made those metings for *Caesar*, and were come from him, and killeed one of hys owne Captaines also that would haue stayed his furze. Wherefore they were the moze in their mindes inclined to *Caesar* so gentle, and offended with *Petreius* that was so passionate. After that *Caesar* kept water from them: and *Petreius* being in necessitie, came with *Afranius* to a parlee with *Caesar*, both armies beholding them. They agreede to leaue *Spayne* to *Caesar*, and that he shoulde conuey them safe to the floud *Varns*, and from thence to suffer them to goe to *Pompey*. When *Caesar* was come to that floude, he called all the *Romaine* and *Italian* souldiours, & thus spake vnto them.

„ Enemies (for vsing that name to you, I shall the better declare my minde) neyther dyd I dyspatche you, when you were sente to gette ground for your Campe, and yelded your selues to me, neyther dyd I hurt an other parte of your army, wha I helde from water, although *Petreius* did destroy myne, whoia

D.

he

*From Iule.*  
*Hidrunto* nowve  
*Quinto.*  
*Tarentum.*  
*Sardinia.*  
*Asinius Pollio.*  
*Cato* giueth  
pierce to *Asinius*  
*Pollio.*

*Caesar* to *Rome*.

*Caesar* taketh  
the treasure.

*M. Antonius.*

*Hortensius.*  
*Dolabella.*  
*Caesar* into *Spain.*  
*Afranius*, and  
*Petreius.*  
*Ilerda* a Citie in  
*Aragon*, at the  
head *Sycore.*

*Caesar* in distre.

A token of  
yelding.

*Caesar*'s gentles-  
nelle.

*Petreius* furious.

he toke at the floud *Sicorie*: If I haue any thanks of you for the same, shewe it then to al them, that serue in *Pompeys* campe. When he had thus sayd, he sent them freely away, and appointed *Quintus Cassius* to the gouernement of *Iberia*. Thus *Caesar* began.

In *Lybia* *Affius Varus* was Lieutenent for *Pompey*, and *Iuba* king of *Mauritania* did assist him. *Curio* sayled against them out of *Sicilie* with two whole Legions, twelue Galleyes, and many shippes of burden, landing at *Vtica*. He skirmished wpyth certayne *Numidian* horsemen, and put them to flight. He would needs be called generall Captaine, his army beyng yet but entring into armes. This honoz is giuen to Captaines, and the name commeth from the Souldiours, as witnesses to them to be woorthy to be such generals: and thys honour, the Captaines in olde tyme obtained after all and many great assayes. Now as I heare, the limitation to thys title, is to ouerthowe tenne thousande men. Whiles *Curio* was comming by shippe from *Sicilie*, they that were in *Lybia*, thinking that he, for the glozpe of the name, would encampe at a place called *Scipios tentes*, as one that had emulatio of his renoune, they poysoned the water, and were not deceyued of their hope, for *Curio* lodged there, and by and by the army was sicke. They that drunke, had their sight daseled as in a cloude, and heynesse of sleape in the head, many vomites of theyr meate, and a shyncking ouer all their body. Wherefore *Curio* remoued to *Vtica* it selfe, leading his army feeble for sickenesse by a great and strong marish ground: but when they heard of *Caesars* victozy in *spaine*, they toke courage agayne, and placed themselues nigh the sea in a steyght waye, they foughte fiercely there. *Curio* losing but one man, and *Varo* fire hūdyed, and many moe wounded, King *Iuba* coming forth, a false rumour was rayled, that at the floude *Bagrada* not farre off, he returned backe bycause hys kyngdome was invaded of hys neyghbours, leauing hys Lieuetnaunt *Saburra* wpyth a fewe at the floude. *Curio* gyuing credite to thys tale in the seruente heate, at the thirde houre of the day, led the best

part

parte of his armye against *Saburra*, thzough sandy and deserte drye places. For if there were any winter byrke, it was dryed by the heate of the sunne, and the floud was kept of *Saburra*, and the king himselfe yet still present there. *Curio* ranne by to the hill toppes, choked with thirst, & heate. When the enimues sawe him so euill bestadde, they passed the riuer boldly with a readinesse to fyght. *Curio*, very vnwisely and unskilfully wpyth his weake army being compassed with the *Numidian* horsemen, came downe, and for a tyme gyuing place, broughte his menne within a little compasse: but beyng ouercharged, hee fledde agayne to the hyll toppes. *Asinius Pollio* at the beginning of thys businesse, with a fewe, fledde to the campe at *Vtica*, least *Varrus* shoulde attempte any thyng by the noyse of this euill fortune. *Curio* made a desperate fighte, and was killed with all that were with him, so as there was not one left to goe to *Pollio* to *Vtica*. This was the ende of the fighte at the floude *Bagrada*. *Curios* head was cutte off, and brought to *Iuba*. When this mischaunce was knowne to the army at *Vtica*, *Flamma* the Admirall fledde, with hys nauie, before hee receyued any man from the lande. *Asinius* toke a boate and wente to the Merchantes that were at the porke, and prayed them to receyue hys armie, and conuey them away. Some of them in the nighte came forwarde for thys purpose, and the Souldiours wente on with suche number, as some botes were drowned, and they that were vpon the Sea and had money, the Merchantes thzeiue them into the same for couetousnesse thereof. This was their happe vpon the Sea, whiche was littell better by lande to them that were lesse all that nyght, who in the mornynge yelded to *Varo*. But *Iuba* came and sette them all at the wall, and shotte them to death, as the remnant of hys victorie, nothyng regarding though *Varo* prayde hym to the contrarie. Thus the Romaines losse two legions, that sayled with *Curio* into *Libia*, and all the horse, ministers, and venturers of the Campe. *Iuba* returned home, makynge boaste hee had done so greate a feate for hys friende *Pompey*.

The distresse of Curio.

Curio killed.

Flamma fled.

Couetise of Merchants.

Romaine Souldiours shotte to death.

D.g.

At

At this tyme *Antonius* in *Illyria* was overcome of *Octavius* *Dalabella Pompeius* Lieutenant; and another armie of *Caesars* at *Placentia*, did reuolte againste their Captaines, crying that they were holden in long war, and not payed the five poundes which *Caesar* promised them at *Brundise*. *Caesar* hearing of it, came poste from *Massilia*, and thus spake to the souldiours that yet were in a mutenie: What speeche I vse in euery thing, you can witness with me: this warre is holden long, not by vs, but by our enemies that flyeth vs: you that in *Fraunce*, by mine autoritye haue gaped wel, and haue bounde your selues to me, for al this warre, not for a parte, nowe in the myddest of the matter, you forsake me, you doe disobey your Captaines, and goe about to commaunde them, of whome you ought to receyue commaundement: wherfore being a sufficiente witness to my selfe of my former affection vnto you, I will nowe vse *Petrus* Law, and of the ninth Legion, from whence tumulte chieflye arole, I will put to death the tenth man.

Great lamentation was made throughout the whole Region: wherfore these Captaines on their knees prayed hym for pardon. He hardly and at length graunted, and came to this only, that anye that were mooste busie, shoulde bee taken by losse, and twelue of their Captaines of bandes, be put to death: for one of the twelue, whiche was not presente, nor a medler in this mutenie, he caused his accuser to suffer for hym.

After this sorte was the sedition at *Placentia* appeased. *Caesar* went to *Rome*, and the people for feare chose hym Dictator, neyther the Senate allowing it, nor none officer pronouncing it: but hee, refusing that dignitie, eyther as odious, or superfluous, ruling onely eleauen dayes (as some say) appointed Consuls for the reste of the tyme, hymselfe, and *Seruius Iulius*.

The presidents of prouinces eyther he appoynted or altered at his pleasure. *Marcus Lepidus* into *Spain*, *Aulus Albinus* into *Sicilie*, into *Sardania* *Sextus Peducens*, into newe France *Decimus Brutus*, to the people oppressed with famine, he gaue victuals, and at their requeste, pardoned al fugitiues, except *Mithridates*. The people

people desiring also a cutting off of debte, bycause theyngers bare no price, by reason of the wars and seditions, he denyed it them, but he appointed Burueyours of victuals, whiche in this be of the debte, shoulde take order betwene the creditours and y debtores. When he had done this, he sente all his army to *Brundise* in the beade of the winter, and himselfe went forth in December, not taryng for the election of newe officers, tyll the newe yeare that was at hand. The people followed him, and prayed hym to be at one with *Pompey*, for now it was very euident, that he that ouertame woulde be a ruler alone, but he went on, and leste nothing that was to be done with power and speeche.

*Pompey* al this tyme made Ships, and still gathered greater armies, and more money. He toke forth of *Caesars* shippes, in the *Ionian* sea, and wayted for his coming. He exercised his people, ryding and running among them, and doing euery labor beyond his olde yeares, whereby he got much loue, and euery man came to see *Pompeys* exercises, as to a spectacle.

*Caesar* had tenne legions of footemen, and ten thousand French horsemen. *Pompey* hadde five legions, with which hee sailed oute of *Italy*, and as many horsemen, as with them were appointed: two out of *Parthia*, the remnant of them that serued with *Crassus*, & another part that with *Gabinus* invaded *Egypt*. So had he of *Italians* in all eleuen legions and seauen thousande horsemen. His confederates were of *Ionis*, of *Macedonia*, of *Poloponneso*, and *Boetia*, with archers of *Creta*, slingers of *Thracia*, and all other that vse artillerie aboute *Pontus*. Some horsemen of the weaste French, some of the east, of the *Sirians* sent by *Antiochus*, *Cilicians* and *Capadocians*, and some of *Armenia* the lesse, *Pamphilia* and *Cyprida*, not al for the fight, but for garrisons, munitions, and other seruices of y *Italian* army. Thus he thoughte good to vse the that none of the *Italians* shoulde be drawne from the daye of battell. This was his army by land.

By Sea hee hadde fyre hundred Gallies furnished at the ful, whereof one hundred were of Romaines conduct, whyche hee appoynted to leade the other, and many bulkes and other ships of burden, with dyuers Admiralls, whereof *Marcus Bibulus* was

Caesar to the se-  
ditions Saul  
Pompey

Caesar with  
winter vvaire.

Caesars army.

Pompeys army.

was chiefe.

When al these thyngs were prepared, he assembled as many  
 Senatours and Romaine Gentlemen, as were present, and all  
 the army into a place where he might be harde, & thus said unto  
 them. The *Atheniens* also (& friends) dydde leaue their Citie  
 to fighte for their libertie, agaynst them that spoyled it, they  
 thinking, not houses, but men to be their Citie. In doyng of  
 the whyche, they recouered it againe, and shortly made it more  
 glorious. Our progenitoys likewise, when the *Frenche* Celtes  
 invaded, forsooke the Citie, which *Camilus* comming from *Ar-*  
*dea* did restore agayne. All wyse men thynke their Countrey  
 to be, where their libertie is: whyche wee considering, haue  
 sayled hither, not leauyng oure Countrey, but preparyng for  
 it, and unalpe to defend it, agaynst him that doeth violently  
 invade it, and by corruption, and taketh Italy desolated, whom  
 you haue declared an enemy, he now sends presidents into your  
 Provinces, appoynteth some Gouernours in the Citie, and some  
 in the Countrey. By this insolencie hee hath taken from the  
 people their authoritie, and if he doth this, being yet in contri-  
 tion, and with feare, and as one, that with Gods helpe, shal bee  
 punished for it, what crueltie and violence thinke ye, wyll hee  
 leaue vndone that thus vseth his country, if he get the victorie?  
 Some there be that take his parte for mony, which he gathered  
 in *Fraunce* that belongeth to you, who chose rather to bee slaues  
 to him, than to liue free with vs. I do not refuse the fight with  
 you and for you, but do offer my selfe a souldior or a Captaine,  
 as you wyl vse mee, & if I haue any experience in the war, or a  
 my felicitie vnsported hitherto, I pray the Gods to graunte mee  
 al at this present, & to be such a defender vnto my country in dan-  
 ger, as I haue bin in aduancing the same. Wee oughte to putte  
 oure trust in God, and in our cause, which hath an honest & iust  
 desire of way for the common wealth of our Countrey, & in the  
 abundance of our prouision, both by sea and land, whiche we al-  
 ready haue, & more, in that we shal haue when we take the thing  
 in hand: for al the nations (as a man may say, fro *the East* to *the*  
*Euxine* sea) al *Grecians* & *Barbarians* be with vs, al things *the*  
 friends

friends to *the Romaines* & to me, haue sente armies, weapons, bit-  
 tails, & al other necessities. Therefore go to it cherefully, as to a  
 thing worthy your countrey, your selues, & me, & being mindful  
 of *Casars* dispitifulnesse, with sperte full that shal be appointed  
 you. This he said. Al the army, and as many Senatours & Gen-  
 tlemen as were there, which was a greate and a goodly company,  
 with one voice did praise hym, & prayed hym to leade them as he  
 thought good. Then he set some ships to keepe the sea, and sente  
 his army to winter at *Macedonia*, thinking *Cesar* woulde defer  
 sayling ouer till after winter, the tyme being harde, and the seas  
 rough, and haue remayned at *Rome*, bycause he was Consul, and  
 settle his rule there: so far amisse did he coniecture of that that  
 was to come, for *Cesar*, as I sayd before, in the midst of winter  
 did go to *Brundise*, supposing he should most amaze his enemies,  
 by commyng on the sodayn. Therefore neither hauing victuall,  
 nor prouision, nor all his army there, he called the that were pre-  
 sent to an assembly, and thus said vnto them:

Neither the hardenesse of the tyme, (& friends) that is, the  
 wyth mee in this moste noble enterpryse, neyther the delay of  
 others, nor the want of conuenient preparation, doe wythdraw  
 me from my purpose: for surely I thinke that expedition is the  
 best way for me, and we that be firste here, to go first on with  
 the matter. As for seruants, carriage and baggage, I thinke it  
 beste to leaue behynde vs, that the shippes that be nowe here,  
 may receiue vs only as passengers, and we deceiue oure enni-  
 mies, and sette good fortune agaynst euil tyme, bold courage, a-  
 gaynst our smal number, and our enemies plenty, agaynst our  
 penury, all the which shall be in oure power, if wee thinke no-  
 thing to be our own, but that we shall winne by force. Let vs  
 go therfore agaynst their slaues, their prouision and victualles,  
 whiles they be in houses for feare of winter weather. Lette vs  
 goe whiles *Pompey* trusts that I spende the winter in shewes  
 and sacrifices of a Consul. You knowe that I take the chiefe-  
 point in warres, to be attempts of the sodayne. It is honoura-  
 ble to preuent the first opinion of thyngs to come, and to foresée  
 sure receipt there, for the *the* solow vs next. I haue thoughte this  
 tyme

*Pompey* Oration.

The *Atheniens*  
 take their Citie  
 by the parciality  
 of *Themistocles*.

*Camilus* Oration.

*Pompey* is de-  
 ceit-  
 ed in *Casars*  
 doing.

*Cesar* to his  
 souldiours.

Expedition.

Attempts  
 dayne.

„time meeter to haſt, than to ſtay: that Pompey, who thinks I am  
„yet at Rome, aboute my Conſulſhip, may ſee me at hys campe,  
„and though he that I am wel assured of youre good willes, yet I  
„tarry for your anſwere.

All the army cryed with great vehemencie, that hee ſhoulde  
leade them forth. Then he came from hys ſeate, and had them  
to the ſea, being ſixe legions of ſotemen, and ſixe hundred horſe-  
men choſen, lying at anker, bycauſe of the roughe ſeaſ.

The winter Summe was at the loweſt, and the winde kepte  
hym backe agaynſte hys will and euill content, who tarried at  
*Brundis*: till the firſt day of the newe yeare. Then came there to  
hym two legions more, whome he conueyed ouer that winter in  
hulkes, for he hadde but ſewe Gallies, and they were leſte for  
the cuſtody of *Sicilie* and *Sardinia*. He was by tempeſt driuen to  
y mount *Cerauno*, from whence he ſent hys nauy backe to fetch  
the reſte of hys army. He in the night went to the Citie of *Orico*,  
and for the hard, ſtraighte, and rocky way, was compelled to di-  
uide his army into many partes, as the ſharpenesse of the coun-  
trei myghte ſerue, ſo as if hys commyng had bene knowne, hee  
might eaſily haue bin kept backe. Aboute the breake of the day,  
with muche ado, he gathered his army together.

The people of the Citie ſaide vnto the Gouernoz, that it was  
not lawfull to keepe oute the Romaine Conſull when he came,  
therfore the Gouernour deliuered the keyes to *Caſar*, and conti-  
nued wth hym in place of honoz.

*Lucerius* and *Minutius* on the other ſide of *Orico*, wth eighten  
Galleis to guarde the viſuall that came by ſhippe to Pompey,  
drownded their ſhips, that *Caſar* ſhoulde not take them, and fled  
to *Durazzo*. From *Orico* *Caſar* went to *Appolonia*, where he was  
receyued of the Citizens, and *Stamerius* the Gouernour left the  
Citie.

Where *Caſar* calling hys ſouldiours togyther, putte them in re-  
membzaunce, what they had done by good fortune in the harde  
winter: they were Lords of the ſea without ſhippes, they hadde  
wonne *Orico* and *Valona*, without fight: they had gotten their e-  
nemies things, Pompey being yet ignorant, *Powe* (ſayeth he) if

„we can catch *Durazzo*, whiche is the Baron of Pompeys proui-  
„ſion, all is in our handes, that they haue bin labouring for an  
„whole Sommer. When he had ſayd thus, he ledde them wth  
ſpede to *Durazzo* a long way, reſting neyther day nor nyght.  
Pompey hearyng this, came with great haſt from *Macedonia*, cut-  
ting downe the trees as he went, to ſtoppe the way to *Caſar*. Hee  
pulled downe bridges, and burnt all prouiſion by the way, thin-  
king it (as it was in dede) to be a good deuice, for to haue onely  
that preparation that mighte ſerue himſelfe. If any doubt, fyre,  
or ſmoke were ſene to eyther of them a farre off, thinking it had  
bin of the contrary part, they ſtroue who ſhoulde runne ſaſteſt,  
ſparing no time, neyther from meate nor ſleepe. Haſt there was  
and ſpede, with crying out vpon them that ledde the way to the  
lightes, whereof grew diſorder and feare, as the enimies had bin  
at their heeles: ſome for wearineſſe threw downe their burthens,  
or withdrew themſelues aſide into ſome corners, thinking it  
better to be leſte behinde with preſent reſt, than to goe on to it,  
without feare of the enimie. Both ſides taking theſe paynes,  
Pompey came firſte to *Durazzo*, and encamped at the walles. By  
his ſhaue he gotte *Orico* agayne, and gaue, better guard for the  
ſea. *Caſar* lay ouer againſt Pompey, the ſtoud *Alore* flowing be-  
twene them. There were diuers ſkirmiſhes by them that paſſed  
the ſtoud, but they neuer broughte forth their whole power, for  
Pompey did trayne his yong ſouldoyers, and *Caſar* looked for the  
reſt from *Brundis*. He thoughte, that if they came forth in the  
ſpyng in greate ſhippes, they could not eſcape the Gallies of  
Pompey, that ſcowerd the ſeas, and wayted for them: but if they  
did come forth in Winter, when the enimie muſt many tymes  
take the Ilands for their harborough, they might eſcape them,  
or by the winde or their waighte, mighte paſſe through them,  
wherebpon he ſente for them with great haſt, and bycauſe they  
came not when he looked, he purpoſed himſelfe to goe to them,  
for that they woulde not ſo ſone come with an other, and kepte  
his determination ſecrete. He ſente three of his ſeruants to the  
ſtoud, twelue furlongs off, to hire a ſwifte beſſell of good prouſe,  
as for one that ſhoulde be diſpatched from *Caſar*. He roſe from the

10.

table,

Caſar ſtayed  
by weather.

Orico.

Caſar hath Orico,  
a Citie of ſpirus  
in the marches  
of Macedonia.

Tiberius it is  
Stamerius in the  
Greeke

Durazzo hath  
bin long in the  
Turkes hands,  
but lately it  
was gotten by  
the Venetians.

Pompey ſenteth  
hail to Durazzo.

Haſt with  
conſolation.  
Pompeys army.

Pompey cometh  
to Durazzo be-  
fore Caſar, and  
getteth agayne  
Orico.  
Alore ſtoud.

table as not well at ease, and had his friends sitte still. He put on a private garment, & in a Coach came to the Ship, as he that was sent of *Caesar*: in the rest he vseth his seruantes to call on, he being wapt, and for the night altogether unknowne. The wind was very rough, & the seruantes exhorted the maister to make hast, & they might escape their enemies which were at hand. The maister passed the flood very speedily, with the strength of oares, but when he came to the mouth of y<sup>e</sup> flood, the waues of y<sup>e</sup> sea beating against it with boisterous billowes, and he, as though the enemy had folowed, labouring to y<sup>e</sup> uttermost, & nothing preuailed, gaue it quite ouer. The *Caesar* bewaid himselfe, & said aloud, Be bold, stande against the storme, thou carrest *Caesar*, and *Caesars* fortune. The Marriners amazed at y<sup>e</sup> voyce, receiued courage againe, and by very force gotte the Ship out of the floodes mouth, but by the rage of y<sup>e</sup> sea, and y<sup>e</sup> billowes y<sup>e</sup> were bigge, the Ship was driuen to y<sup>e</sup> shoze. Day drawing nere, the marriners were afrayd to be spied of the enemies, but *Caesar* cursed his enuious fortune, & bade the shipmaister turne home againe, which was quickly done, the wind seruing through the flood. Some blamed *Caesar* for his boldnesse, some accused him, as taking a thing in hand scarcely fitte for a souldiour, much lesse for a generall. Nowe he perceiuing he could be no more unknowne, sent *Posthumus* to sayle in his place, and bid *Gabinus* bring the army by Sea, and if they refused him, to come with *Antonio*, or with *Caldus*, and if all these sayled, hee had letters to the rest, that they should folow *Posthumus*, and take land where they could get it, and not care for the ships, for he had made of men, & not of ships. Thus did *Caesar* trust in fortune, contrary to reason: Pompey intending to take y<sup>e</sup> aduantage, brought forth his people to fight, and two of his souldiers passing y<sup>e</sup> flood where it was lowest, one of *Caesars* came againste them, & killed the both, wherefore Pompey retired, not liking that lucke, seyrning to al other to lese a very good oportunitie. *Posthumus* sayled safe to *Munduse*, but *Gabinus*, not obeying y<sup>e</sup> commandement, would needs leade as many as folowed him through *Slawonia*, withoute anye rest, all the which were almost slayne by the *Illirians*, which *Caesar* suffered, for the necessitie of time. *Antonio* by shippe brought the other

*Caesar* becometh  
secretly from  
D. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.  
and amide.

*Caesar* becometh  
secretly from  
D. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.  
and amide.

*Caesar* is bla-  
med.  
*Caesar* sendeth  
for his men.

*Antonio*.

One of *Caesars*,  
killeth two of  
*Pompeys*.

*Pompey* retireth.

*Gabinus* loseth  
men in *Slawonia*.

other toward *Patona*, with good and full winde, but about midday the winde waring calme, twenty of *Pompeys* Ships that scoured the seas espied him, & came vpon them, whom that calme werc in great feare, least the Remmes of the Gallies should bore the or drowne them, and vying the best way, made ready their darts & slings to keepe the off, when suddainely, a greater wind than the first arose, whiche they took, and with their maine sayle passed through beyond their hope. The other being tossed with y<sup>e</sup> storme & the wind, making raging seas, were scattered and driuen to the rocky shozes, only two of *Caesars* were taken falling vpon y<sup>e</sup> flats. *Antonio* brought y<sup>e</sup> rest to a place called *Symplegades*, now had *Caesar* al his army, and so had *Pompey*. They encamped the one against the other vpon hill toppes, making forts and munitions, about the which there was many assaults and skirmishes, the one seeking to oppresse the other, and at one of these skirmishes, where *Caesar* me had y<sup>e</sup> warre. *Scilla*, a Captaine, very notable for his valiantnesse, was stricken in the eye with a dart, whiche done, he leapt before the ranke, making take of silence, as though he would haue lide somewhat. When he called to a Captaine of *Pompeys*, who was esteemed noble, and sayd vnto him, *saue one lyke thee, saue thy friends*, and some that may leade me away by hand, bycause I am hurt: two men came running to him as a fugitive, of whome the one he killed right out, the other he cut off his shoulder. This hee did, being in doubt both of himselfe, and of the fort. The other being ashamed of their fault, came againe lustily, and recouered their fort. The great valiantnesse also of *Minutius* a trenchkeeper did help much, for in his Target they say was found xx. darts, & he wounded in by places, beside the losse of one eye also, both the which *Caesar* did honoz with great gifts, appertaining to souldiers. He thought to haue had *Lurazzo* by treason, & came in the night to the gates with a fewe at the Temple of *Diana*. This winter, *Pompeys* father in law did bring another army from *Syrri*, with whome *Cornel Calpurnius* did encounter, and was overcome, losing a legion of eyght hundred. Now *Caesar* had nothing by sea, all being kepte by *Pompeys* pause, wherefore his armye was in great want, and ate bread made of grasse and waxes, whiche

*Caesar* shippes  
escape *Pompeys*  
Galleys.  
*Pompey* as had  
seem valiant  
nesse.

This Souldier  
as *Caesar* veyght  
teeth of him, re-  
ceyued 1200.  
Dartes on his  
Shield, and 250.  
pricks, and 70.  
wounds on his  
bodye at thys  
tyme, and as af-  
ther in trace,  
when his head-  
peece was bro-  
ken, and he hurt  
in the face, and  
in the thigh, his  
shielde stricken  
downe, his  
sword broken,  
he leapt into the  
Sea, armed as he  
was, and came  
safe to *Caesar*,  
crying *parce mi*  
*parce*, bycause  
it was a fault to  
bee vnnamed.  
*Plutarch* telleth  
of such another,  
vvhich *Caesar* was  
in Englande, and  
hee nameth one  
*Isilius*, but no-  
thing is sayde of  
*Minutius*. The I-  
talian translation  
addeth more, &  
othervise than  
is in the Texte.  
*Minutius*, he  
should seeme  
that one is take  
for another.  
*Caesar* lo'eth a  
legio of *Calpurnius*  
*Caesar* in vvaunte.

*Plut.* The  
vveede that  
groweth of a  
tree. He calleth  
it *Chara*.

Caesar's words  
for the want of  
Caesar's men.

Pompey refused  
the fight.

The enterprise  
of Caesar.

Eight furlongs  
maketh a myle.

A fight.

Caesar repulsed.

Fear of Caesar's  
arm.

Pompey's victory  
not followed.

certaine fugitiues shewed to Pompey as a good token, but he  
joyed nothing at it, but sayde, *with what beastes doe we fighte?*  
Caesar being driuen by necessitie, broughte forth the all his army, to  
force Pompey to fighte, but he, though many of his newe Castles,  
were thereby abandoned, yet would not stirre, wherewith Caesar  
being maruellously græued, toke in hand an enterpryse, both dif-  
ficult and strange, and that was, to environ Pompey's Camp from  
Sea to Sea, which as it was a great thing to do, so if it toke not  
place, yet should it carrie a fame of glozy for the noble enterpryse,  
for it was a thousande and two hundred furlongs, and yet he  
toke it in hand. Pompey made Countreworckes and walles. And  
thus both busied themselves to defeat the other, and at the last  
there was a great fight betwene them, in the which Pompey dyd  
very valiantly ouerthrowe Caesar's Souldiours, and followed the  
fleeing to their Campe. He toke many of their ensignes, and the  
Eagle, which is the chiefe Standerd to the Romaines with much  
ado was saued by the bearers regarde, and throwne into the  
Trench. This fleeing being so notozious, Caesar came on with a  
nother company, whiche was no lesse afayde, for though Pompey  
were a good way off, yet could they not abide his sighte, nor stay,  
though they were hard at their Camp, neyther goe in order, nor  
obey Caesar's commaundements, but euery one fledde whether he  
could, neuer looking backe, without shame, without commaunde-  
mente, or reason. Caesar ranne about, and with rebuke did shewe  
them, that Pompey was farre off, and beheld them how they threw  
downe their ensignes, and fledde. Some with muche adoe stode  
still as men amazed, looking on the ground for shame, such a con-  
fusion fell vpon them. There was one that turned his ensigne,  
and thrust the point againste the Generall, who was killed of  
Caesar's gard. They went into the Camp, did not returne to their  
places, but left all forsaken. and the Trench vnkept. It was  
then thoughte, if Pompey had come forth with his power, he had  
made an end of all the warre, with y<sup>e</sup> one feate: but *Lauinius* (God  
so working it) perswaded him rather to pursue them that fledde,  
and he somewhat sloth of himselfe, or peraduenture distrusting  
that some traynes hadde bin layde in the Campe for him, or by  
cause

cause he contemned to do it, as though the warre were nowe en-  
ded. He set vpon them that were yet abroade, wherof he kyled  
many, and that daye in two fightes he toke eyght and twenty  
Banners, leauing the other occasion, that mighte haue made an  
ende of all, which Caesar could not denye, but that that day had en-  
ded the warre, if his enimies could haue vsed the victoery.

Pompey ioyfull of this victoery, sente letters of it to Kings and  
Cities, and thoughte that Caesar's Souldiours would haue reuol-  
ted vnto him, oppressed with famine, and ouerthrowe in fighte,  
and specially his Captaynes for feare of their offence, but they  
(God working repentance in them) lamented their faulte, and  
where Caesar rebuked them gently, and gave them pardon, they  
were the more angry with themselves, and with a mutation be-  
yond reason, required him, after their Countrey manner, to take  
them out by lotte, and to kill euery tenth man. But when Caesar  
would not graunt to that, they were the more græued, and con-  
fessed he was vniustly inured by them, and cryed, that the  
ensigne bearers mighte be punished, as though they shoulde not  
haue fledde, if the standers had not turned. Caesar would not grant  
to this neyther, but punished a fewe for a fashion, whereby so  
great a courage through this moderation entred into them, as  
they desired him he would forthwith set vpon his enimies, and  
very earnestly they exhorted and encouraged him to it, promising  
to amend their fault with a notable victoery, and they resorted to-  
gyther in heapes, and swore in Caesar's syghte neuer to returne  
from the fiede, vnlesse they gotte the syghte. His friends wy-  
shed hym to vse thys repentance and promptnesse of the armye,  
but he sayde vnto the multitude, that he would at a better o-  
portunitie leade them againste their enimies, and badde them  
then remember thys forwardnesse. But to hys friends he sayde,  
that befoze he dyd that, he must take out of theyr heartes the  
feare that was in them for the late losse, and to tarrie, tyll the  
fiercenesse of the enimie were abated: then dyd he confesse, that  
he had erred, in placing his Campe at *Dirrachio*, where all Pom-  
pey's preparation was, and that, it behoued hym to seeke other  
places, and draw Pompey where he myghte haue the lyke wante.

Repentance of  
Caesar's Souldy-  
ers.

Caesar's mildnesse  
in punishmentes.

Caesar's re-  
uerence.

Which

which

which when he had sayd, he wente straighte to *Vetona*, and from thence to *Thessaly* secretly by night. *Gomphie* a little Citie that woulde not receyue him, he tooke in his rage, and gaue it to his souldyers to spoyle. The souldyers that had bin long pyned, filled themselves of all things excellently, and were drunke out of measure, especially the *Germanes* were iested at for their drunkennesse. And now againe it was thought, that *Pompey* mighte haue come on, and done some notable feate, but he by negligence, biterly omitted to stirre, till *Cesar* had marched seauen dayes, and camped at *Pharsalia*. In *Gomphie* they say was scene a notable chance, dead bodies of noble old men, did lie openly in a *Whisittians* shoppe, with cuppes in their hands, without woundes, to the number of twenty, as though they hadde bin invited to a dymning, lying all vpon the ground, and one sitting in a chayre as a *Whisittian*, that gaue them the potion of excretion.

*Pompey* made a counsell concerning *Cesars* removing. *Afranius* was in opinion, that the *Paup* which was great, should be sent against *Cesar*, they being *Lords* of the *Sea*, he myghte cutt off things from hym, being in want, and in a wandring iourney, and that *Pompey* hymselfe should leade the army of the lande into *Italy*, whiche was yet enclined vnto him, and boyle of enmyes, and so being *Lorde* of it, *France* and *Spain*, he mighte deale with *Cesar* at home from the principall parte. But he neglecting this that had bin best to haue bin done, followed them that said, that *Cesars* army by and by would forsake him for famine, or not long lyke to hold out, for the victory wonne at *Durazzo*, whereas contrarywise, it should be a great shame to leaue *Cesar* slaying, and that he that had ouercome, should seme to fle, as though he were overcome. He giuing place to these reasons, and for the regarde that he had of the nations of the *East*, that depended vpon hym, and fearing least *Lucius Scipio* should receyue any harme in *Macedonia*, and before all, hauing a mind to vse his army, that was so couragious to fight, he remoued, and set his Camp against *Cesar* at *Pharsalia*, about foure miles asunder.

So *Pompey* victual was brought fro euery place, for the ways, the portes, and storehouses, were so open vnto him, that by land

*Gomphie* giuen in  
spoyle, the firste  
City in *Thessaly*,  
going fro *Epico*.

*Germanes* in *Cesar*  
first time, a  
drunke people.

*Cesar* encampeth  
at *Pharsalia*, be-  
fore *Pompey* ar-  
riued from  
*Durazzo*.  
The vntilling  
death of diuers  
at *Gomphie*.

*Afranius*.

Discreetie of  
opinion.

Both *Cesar* and  
*Pompey* encamp  
at *Pharsalia*.

He lacked nothing, and by sea, whatsoeuer winde blew, it serued his turne.

*Cesar* hadde onely suche foode as he coulde get by dayly force, and yet none of his did forsake him, but by a diuine instinct, required they mighte geue battell, thinking themselves to be farre better than the other yong souldyours, bycause they had serued in the warres tenne yeares together. But now to spende the tyme in making of mountes and trenches, and cariage of victuall, they were the weaker, bycause of theyr age, therefore it was better to trye all at once with labour, than by tolence to punish with famine. When *Pompey* vnderstode this, he thought it dangerous to deale wyth such experte men, that cared not for themselves, and to aduenture all at one worke against *Cesar*s noble fortune. He thought it surer, and lesse dangerous, to consume them wyth want, hauing no power to be releued by land, nor no vse of the *Sea*, nor not a shyppe to conuey themselves away at a neede. Thus he determined by very good reason to delay the warre, and to drawe them from famine to famine: but the greater number of *Senatours*, and of them called *Gentlemen* that were most honored, the *Kyngs* and *Princes* that were with him, some for lacke of experience, some for folishe hardynesse for theyr victory at *Durazzo*, some, bycause they were greater in number, and some, bycause they woulde rather haue a short conclusion, than an honozable ende, and some, bycause they were weary of the warre, all exhorted him to the fyghte, shewing that *Cesar* dyd allwayes prouoke hym, and invite hym to it: but he dyd vse that reason against themselves, for to *Cesar* it was necessary so to doe, but to them, delay, till occasion, was muche better, for neede droue *Cesar* to doe as he dyd. But being still incensed by all the armye, that was weary proude for the victory at *Durazzo*, and by the best sorte that objected ambition vnto hym, and therefore of purpose was so slowe, that he myghte beare rule ouer so many as good as hymselfe, and thereupon called him *Kyng*, and *Agamemnon*, bycause he commaunded *Kynges* in the warre: he left hym owne consideration, and gaue place to theirs,

Abundance  
wyth *Pompey*.

V Vant vnto  
*Cesar*.  
Courage of *Cesar*s  
souldiours.

The request of  
*Cesar*s souldiours.

*Pompey*s consideration good,  
but not followed.

*Pompey* called  
*Agamemnon*.

(God.

Pompeys altera-  
tion.

(God striking him now) and all the rest of that warre. He grew sickly and slowe, contrary to his nature in all things, unwillingly he prepared for the fight, to his owne destruction, and then that gaue him counsell. *Caesar* that nyght, hadde sente three legions to gette victuals, thanking *Pompey* for his delay, and thinking he would not haue changed his minde. He had also sente aboute for more foode, but when he hearde that *Pompey* prepared for the battell, he knewe he dyd it of necessitie, and that he was dyuen to it by force of his armye, he called his armye forth, wyth, and dyd prepare lyke wyse. He at midnight made Sacrifice to *Mars* and to *Venus* his auncestors, for from *Iulius*, *Aeneas* sonne, it shoulde seme by the name, that the house of *Iulius* came. He vowed to dedicate a Temple vnto hir in *Rome*, if she fauoured him, and broughte him victorie.

Petigree of  
*Caesar* from  
*Venus*.

A lightning.

A lightning came from Heauen, and wente from *Caesars* Camp to *Pompeys*, and there was extinct. *Pompeys* syde thoughte some notable thyng shoulde come from their enemies to them, but *Caesar* dyd expounde it, that he shoulde quenche *Pompeys* glorie. That same nyght when *Pompey* did Sacrifice, the host fledde away, and coulde no more be found. And a swarme of Bees lighted vpon the Altar, whiche is a little and a stinging flye. And befoze daye, there came a straunge feare in the Campe, the whiche *Pompey* came to searche, and after fell into a deepe sleepe, and beeyng awaked of his friendes, he tolde them he dreamed he had dedicate a Temple at *Rome* to *Venus* the Victoize, not knowyng that *Caesar* hadde vowed the same.

Tokens.

Pompeys dreame

His friendes and all the host put trust in these thynges, and were glad of them, and as they vied all thynges with too much contempte and fiercenesse, so wente they to thys battayle, as though all had bin theyr owne. Many dyd decke their Tentcs with Bayes, as token of victorie, and their seruantes prepared good chere for them, and some dyd contende for *Caesars* office of hygh Priest, all the which, *Pompey*, as a man experte in warre, dyd mislike, and though he were troubled, yet did he dissemble it, and helde his peace with doubt and feare, as he that nowe dyd no more rule, but was commaunded of other, bycause of force, and

The securitie  
of *Pompeys*  
army.

and againste his wyll, he did all thynges. So great a discouragement to so noble a man, that til that day, had allwayes had prosperous hap, seemed on the sodaine to fall vppon him, eyther for that he was not folloved when he gaue good counsell, but was dyuen to put the liues of so many in hazarde, and his owne glory, which he had kepte till that day vnspotted, or for that he had some diminution of the euil, wyth feare that was at hande, that that day he shoulde fall from so great a Lordship, onely to his friends thus he sayde: That whosoever had the victorie that day, shoulde be cause of great calamitie to the Romaines for euer. He set order for the battell, and by his wordes that he spake in that feare, many dyd gather that if he had wyne that day, he wold not haue giuen ouer the rule.

Pompeys altera-  
tion.

Of the number that they had, whereof manye speake vncertainely, I will followe the Romaine Authours that write most reasonably of the Italians, in whome was the chiefe truste, not regarding or speaking much of the confederates, in whom they had little affaunce.

Caesars numbers.

Pompeys number.

*Caesar* had two and twenty thousande, and in them aboute a thousand horse. *Pompey* had double as many, and seauen thousand horse: so they that speake likely, say there was at thys battell. lxx. M. Italians: they that write lesse, threescore thousand: they that make moste, foure hundred thousande, whereof some saye, that *Pompey* had three parts, and some, that of three parts he had two.

Thus doubtfully haue they left the matter: but how many soeuer they had, their chiefe trust was in the Italians.

Of Strangers *Caesar* had French horsemen, and also French men beyond the Alpes, of Grecians, Dolopians, Acarnians, & Aetolians. These helpes had *Caesar*.

*Pompey* had all the nations of the East, in heape both of horse and footmen, of Grecians, he hadde the Lacedaemonians distributed vnder their owne kynge, the reste were Peloponnesians, and with them the Boetians. The Athenienses also came to thys warre, althoughe both sides proclaymed they shoulde not be harte, as the sacred men of the lawemakers, drawn thither by the glory of this battayle, wherein they should fighte for the

Confederates of  
*Pompey*.Pandalia  
Morea.

A.

Empire

Empire of the Romaines.

After the Greeks, there were but fewe of all the sea towarde the East, but the inhabitours came to Pompey, Thracians, Hellespontians, Bithinians, Phrygians, Ionians, Lydians, Pamphilians, Mysidians, Daphlagonians, Cilicians, Syrians, Pheniceans, and a nation of Hebrewes, Arabians also nigh unto these, Cyprians, Rhodians, Slingers of Creta and other Ilanders. Kings and Princes also came to pay hym. *Deiotarus* the Tetrarche of the Caste Galatians, *Ariarathes* King of *Capadocia*, the Armenians wythin *Euphrates*, *Taxiles* did leade the Armenians beyonde *Euphrates*, *Magabates* lieutenant to *Artabazus* the King. Other inferiour Lordes resorted to this trauaile, beside threescore shippes of Egypt, sente of the Princes of the same, *Cleopatra* and hir brother, being yet a childe. But these were not used in the warres, nor anye of the other shippes, but all laye ydely at *Corcyra*, wherein it seemeth that Pompey did euill, to neglect so great a navy, wherewith he myghte haue defeated his enemies of all thynges: but he trusted vpon his armye by land, and woulde trye it wyth them that for theyr continuance wyth long experience were full of courage, and as sauage people greedy of the fight. But to beware of them, the mishap, by Gods working, at *Durazzo* seemeth to be the impediment, which to *Caesar* was the fittest opportunitye of all other. For by that Pompeys armye waxed insolent, and made little accompte of their Capitayne, and toke in hande this matter verie vnskillfully. But God hadde so appoynted it, that it shoulde come, to suche a state, as it is nowe ouer all. When epyther of them assemblyng theyr armyes, exhorted them, and firste Pompey said thus:

" You (my fellows Souldiours) do now commaunde as Capitaynes, and not obey as Souldiours: For whereas I would haue consumed *Caesar*, you wyl needes call vpon the syghter: therfore as appoynters of the battayle, vse it, as the more, may do the lesse, and as vanquishers contemne them that be vanquished, and as the yong despise the olde, and as the lusty may the feeble. You haue of youre syde power, preparation,

tion, and conscience of the cause, for you trauaile for libertie, & your country, with law and good opinion, with such men as be Senators and Gentlemen, agaynste one man that woulde vsurpe a gouernment. Go to therfore as becommeth, with good hope, and haue in your sight the fleeing away they made at *Durazzo*, and howe many of their ensignes we toke that day. This side Pompey, but *Caesar* to his men spake thus.

The hardest (my friends) we haue ouercome, for in steade of hunger and wante, we fight wyth men. This day determineth all, remember your promise at *Durazzo*, and what you sware one to another in my presence, that you woulde not returne, but victors. These be they (my Souldiours) whome we haue followed from the pillers of *Hercules*. These be they that fledde from vs Italy. These be they that after oure tenne yeares seruice, after so many enemies and victories as harde to be tolde, wome of vs, after Spayne, Fraunce, and Britaine, broughte by vs to oure Countrey, and well nigh fouertye Realmes, doth oppresse vs without rewarde, triumphe, or recompence. These be they whome I coulde not perswade, desiring but ryghte, to be wel thought of for my well doing. You knowe whome I deliuered vnhurt, hoping that we might haue had some iustice at their handes. Of all these, be all you together with me reuengers this day, euen as you knowe my carefulnesse, my faithfulness, and my free liberalitie, it is no harde matter for yong souldiours brierpette to be ouercome of them that paines haue past, and well bin tried by pzoofe. See the youthfull contempte and disdain of the armye agaynste the Capitayne, so the distrust of hymselfe, whome I certainly knowe to goe to this seate with vnwilling minde, and full of feare, falling from his conditions, is giuen to ease and slouthfulness, and nowe not a ruler, but ouer ruled of other. And thus much thinke, that I haue spoken vnto you of his Italians, for as for his confederats, care not for them, nor make any accompte of them, nor offer any earnestte syghte to them, that be slaues of Syria, Phrygia, and Lydia, are ener ready to run away, and be kept vnder, whom I

A.ij.

certaine

Caesars Oration.

*Deiotarus.*  
*Ariarathes.*  
*Taxiles.*

*Magabates.*

*Cleopatra.*

*Corcyra.*

*Pompeys Oration.*

certaynlye knowe, and you shall euidently see, that Pompey wyll not vse in ordered place of battayle. Myle haue eie of the Italians, and if the confederates runne vppon you like rude dogges: downe with them, and spare the other as youre kinsmen, and vse your confederats, soz to asfay them. But before al things, remember. I maye see you perscurme that you haue promised, and that you maye chose cyther victoize or deathe, pull downe youre Campe, and all the trenches, that wee may haue nothing, vnlesse wee wyne it, lette oure enimies see that we be without Campe, and that of necessitie, wee muste encampe in theyrs.

When he had thus saide, hee sente oute two thousande verye olde Souldiours, that had the charge of the Campe, who wnt forth and digged downe the trenche wyth a deepe silence, and filled the ditches.

Pompey lighteth.

When Pompey sawe that, and some thoughte they made way to flee, he perceyued the holde determination, and with a syghe sayde vnto hymselfe, that this syght shoulde be with wild beasts oppressed with fainn, a fit medicine for the. But now there was no more dallyng, the thing being come to the swordes pointe, therefore he set aboute saure thousande to keepe the campe, and placed the reste betwene the towne of *Pharsala* and the floude *Enipeo*. *Caesar* also arayed hymselfe ouer agaynst hym, eyther of them placed the Italians diuided into thre partes, distant a little a sunder, they sette the horsemen on the sydes of them by portions, Archers and Slingers were intermedled with them all.

*Pharsala* the towne vvhare the battel was. *Enipeus* of *Thessaly* and of *Elide*. Italians the chiefe strength of both sides.

Thus were the Italians ordered. In whome eche of them had their chiefe confidence, as for their confederats, they vld them rather for a shew.

Pompey had a greate number of dyuerse language: of them he placed the Macedonians, the Peloponnesians, the Boetians, and the Athenienses, nexte the Italians battayle, because of theyr good order and silence.

The other, euen as *Caesar* coniectured, he commaunded euery nation by it selfe, as warders out of the ray of battel, to compass

Order of Pompeys armye.

the enimie when the fight began, and to pursue them with as much hurte as they coulede, and to put *Caesars* campe to spoyle whiche was voyde of defence. *Scipio* Pompeys father in lawe, did leade the maine batayle in the middelt, *Domitius* the lefte wing, &  *Lentulus* the right, *Aphranius* and Pompey kept the cape.

*Scipio*.  
*Domitius*.  
*Lentulus*.  
*Aphranius*.  
Pompey.

The leaders of *Caesars* hoste, were, *Sylla*, *Antonius*, and *Decimus*. *Caesar*, as he was wonte, ledde the tenth legion, whiche the enimies seying, brought agaynst them the beste horsemen, that beyng moze in number, they shoulde, if they might, encompasse them. When *Caesar* perceyued that, he layd thre thousand of the boldest footemen in ambushment, whome he willed, that when they sawe the enimie goyng aboute to enclose, they shoulde leape forth, and with their pikes dylue as harde as they could, at the faces of them, soz he knew that they being yong and vnerpert, woulde not abyde the peril of the face. Thus did they deuise on bothe sides, and went about in enery place, and when they had gyuen the order, and exhorted them to good hart, they gaue their wordes of knowledg.

*Caesars* order.  
*Sylla*.  
*Antonius*.  
*Decimus*.  
*Caesar*.

*Caesar*. Venus the Conqueresse.

Pompey. Hercules vnconquered.

When all was ready, they stode a good while in a great silence, stirred not, but looked one vpon another, as amazed men whiche shoulde begyne the fight. The multitude that hitherto had no compassion at all, now pitied that so greate an armie of Italians shoulde at once be hazarded, and that their vertue shoulde be tried only vpon themselves, and the chiefe hurte be of Italians agaynst Italians, and now at the very pynche of the mischiese at hande, the desire of glory that had incised and blinded them, was quenched, and conuerted into feare, for when reason vndroughly way the affection of fame, and measured also the danger present, they sawe the cause consisted in the contentio of two men, for whole superfluous all their liues was ventured, so as whither were overcome, coulede not be safe in the surest place, nor a greate multitude of noble men for theyr sakes: they remembered their auncient friendship and affinitie, howe many things they had done to their owne honour and aduance-

The astonishment of bothe armys.

Q. 15.

ment,

The strange  
bushment of  
both sides.

ment, which now did weare their weapons against themselves, & brought all that did serue them, to the like mischiefe, being of one nation, Citizens, kinsmen and allies, yea and some brethren. For so it hapned in this warre, as among so many thousands as were together of one nation, diuerse and strange sectes must happe, whiche, eyther of them now considering, were stricken presently with a great repentaunce, as though in that day, they should be eyther first or last vpon the earth, and were loth to beginne so doubtful a deede, and fell a weeping on both sides. Standing thus and beholding one another, the daye passed: the *Italians* standing in due order with silence continued: but *Pompey* perceyuing his strangers to be troubled with this stay, and doubting least confusion might follow therof, at the beginning, first gaue the token of battayle, and *Caesar* did the like. When the trumpets stroke the sounde of battayle as was required in such a number: beside, in sundry parts, the *Heralds* and the *Captaines*, were at hand to giue encouragement: they marched statelly with astonishment and silence, as men that had ben in many like pastimes: Being at hand, the first charge was giuen with Archers, and Artillery, and soden onsets of horsemen to enclose the footemen. There was to and fro, til *Pompeys* horsemen hauing the better, did enuiron the tenth legion. Then *Caesar*, giuing his token to them that lay in a wayte, they stepped forth against the horsemen, and with their pikes put by, did lay them on the faces: they could not abyde that boldnesse, nor the blowes made at their mouthes and eyes, but confusedly fled away, & then did *Caesars* horsemen enclose the other footemen, being naked, whiche feared to haue bene enclosed themselves. When *Pompey* perceyued this, he commanded the footemen not to moue or stirre from the battaile, nor to throw light weapons, but to stand distant in the forefront, and with their pikes at hande to resist the enemy coming on them. Some praise this policie as the best, against compasing: but *Caesar* in his Epistles both dispraise it, bycause the strokes that are giuen with a mouing vehemence, are mightier, and men by forcing forward, be the bolder, and they y remayne still, were fearefull, and easie to be hitte, as standing markes that are

shotte

The first giue

Policie of Pompey  
not allowed.

shotte at, as then it proued in deed. The tenth legion with him, fiercely following, did beat the bodies of *Pompeys* least battayle, boode of horsemen, and standing still till they put them out of order, and by very force made them to turne, which was the beginning of y victorie in the other multitude. Although there was diuerse and sundry wayes of slaughter and hurting, yet was there not a voyce heard in suche a maine battayle, but sighes only and groanes of them that fell valiantly in their places appointed. The confederates, as though they had come to see them fight a pyle, did marvel at their goodly order, but had no harte (for wondering at them) neyther to enter *Caesars* campe which was kept of a fewe, and they very olde men, nor to do any other thing, but stande and gaze. But when the leste wing of *Pompeys* host did retire by little & little, yet fighting still, the confederates foully fled away, and cryed, we be overcome. They ranne vpon their owne tentes and campes, as though they had bene the others, whiche when they had spoyled, they went their ways as fast as they could. The other *Italian* army perceyuing they had the worse, gaue backe first in order, defending themselves as they might, but the enemy still coming vpon them, as now hauing the victorie, they also turned & fled. *Caesar* then vied great policie, y they should not gather together again, that this laboꝝ might not only make an end of one fight, but of al the war. He sent trumpets about y battels, commaunding the to refrayn fro killing of their countrey men, and continue only agaynst the strangers, & that they should go among the ywer overcome, & byd the stay wout feare. This declaratiō of y crier was lerned fro one mā to another, & was a warning word for *Pompeys* host to stay wout fear: so passing by y other as *Italians* of one language & order, they beat down the strangers not able to resist, & ther was gret slaughter made. After *Pompey* saw this alteratiō, he was astonied & went softly into his caꝝpe, & being come to his tent, he sat down speechlesse, as they say *Aiax Telamonius* did for y grief he suffered in y losse amōg his enemies at y battayle of *Troy*: of the other, very few came into y caꝝpe, for *Caesars* *Heralds* had made the stay wout feare, & being overpassed of their enemies, they might disperse themselves here & there.

The

Pompeys confederates flee.

Caesars policie.

A word to stay.  
Stay without feare.

Pompey amazed and speechlesse.  
*Aiax Telamonius* fell into astonishment for the iudgement giue against him.

*Cæsar* exhorting  
his souldiours  
to make an end.

The day was almost at an ende, and *Cæsar* rode aboute with maruelous payne, praying them that they woulde take yet a little moze labour, til they had gotten *Pompeys* campe, shewyng them that if the enimies returned, they shoulde be winners but of one day, but if they got his campe too, the warre shoulde be ended for euer. He held vp his handes to them, and was the first that ranne towarde it. This did stirre the mindes of them that had weary bodies to see their generall go before them: the victorie of things past, and the hope to gette the campe, with al that was in it, did stir to that againe, and when men be in hope and felicitie, they feele the lesse of labour and extremitie. They went on with great courage, and beate away the warders of the same, whiche when *Pompey* sawe, he onely brake into thys speache after hys long silence, *What, ohres tenres too*, when he had thus spoken, he chaunged hys garment, and leapt on horse with foure frændes, and neuer left running till by breake of day he came to *Larissa*. *Cæsar* (as he threatened) at the giuing of the onset, did lodge in *Pompeys* pavilion, and supped with his prouision, and the rest of hys army did the lyke.

There were slayne in this battell of bothe partes of *Italians* (for the strangers bicause of their multitude and contempt be not numbred) of *Cæsars* armye thirtie captaynes of bandes, & CC. souldiours, or as some say, two thousand and ij. hundred. Of *Pompeys* tenne Senatours, of the whiche was *Lucius Domitius* once appoynted *Cæsars* successour in *Fraunce*, and of them that be called Gentlemen, about fourtie of the best: of the rest of the army, they that make mosse, say, xv. M. But *Asinius Pollio* that was at that fight with *Cæsar*, wryteth that onely five thousande of *Pompeys* was slayne at that battayle. This was the ende of that great fight at *Pharsallo*.

Euery man confessed that *Cæsar* had deserved the firste and seconde honours, and with him the tenth Legion. *Crassinius* a leader of a bande, was thought worthy the thirde, who goyng to y fight, being asked of *Cæsar* what he thought, answered courageously, we shall twisme (*O Cæsar*), and thou shalt finde me here eyther aliue or dead. The army did witnessse, that he going

*Pompey* fleeth.

*Larissa* in *Thessalie*, and in other places.

The losse of *Cæsars*.

*Pompeys* losse. *L. Domitius*. *Cæsar* sayth *Pompey* losse xv. M. by death, and xxv. M. by taking, the reste fledde. *Asinius Pollio*.

Honours of victory.

Valiantnesse of *Crassinius*.

from hand to bande like a man in a surie, did as much as a mā might do. When he was sought for, and found amōg the dead, *Cæsar* did bury him with the ornaments due vnto him, & erected him a Tumbe nygh y comon Sepulchre. *Pōpey* frō *Larissa* wyth lyke spēde went to the sea side, where he toke a little boate, & by chaunce met a shippe a floate, and sayled to *Mitilena*, where he receyued his wife *Cornelia*, and passed with foure Gallies, whiche the *Rodians* and *Tirians* had brought to him. He refused to sayle to *Coryra* and *Libya*, where he had an other great army, & a mighty nauy by sea. He made his course to *Parthia*, thinking to recouer al againe, keeping his purpose close frō his friends, tyll he came with much ado to *Cilicia*. Where they prayed hym to beware of the *Parthians*, whiche had lately ouercome *Crassus*, whereby they were the moze insolent; and that it was not fit to bring *Cornelia*, so saye a woman, among so vntemperate people, especially being *Crassus* daughter. The he deuised whither he shoulde go, into *Egypt*, or to *Iuba* king of *Barbarie*. They thought no good to be had with *Iuba*, therfore they counselled him to go to *Egypt*, a nation nygh, of great dominion, fertyl and abundant of grayne, money, and nauye, whose kings though they were children, yet friends to him for his fathers sake: and so for this cause he sayled into *Egypt*.

At this time *Cleopatra* being elected out of the kingdome by hir brother, to whom she shoulde ioyntly haue raigned, prepared an army in *Syria* againste him. *Ptolomeus* *Cleopatras* brother was at a place in *Egypt* called *Casium*, and did lye in campe to resist his sisters forces, and as fortune wold, *Pompey* was driue thither. When he perceived an army aland, he stayed his ship, and thought, (as it was in dede) that the king was there: hee sent vnto him, to shewe of the amity betwene hys father and him. The king was thirtene yeare olde: one *Achillas* did gouerne his army, and *Phorinus* and *Enuch* was his Treasurer. They beganne to consulte what was beste to be done wyth *Pompey*: There was also *Theodotus* of *Samos*, an Orator and Scholemaster to the king, who dyd perswade the wicked acte to deceyue and kyl *Pompey*, to gratifye *Cæsar*. This counsel pre-

*Pompey* taketh the sea. *Mitilena*, in *Iesbe* novy *Metelin*.

*Pompeys* determination of recovery.

*Cornelia* *Pompeys* wyffe *Crassus* daughter.

*Crassus* an hll at the end of *Nilus*. *Ptolomeus* against *Cleopatra*.

*Achilles*. *Phorinus*. *Theodotus*.

R.

sayled

Sempronius.

uayled, they sent a simple boate as though the roughnesse of y<sup>e</sup> Sea would not suffer a greater. Some of the kings seruantes wente into the boate, and with them *Sempronius* a Romaine, who had serued vnder *Pompey*, and was nowe with the kyng. He offered his hande in the kings name to *Pompey*, and wylled hym to come as to his son and friende. As this was done, the army was set in order, and drew neare the sea as to honoure *Pompey*, and the king was set in the midst in a purple vesture to be sene of all.

*Pompey* suspected all, both the ordering of the army, and the meanes of the vessel: chiefly bycause the king came not toward him, nor sent any of his noble men, he spake a verse of *Sophocles*:

A verse of  
Sophocles.

VWho to a Tiranne goes,  
His slaue he is, though free he rose.

And then he entred y<sup>e</sup> boate. Every man being silent in y<sup>e</sup> passage, he rather suspected, and chiefly *Sempronius*, eyther bycause he knew him to be a Romaine, and hauing serued vnder hym, or bycause he did coniecture it, seeing him only standing, according to souldiours discipline, who doe not set, when the chiefe is by. When he turned to him and sayd, surely I should know thee, O souldier. He nodded at hym agayn, and as he turned, was the first that stroke him, then the other. His wife and friends seeing this a farre off, cried, and held by their handes to the gods reuengers of friendship broken, and sayled away streyght as from enemies lande. They that were about *Photino* cut of *Pompey*'s heade, and kept it for *Caesar* as a great gratification: but he worthily reuenged this wicked deed vpon them. The rest of his body was buried at the sea bancke, and a silly Sepulchre was made, to the which one wrote this Epitaph:

Sempronius a  
Romaine first  
stryketh PompeyPompey cruellye  
killed.

Epitaph of Pompey

Lo here he lyeth in simple graue,  
A Temple that deservde to haue.

In procelle of tyme the graue was couered with sand: and  
certayne

certaine Images of Brass which the inhabitants did afterwarde set vp to *Pompey* vnder the Hill *Castus*, were taken away and layde vpp in a secrete place of a Temple. In my tyme *Adrianus* the Romaine Emperour in hys iourney that way, did cause it to be sought and found out, and made the graue to be amended, so as euery man might see it, and erected the Images that were dedicated to *Pompey*.

Adrianus the  
Emperour resto-  
reth the graue  
of Pompey.

This was the end of *Pompey*, by whom so many great battayles had bene fought, and the Romaine Empire so increased, as he had the surname of Great, neuer being ouercome before, but from his youth still inuincible and happy: and fro thre and twenty to eight and fiftie yeares, he ruled like a king, but in opinion supposed to gouerne like a populaire man, for the emulation of *Caesar*.

Pompey the  
great.

*Lucius Scipio*, *Pompey*'s father in Lawe, and all the other noble men that did escape the battayle, fledde to *Cato* to *Corcyra*, who was generall of another army, and thre hundred Gallies, being left there as a prudent Counsellour. The noblest of *Pompey*'s friendes deuised the saue. *Caesius* sayled to *Pontus* to *Pharnaces*, to stirre him against *Caesar*. *Scipio* and *Cato* wente into *Libya* trusting vppon *Varus* and his army, and *Iuba* king of *Nu- midia* his confederate. *Pompey*, *Pompey*'s eldest sonne, and *Labie- nus* with him and *Scapula*, hauing a part, wente into spaine to make it against *Caesar*, and they got him another army of *Iberi- ans* and *Celtiberians* and slaues to haue the preparation greater: so mighty a power of *Pompey*'s army was yet left, which he, by his infelicite did abandon when he fled away. They that were in *Libya* did chole *Cato* for the general Captaine, who for y<sup>e</sup> presence of such men as had bene Consuls, and others that had bene Lieutenants, and he only a Pretor in Rome, refused the same. So *Scipio* was made general and a great army was gathered and trayned, and these were the chiefe preparations in *Libya* and *Iberia* gathered against *Caesar*.

Corcyra an Island  
in the Ionian  
sea.  
The care of  
Pompey's friends.Pompey's sonne,  
Labienus  
Scapula.Cato chosen ge-  
neral in Libya,  
refuseth.

After the victorie, *Caesar* abode two dayes in *Pharsalo*, sacrificing and recreating his wearye army, and there made the *Thessalians* free that had serued him, and pardoned the

The *Thessalians* made  
free of *Caesar*  
vwho had serued  
him.

R. y.

Athe-

*Athenians* at their sute, vsing these woordes: *Holwe* often hath the glorie of your auncestours saued you, whē you haue deserued destruction:

The third day he remoued towarde the East, following the fame of *Pompeys* flighte, and for wante of Gallies sayled ouer *Hellepont* in little boates.

*Cassius* with his number of Gallies met him as he was going to *Pharnaces*, and although he might with his Gallies haue had the aduantage of those little boates, yet for feare of *Casars* felicitie and valiantnesse, he was amazed, and suspecting that *Cesar* had come of purpose to finde him, he helde vp his handes and came from his Gallies into the boates to aske hym pardon, and deliuer him all his Gallies. So much force had the glorie of *Casars* felicitie, for I see none other reason, nor can iudge any other meane in so great difficultie of time, to haue such fortune that he should so afray *Cassius* a valiant man, comming vpon him with seauentie Gallies vtterly vnprovidid, that he durste not medle with him. For as towarde as he did now yeld vnto him vpo the Sea, so after did he as cruelly kyl him whē he was Lord of all at *Rome*. Wherefore it is euident that he was then ouerbozne with the feare of his felicitie. *Cesar* thus being saued against all hope, and past *Hellepont*, he pardoned the *Ionians*, *Atolians*, and other nations that inhabite greete *Cherroneso*, which by one name is called *Asia* & lower. He forgatue them that sent embassadours to craue it. Understanding that *Pompey* was gone to *Egypt* he went to the *Rhodes*, where he would not tarry for the reste of his armye that was comming to him by parts, but with the Gallies of *Cassius* and the *Rhodes*, and such men as he presently hadde, he toke shippe at night, and sayled forth, not shewing whether, only commaunding the capitaines in the night to follow the light of his shippe, and in the day, the flag of the same: to the maister whereof he commaunded, after he had sayled a good way, to set his course toward *Alexandria*: and so being thre days vpon the sea, he came thither. In this place he was wel receiued of the Kings officers, the King being yet at mount *Cassius*.

*Cesar*

*Cesar* at his comming pretended to haue nothing ado, by cause of his fewe men, but went about the Citie, to beholde the beauty therof, & stood and heard the Philosophers disputations, wher by he wanne muche loue and good fauour of the *Alexandrians*, being among them as one hauing nothing to do. But when his army was come, he layde handes vpon *Photinus* and *Achilles*, and put them to death, for the wickednesse done to *Pompey*, *Theodorus* fled into *Asia*, whome *Cassius* founde there, and caused to be hanged.

The *Alexandrians* were offended herewith, and sette vpon him with the kings army that was there, and made many fights with hym about the kings Palace, and at the sea banke, where *Cesar* was driuen to take the sea, and to swimme a good way.

The *Alexandrians* toke hys cloake and bare it vp as a token of victoery. His last battell was wyth the King hymselfe at the floude *Nilus*, where he ouercame him, and restored the kingdome to *Cleopatra*, after he had bin nine moneths there. When he sayled vpon *Nilus* with foure hundred shippes, in company of *Cleopatra*, for whose pleasure he did many things, all the whiche be particularly tolde in my booke of *Egyptian* matters.

He could not abide to behold *Pompeys* heade that was brought vnto him, but commanded it to be buryed: he also builded a little Temple befoze the Citie, which was called the Temple of Remengement, the which in my tyme when *Traiane* the Emperoure did make warre against the *Iewes*, was pulled downe of them, to serue some turne in the warre.

When *Cesar* had done these things in *Alexandria*, he wente wyth hys army thorough *Syria* against *Pharnace*, who had bin very busy and taken diuerse of the Romaine Provinces, and gotten one victoery of *Domitius* lieutenant to *Cesar*, by the which growing stout he toke *Amyso* a Citie of *Pontus* allied to the Romaines, all the people whereof he solde as slaues and made their children *Cruchs*, but when *Cesar* came, he fled as farre as he coude, and sent to *Cesar* for peace by hys Ambassadors, who brought him a crowne of golde, and offered foolishlye the Kings daughter in marriage to hym.

*R. iij.*

*Hec*

*Hellepont* nowve the streight of *Gallipolie*. The sea betwene *Europe* and *Asia*. *Cassius* a corvynde.

*Cassius*.

*Morea*.

*Cesar* sayleth into *Egypt*.

*Cesar* heareth disputations at *Alexandria*. *Photinus* and *Achilles* kylled.

*Theodorus* hanged.

*Cesar* freed by swimming.

*Cesar* ouercometh the King of *Egypt*. *Cleopatra* restored.

This booke is not extant. *Cesar* vvept when he did see *Pompeys* heade.

Temple of Remengement. *Traiane*.

*Cesar* against *Pharnace*. *Domitius* ouerthrowne in *Syria*. *Amyso* a Citie in the confines of *Paphlagonia* & *Capadocia*.

He perceyuing their presentes and messages, wente on wyth his army, entertayning the Kings Ambassadors with ordinarie talke, till they came nigh where he was encamped, and then he said: Shall not this murtherer of his father bee yet killed? & then he leaped on horse. And at the first charge *Pharnace* fled awaye, and *Caesar* ouerthrewe the moste parte, with a thousand horsemen, that with the firste, did keepe in chafe with hym. At thys *Caesar* saide with a loude voice. O happy *Pompey*, that haddest to do with such me of war as *Methridates*, & this mans father was, therby both to be thought and called Great. Of this fight he sent thus to *Rome*, I came, I sawe, I conquered. *Pharnace* was content to go to the kingdome of *Bosphorus*, which *Caesar* appoynted him.

*Caesar* spent no time in trifles, so many battels yet remayning behinde, he went into *Asia*, and by the waye gathered money of the Cities that were troubled wyth them that tooke paymentes of the Tributes, as we haue shewed in our booke of *Asia*. Now word was brought hym that there was sedition rayled in *Rome*, and that *Antony* his lieutenant did keepe the common place. Wyth an army. Therefore setting all thinges aside, hee made haste to *Rome*. Whither, when he was come, all ciuill discorde ceased, but another began among his souldiours, bycause they had not yet, neyther receiued the promise made for theyr seruice at *Pharsalo*, nor that it was reaso that they shoulde be still kept in war, & therfore they cried euery man to go home. He had promised the rewards at *Pharsalo*, and other rewardes when the war of *Libya* should be ended. Therfore he sent them a thousand drammes apiece, with a promise of moze. They bad him promise no moze, but pay al out of hand. And it lacked but little that they had not killed *Crispus Sallustius*, had he not shifted away.

When *Caesar* hearde this, he commanded the legion that *Antony* had for the garde of the Citie, to keepe aboute his house, & the entry of the Citie, fearing spoile; and hee, verrey boldly (all men fearing and diswading him from the rage of the souldiours) went among them as they were in mutinie in the field of *Mars*, and not being perceyued, was set in the high seate. They confusely, and with tumulte came running vnarmed, & as the manner is

*Peni, vidi, vici.*  
*Bosphorus* part of  
the kingdome of  
*Pontus*.

Seditio in *Rome*.

Sedition in *Caesar*'s  
army.

*Drachma* is a  
peece of coyne,  
vvaing as  
much as a ster-  
ling groat, after  
eight groates to  
an ounce.  
*Sallustius* in dan-  
ger.

*Caesar* among his  
seditious souldi-  
oures.

is to salute the Generall when he commeth firste among them, he commaunded the, that if they had any thing to say there, touching the gifts, they shoulde speake it befoze his face, whiles hee was present: they durste not speake a word for feare, but taking a meane way, cryed to be released of the war, hoping bycause he had neede of men to finish the rest of his wars, he would haue saide somewhat of the giftes. But he contrarie to all opinion, without any stay answered: I discharge you. They being astonied hereat, and standing in a great silence, he saide againe: And I wil giue you all that I haue promised you, when I shall triumphe of the rest. This word vnlooked for, & appearing so curteous, did strike in them suche a consideratio with an emulation, that they thoughte it a shame to forsake their Capitaine in the middes of his enemies, and that others shoulde triumph in their places. They remembred what losse they shoulde haue by leauing the warre in *Libya*, and be thought enemies aswell to *Caesar* as to hys aduersaries: for this doubt they remained silent in feare, hoping yet that *Caesar* woulde haue giuen them rewarde, and forgiven them the faulte for hys present neede, but he sate as silent as they. Therefore hys friends wished him to say somewhat vnto them, & not to leaue them, that so oft had serued hym, with so shorthe & seuer a speech. He began to speake & call the Citizens in stead of souldiours, which was a token they were discharged of y war, & become in their former priuate case. This they could not suffer, but cryed that they did repent, and prayed they mighte be taken to the war, *Caesar* refused it, and came from the seate. When they made greater instance, beseeching hym that if they hadde done a misse to punishe them: he stayed a while, neither going forward nor backward, seeming to doubt what to do, yet hee returned and sayde hee woulde punishe none of them, but that it grieved him that the tenth legion, whiche he had alwaies loued and honored, shoulde giue cause of suche tumulte, and onely thys saide:

I do release them of their seruice, and yet wyll gyue them, all I haue promised the m, when I come from *Libya*, and I will giue lande to all, when the warres shall be ended, not as *Sylla* dydde, spoyling it from other that hadde it, and causing both the taker and the loser, to liue togither, to main-  
say. e

*Caesar* vnderstand  
among his reuol-  
ting souldiours.

Souldiours re-  
pent them.

"fayne perpetuall enmitie, but I wyll diuide bothe the com-  
mon and mine own, and the lacke I wyl buy with my mony.

Showte and reioyce was made of all, sauing of the tenth  
legion, against the whiche *Cesar* seemed to be inextinguishable. There-  
fore they desired hym they might bee punished by death, as the  
lotte shoulde fall out. But he hauing no neede of further furze of  
them, and perceyuing they were throughe penitent, forgave  
them all, and streight went to the war in *Barbarie*; passing from  
the narrowe Sea at *Reggio*, hee wente to *Messina* and to *Lilybae*,  
where he vnderstande that *Cato* kept part of the army bothe by  
sea and lande at *Vrica*, with thre hundred whiche lyke chiefe  
counsellors were greatest doers of the war, and called the Se-  
nate, and that the Generall *Lucius Scipio*, and the best laye in *A-*  
*drumeto*, therfore he sayled against *Scipio* who was gone to *Iuba*,  
& gaue order for the fight with his campe, taking the oportunitie  
againste hys enimyes that were without the Generall, *Labienus*  
and *Petereus* chief vnder *Scipio*, did not refuse the fyght, & had far  
the better of *Cesar*, putting him to flight, & fiercely with contempt  
following hym, til *Labienus* horse was thruste throughe the bel-  
ly and killed, and he saued by the garde of hys person. *Petereus*,  
as he that had taken sufficient triall of his army, & might winne  
when he woulde, lefte the thing vnfinished, saying to them that  
were by him: *Least we should take the victory from Scipio our Generall.*  
This was also another token of *Cesars* fortune, that his enimies  
in apparaunce hauing the victory, woulde so sodainly breake the  
fight, when they had the day. They say that *Cesar* at this fight,  
was fayne to stande againste his men, and to take the Eagle fro  
him that bare it, being the chiefe standerd, and to goe to the for-  
most to stay the fro flying, till *Petereus* retired, and *Cesar* had time  
to depart with leysure. This end had the first fight y he made in  
*Barbarie*. Not long after, *Scipio* came forth with .s. legions, xx. M.  
horse wherof the most part were *Affricanes*, many target me,  
& xxx. Elephants, which *Iuba* the King, who had other footemen,  
about xxx. M. and *Numidia* horse almost xx. M. many darters,  
and threescore other Elephants.

*Cesars* army was dismayed, and troubled among themselves  
as

as well for their former losse, as for the fame of their aduersa-  
ries, both in number and vertue, specially the *Numidian* Horse-  
men, beside the terror that they had to make a straunge fighte  
with the Elephantes. But *Bocchus*, another king of the *Moors*,  
hauing take *Cirta*, the chiefe Citie of *Iuba*, he vpon the newes of  
his owne losse, returned home with his army, leauing onely  
thirty Elephants with *Scipio*. *Cesars* army by this, toke such cou-  
rage, as the fifth Legion desired the fight against the Elephants,  
of whome, hauing a noble victory, they geue an Elephante in  
their ensigne at this day. The battell being long and difficulte on  
euerye side, and full of vncertaintie, aboute the euening *Cesar*  
hardly gotte the victory, and ouerthrew *Scipios* Camp, not leauing  
the victory in the night, till all was brought to passe, the enimies  
by final parts as they coulo, fled: and *Scipio* with *Afranius*, leauing  
all, fledde to the Sea with twelue Ships vnarmed. Thus an ar-  
mye of fourescore thousande Souldyers, well trayned in the  
warre, and encamped by the former victory, was in this seconde  
fight vtterly vanquished. *Cesars* glory, throughe his felicitie, was  
compted of all me vnconquerable, and they that were overcome,  
woulde attribute nothing to his manhode, but excuse all theyr  
faultes by his felicitie. It seemeth that this warre had this vn-  
fortunate end, by the vnskilfulnesse of the Captaynes, that they  
did not endure, till *Cesar* mighte haue bin put to his thistles, nor  
bying the first victory to perfection, but woulde needes leaue it,  
when they were in the middest of it. This being told at *Vrica* the  
thyrde day, and *Cesar* comming forward, euery man beganne to  
flee, of whome *Cato* stayed none, but gaue Shippes to the noble  
men that desired them, yet himselte carryed like a constant man,  
and where they of *Vrica* promised, that they woulde make inter-  
cession to *Cesar* for him, before themselves, *Cato* smiled and aun-  
swered, there needed no reconciliaton betwene *Cesar* and hym,  
and that *Cesar* knew well ynough. Then he sealed vp al the trea-  
sure, and the assurances and writings of euery man, and deliue-  
red them to the Magistrates of *Vrica*, and in the euening vsing  
his bath and his supper, sitting at his meate as he was wonte to  
do, since the death of *Pompey*, nothing changing from his wonted  
manner,

The tenth legio  
desireth to bee  
punished.

*Reggio* is the fur-  
thest towne in  
Italy towards  
*Sylla* a fore-  
land of  
Sicily.  
*Cesar* sayeth in  
to *Barbarie*.  
*Vrica* a Citie in  
*Affrica*, thirtie  
miles from *Cir-  
thage*.  
A Senate in *Lyr-  
ba* of three hun-  
dred Romaines.  
*Adrumeto* a City  
in *Affrica*, farre  
from *Cirithage*.  
*Labienus*.  
*Petereus* putteth  
*Cesar* backe.  
*Petereus* folo-  
ueth not the  
victorye.

*Cesars* fortune.

The danger of  
*Cesar*.

*Scipios* armye.

*Pocchus* King of  
the *Moors*, that  
deliuered *Iu-  
gutha* to *Sylla*.  
*Cirta* a Citie of  
*Numidia*, now  
*Constantina*, where  
*Iugurth* killed  
*Adherball*.  
The fifth Le-  
gion giueth the  
Elephant in an  
ensigne.  
*Cesars* victory.

*Cesars* felicitie.

Vnskilfulnesse.

The noblemen  
of Rome flee.

*Cato* to the *Phis-  
cenes*.

manner, neyther taking moze nor lesse. He talked familiarly with them that were present, of them that were sayled, and if the wind were good for them, and how farre they might passe before the morning that *Cesar* came. And when he wente to bedde, he changed nothing of his vsage, but only embraced his sonne moze straightly than he was wont: but bicause he found not his sword in the place at his bed where it was wont to stande, he cryed, he was betrayed to his enemies of his owne folke. What should I use (quoth he) if they set vpon me in the night? They desired him he would be content, and to worke nothing against himselfe, but to rest without his sword. Might I not (quoth he) if I would, choke my selfe with my cloke, or crush my head against the wal, or fall & brake my necke, or stoppe my breath and kill my selfe? When they heard him speake after this sort, they brought him his sword. When he called for *Plato* booke of the Immortalitie of the Soule, which whē he had redde, and thinking them that kept the dozes to be at rest, he stroke himselfe with the sword vnder the brest, whereat his bowels fell out, at the whiche noyse, they without came in & the Physicians put in his bowels againe & perswaded. When he came againe to himselfe, he was sozpe he had giue no deeper wound, thāking them that they had saued his life, & made the beleue he would rest: then they took away his sword, and shut the doze, that he might sleepe: he seeming to be asleepe, tare asunder with his hands (like a wilde beast) the sowing vp of his wound, rente his belly asunder, and slong the entrayles into the floze, and so dyed at fiftie yeares of his age. By doing this, he confirmed the opinion that he held of all men, most singular by nature, iudging vertue, honestie, & goodnesse, not by mens manners, but by high cogitations of the minde: *Martia*, *Philips* daughter he married a mayde, and loued hir full dērely, and after he had childe by hir, he gaue hir to his friend *Hortensia*, that was desirous of childe, and could not get a frutefull wife, and when she was with childe by him, he receyued hir home againe, as witts interest. This was *Cato*'s behauiour. The *Vticenses* buried him verie honorably. *Cesar* sayde, that *Cato* enuyed his glorious proceedings: *Cicero* made a booke in the praise of him, and called it *Cato*. *Cesar*

*Cato* angry that his sword is taken away.

*Cato* readeth Plato of the Immortalitie of the Soule. *Cato* striketh himselfe.

The death of *Cato*.

The singularitie of *Cato*.

*Martia* is giuen to *Hortensia*.

made another in the disprayse of him, and called it *Anticato*. *Iuba* *Anticato*. and *Petreus* hearing what was done, and thinking no safetie nor escape to be left for them, with their swordes killed one another in their house. *Cesar* made *Iuba* Kingdome tributarie to Rome, and appointed *Crispus Salustius* to be Lieutenant of it. He pardoned the *Vticenses*: and *Cato*'s sonne, and a daughter of *Pompey*, with two little childre whome he took at *Vtica*, he sent safe to *Pompey*. Of the three hundred, as many as he found he put to death. *Lucius Scipio* the Generall, keeping the seas all winter, till he fell among the enemies, behaued himselfe very valiantly, till he was overcome, and then stroke himselfe, and leapt into the Sea. This was the end of *Cesar*'s warre in *Libya*. Then he went to Rome, and made foure triumphes of the French, of the which he had ouerthrowne many and greates nations, and the other reuolting, he brought to order, of *Pharnace* at *Pentus*, of *Libya*, and the confederates of *Scipio*, where *Iuba*, the sonne of *Iuba*, the wrighter of histories, bryng yet an infant, was brought. He shewed also a certaine triumph of *Aegypt*, with a fighte by water at *Nilm*, whiche was done betwene the French, and the *Pharnatian* triumph: but he refrayned from triumphing of the Romaines, as ciuill matter not fit for him, & lothsome and vnlucky to the Romaines, to be shewed in triumph: yet all the chanches, and men in pictures, & diuers images, *Pompey* except he brought in: him only he forbade to be shewed, bicause he was so wel beloued of all sorts. The people (though they were afrayd) sighed at this sighte, especially when they saw *Lucius Scipio* the generall strike himselfe to the heart, & fall into the Sea, & *Petreus* in his tent so to kill himselfe, and *Cato* tearing his bowels like a brute beast, but at the death of *Achilles* and *Phoebus*, they reioyced, and at the flight of *Pharnaces* they laughed. The money that was brought in the triumphes, is said to be 70. Talents and an halfe, and two thousande eyght hundred two and twenty Crownes of gold, the waight whereof did excede twenty thousand foure hundred foureteene pound waight, by the which after the triumphes were ended, he performed al that he had promised to his army, & moze to. To euery souldier he gaue five Drammes of *Athens*, to a leader of a bande twice so much, to a Captayne

*Iuba* and *Petreus* killed themselves one another.

*Crispus Salustius* Lieutenant. *Young Pompey*. *Cesar* putteth to death. *Scipio* drowned.

Triumph of *Cesar*.

*Iuba*.

Lamentable shevveth. Affections of the people.

A talent of the least value, was one hundred pounde, which is called the lesser talent of *Athens*. The greater talent of *Athens*, was aboute 133. pounde.

There were other talents, whereof some were 400. pounde.

A dramme of *Athens* counted like *Oboli*, which was much like our halfe penny, and one hundred drammes made an *Athens* pound.

of a thousande, and a Lieutenant of Horsemen twice so much more, and to euery one of the people, one pounde of *Athens*. He exhibited manye shewes of horse and musicke, and fighting on foote, one thousand against an other, and of horsemen two thousand against so many, and other of fortiten and Horsemen mingled together, and of Elephantes, twentye agaynst twentye, and a fight by Sea of foure hundred Gallies, and a thousande of eyther side. He created a Temple to *Venus* bys auncester, as he vowed at *Pharsalo*, and about the temple a goodly court, which he would should be called the *Romaines* court, not for bying and selling, but for conference, as among the *Persians*, there is for them that will haue any doubt discussed touching iustice. The Image of *Cleopatra* was set vp by the Goddesse very faire, whiche is yet scene there. A view of the people was made, and they found scarcely halfe so many men aliue, as were before the beginning of the warre, so much had contention wasted the Citie.

Now was he made Consul the fourth time; and went into *Iberia* against yong *Pompey*, as to the leauings of the ciuill warre, not to be neglected, for all the best men that fledde out of *Libya* resorted to him, and all the remnant of the armies at *Pharsalo*, and other places, repaired thither. Of *Iberianes* and *Celtiberianes*, very ballant nations, vnto the warres, and of slaues a multitude, dyd serue *Pompey*, and hauing bin exercised foure yeares, were ready to fight with desperate minde. *Pompey* putting great trust in this, refused not to fighte, but woulde needes trye it out wth *Caesar* as soone as he came. But the auntient and wise men in experience that were come from *Pharsalo* and *Lybia*, did rather aduise him to consume *Caesar* in time, and to distresse him with want, as in those strange places he might. *Caesar* came from *Rome* in seauē and twenty dayes, passing a long way with a greate army, and suche a feare fell among them that he broughte, as neuer did before, bycause of the multitude, experience, and desperation of the enimies: wherefore *Caesar* came the slowlyer forth, and by cause he used some foresight, *Pompey* came lustily vpon him, and vpbayded him of fearefulness, which rebuke *Caesar* could not suffer, but made order for the battell at *Corduba*: his word was,

Venus

*Venus* and *Pompeys* Pietie. When they shoulde goe to it, a feare and dreadfull doubtfulness took *Caesars* army, wherefore he besought all the Goddes, and held vp his hands to Heauen, that he might not lose all his noble actes by this one Battell, and therefore went about the army, and exhorted them to be bold. He pulled his headpiece from his head, that they might see his face, and so receyue good heart: but they for all that could not put away their feare, till *Caesar* took a Target from one of them, and to the Captaynes about him thus sayde: Shall this be the ende to me of life, and to you of seruice? and ranne from the army so farre, as he was but tenne foote from his enimies, who threwe two hundred dartes at him, of the which he shunned part, and part he receyued on the Target. When his Captaynes ranne aboute him, euery man, and the whole army set forward with great violence, and foughte all daye, sometime with aduantage, and sometyne with disaduantage, sometime winning, and sometime losing, tyll at night he gotte the victory with muche adoe, so as he sayde, at other times, he had fought for victory, but now, he fought for life. There was great slaughter of *Pompeys* part, which fledde to *Corduba*. And *Caesar*, that they shoulde not gather agayne to a newe fight, commaunded his army to compasse the Citie. They being weary of the former payne, took the bodies, and the armure of them that were slayne, and bare them betwene them, and making them fast to the earth with their speares, used them for a Trench. The next morning the Citie was taken of *Pompeys* captaynes. *Scapula* made a fire, and threwe himselfe into the flame. The heads of *Varus*, *Labienu*, and other noble men, were brought to *Caesar*. *Pompey* at the beginning of the losse, fledde with a hundred and fiftie horse into the *Carteia*, where he hadde a ghaile of shippes, he came secretly to the shippes carried in a litter, and when he perceyued them there to be in feare of themselves, he was in dread to be betrayed, & therfore took a boate agayne, and by the way, his foote hong in one of the ropes, whiche one minding to cut, missed the rope, and hurte him in the foote, but he went on to the next village, and was tured, where being sought, he fledde among the bushes and desert pathes, in the whyche

S. III.

the

sacres by  
Caesar.

Pompey Temple.

The Romaines  
Court like to  
our Exchange.  
Place of confer-  
rence.  
Image of Cleo-  
patra.Decay of  
people.Caesar made  
Consull.Pompey in  
Spain.Yong Pompey  
refuseth auni-  
ent counsell.Caesar into Spain.  
Feare of his  
souldiours.  
Rashnesse of  
yong Pompey.  
Corduba, a Citie  
in Spain, the  
countrey of  
both Seneca and  
Lucane the Poet,  
nowe Cor-  
duba.Feare in Caesars  
army.Sonic vwrighte,  
that this fight  
was given at  
Monda, vvhich is  
nowe Mundecar-  
ra: the places  
not being farre  
asunder, some  
name the one,  
and some the  
other.Danger of  
Caesar.Caesars saying  
of this fight.A trenche made  
of dead bodies.

Corduba taken.

Scapula,  
Varus, and  
Labienu, killed.  
Pompey fleeth:  
Carteia is a Citie  
in Granada, now  
Tarifa.

Pompey hurts

Pompey the elder  
sonne, slayne.

Pompey the yon-  
ger brother.

Caesar honored  
of all.

The great ho-  
nours of the  
ancient Ro-  
mans vs to  
gaine Crownes  
or garteres to  
them that had  
done worthy  
services.

Father of the  
Countrey.  
Dictator per-  
petuall.  
Honours given  
to Caesar.  
Holy dayes.

Quintilis, Iulius.  
Temples dedi-  
cated to Caesar.

Caesar refuseth  
the name of  
King.

the thornes did picke his wounde so, as for very weertnesse he  
late him downe vnder a tree, whether the searchers pursued him,  
and he valiantly defending himselfe was slayne, his head being  
carried to *Caesar*, and by his commaundement buried: so this  
warre at one brynte, contrary to all opinion, was ended. A yon-  
ger brother of this *Pompey*, called *Sextus*, did gather the remnant  
of the leauings of this warre, and in close maner, conueyed him-  
selfe hither and thither, robbing for their liuing. Howe *Caesar* ha-  
uing finished all ciuill dissention, wente to *Rome*, with suche feare  
and opinion, as neuer man before. All honours that aboue mans  
reach could be deuised, were done vnto him: Sacrifices, Playes,  
and giftes, as well in Temples and publike places by the com-  
panies of the Citie, as by all nations and Kings confederate to  
the people of *Rome*. Many diuers formes were set vpon his ima-  
ges, of the which some had crownes of oke, as to the sauoure of  
the countrey, with the which in olde time they were honored that  
saued their Countrey. He was named father of the Countrey,  
and chosen Dictator perpetuall, and Consull for tenne yeares,  
and touching his bodie, accompted sacred and inuolable, to  
giue audience in a chaire of golde and yuoze, and continuallye  
make Sacrifices, clad with triumphant garments. They orde-  
ned the Citie to be holy those dayes that he wan anye victozies.  
They appoynted Sacrifices and Priestes for syue yeares, and  
publike boies for his preservation, and orders were made, by  
the which all his actes were confirmed by oth. And in the honor  
of his house, the Moneth *Quintilis*, was called *Iulius*. Many  
Temples were dedicated to him alone, as to a God, and one  
ioyntly to him and *Clementie* hoising hande in hande. Thus dyd  
they feare hym as a Godde, and honor him as a mercifull God-  
father. There were that laboured to haue called him King, till he  
heard of it, and forbade it with threats, that no man shoulde once  
name it, as detestable, and unlawfull from his aunceltes. He  
discharged the bands of his gard, by whome he had bin defended  
from his enuies, and wente abroade with the officers of the  
Citie only: He sleeping in the common place, and giuing audi-  
ence, the Senate with the Consuls going before in goodly order,  
brought

brought him a decree of all these honors, whiche he receyued  
gently, not rising to them, neyther coming nor going: whiche  
gaue occasion of matter to them that meant to accuse him of as-  
piring to a Kingdome. He accepted all the dignities, sauing the  
Consulship for tenne yeares, therefore willed himselfe to be de-  
clared Consull, and *Antonius* with him, that was Captayne of  
his Hozsente, whiche office he appoynted to *Lepidus*, to exercise  
the rule of Hozsente by deputies, by cause he was Gouvernoure  
in *Iberia*. He reuoked all banishments, except such as were fledde  
for wicked offences. He pardoned his enemies, and to such as  
had foughte against him, he gaue yearely offices, and sente them  
to charges of prouinces and armies, whiche made the people to  
thinke, that he woulde haue sette them in a common wealth, as  
*Sylla* did when he had the like authoritie: but they were deceiued.  
One of them that woulde haue had the name of a King sette for-  
warde, did put vpon his image a Crowne of Laurell, with a  
wreath of a white riband. *Marullus* and *Sestius* being Tribunes,  
apprehended him, and threwe him in prison, thinking so to haue  
pleased *Caesar*, as one that abhorred the name of King. This he  
suffered patiently, and where others called him King as he went  
out at the gates, and the people sighed at it, he answered co-  
uerly, I am not King, but *Caesar*, as though they had bin decey-  
ued in the name. *Marullus* caused him to be apprehended, that  
syffe of them beganne this matter, and willed hym to be  
broughte to answer in his Courte. When *Caesar* coulde no  
longer suffer, but accused *Marullus* and his fellows before  
the Senate, as one that craftily wroughte againste hym  
by a calumination of *Pyramus*, and where as they desired  
death, yet he thoughte it sufficient for them to lose thens of  
free, and be putte out of the Senate. This was most of all con-  
firmed, that he coueted this title, and that he soughte all his pa-  
tise to that ende, and was utterly become a Tyrante, for as  
there was good authoritie to punish them that named any man  
king, so was the Tribunes office holy, inuolable by lawe, and  
auiscent oth, and it made the anger the sharper, that he woulde  
not tarry the time of the office, whiche was by the lawe, he  
did

Caesars statellnes.

Occasion of  
hate.

Caesar and Anto-  
nius Consuls.

The clemencie  
of Caesar.

Caesar deceyueth  
the peoples opie-  
mon.

A Crowne vnto  
Caesars Image, by  
one that was  
apprehended of  
the Tribunes  
*Marullus*, and  
*Sestius*.

Caesar accepteth  
not the name of  
a King.

Caesar angrie  
with the Tri-  
bunes, causeth  
suspition of  
Kingdome.

did repent him, and first perceyued, that it was an harde thing to deale rigorously in peace, withoute authoritie of warre. Hys friends gaue him counsell to beware, and that he had giuen great occasion to his aduersaries to get matter agaynst him: therefore when they moued him y he would be content to haue a garde of Spanish bandes, he sayd, there was nothing moze unhappy, thā a continual garde, for it is of one that is euer afrayd. Yet the praetises to be a King, ceased not, for sitting one day in the common place in a chayre of golde to see the playes of *Panne*, *Antony* his fellowe in office, naked and annoynted, as the manner was for the Ministers of that solemnitie, ranne vp to *Casars* seate, and set a crowne on his head, at the which sight few reioicing, and moze lamenting, *Cesar* threw it off. *Antony* set it on againe, but *Cesar* reiected it. The people stode silent, looking what end this woulde haue, and when they saw *Cesar* utterly refuse it, they reioiced, and highly commended him therefore. Now eyther bycause he despayred, or in bayne attempted, or woulde auoyde the practise of so odious a thing, or for that he woulde leaue the Citie bycause of some enemies, or that he had regard to his health, being troubled with a falling sicknesse, which in rest many times came vpon him, he determined a greates voyage against the *Getes* and *Parthians*: against the *Getes*, bycause they were insolente people, and quarrelling, euer troubling the *Romaine* state. Against the *Parthians*, bycause he woulde reuenge *Cassius* death, the whome they had slayne, contrary to oth and promise, and so hauing an army of sixtene Legions, and tennethousand Horse, he sent them afoze to passe the *Ionian* Sea. There was out of *Sybil*s booke an olde saying, that the *Parthians* shoulde not be overcome, till a King went against them: wherefore some there were so bold to saye, that as it was expedient for the *Romaines* to call him Dictator, or Imperator, or anye other name in stead of a King, so that all nations subiect to the *Romaine* Empire, should call hym King. He refused this also, and made hast to his iourney, bycause he saw he was enuyed in the Citie: but whereas he tarried till the appointed time, his enemies killed him foure dayes before in the Senate house, eyther for enuie, which commonly accompayneth

*Cesar* warred.

Answer of  
*Cesar* touching a  
garde of his per-  
son.  
*Imperilia* were  
shewes of nas-  
ked Priestes in  
the honour of  
Panne.  
*Antony* setteth a  
Crown on  
*Casars* head.

*Cesar* hath the  
falling sicknesse.

*Gete*, *Scythians* in  
Europe.  
Voyage into  
*Parthie*.

Prophecie.

Enuie.

such felicitie & auctoritie, or as they said, for the loue of their coun- treys libertie. For now they knew well that though he did not overcome those nations, without doubt he woulde be a King. And for this cause (I thinke) they took the enterpryse agaynst him, vnder the pretence of that name: for though he was but Dictator in degree, it was as much as a King in deede. There were two chiefe in that conspiracy, *Marchus Brutus*, sonne to *Brutus* that was killed of *Sylla*, whiche fled to *Cesar* after the calamitie of *Pharsalo* field, and *Gaius Cassius* that deliuered hys gal- leis into *Casars* hand at *Hellepont*. These two were afoze of *Pompeys* part, and now much honoured of *Cesar*. *Decimus*, *Brutus*, *Albinus*, alwayes thoughte worthy of *Cesar* to be vled in honoz and credite, and had great affaires committed to them, and in the wars in *Lybia*, trusted them wth armies, and made them Go- uernours of Provinces. *Decimus* of France beyond the Alpes, & *Brutus* of the same, on thys side the Alpes.

*Brutus* and *Cassius* beeyng Pretors, contended for the superi- oritie of the place, eyther in deede who shoulde be higher, or else for a pretence, that they shoulde seeme to be no friendes. *Cesar* setting order betwixte them, said to hys friendes: *Cassius* de- stretcheth right, but *Brutus* muste be pleased. With so great loue and honour did *Cesar* vse hym, that of some he was counted hys son, because he loued very wel *Seruilus*, *Catos* sister, and *Brutus* mother.

Therefore when he got the victory at *Pharsalo*, he gaue greates charge to hys Captaynes, that in any wise they shoulde save *Brutus*. But *Brutus* either as an ingrate main, or ignorant of his matters faulte, or distrustfull, or ashamed, or very desirous of his countrys libertie, preferring it before all other things, or that he was descended of the ancient *Brutius*, that drove out the Kings: or that he was incensed and rebuked of the people, for manye things were written vpon the Images of olde *Brutus*, and in the Courte hall of this *Brutus* secretly set vp: *Brutus* thou takest rewardes, *Brutus* thou arte dead, O *Brutus* I woulde thou were alieue nowe, *Brutus*, what unworthy posterity hast thou? *Brutus* thou arte not come of hym!

These and many other lyke, did inflame the young mans mind

Conspiratours:  
*M. Brutus*.  
*C. Cassius*.  
*L. Brutus*.

Cloaked con-  
tention.

*Casars* care of  
*Brutus*.

*Brutus*.

to take the worke in hande as from his progenitor: The same of making him King did still entcrease, and that there shoulde be a Counsell for it, a little before the which, *Cassius* took *Brutus* by the hand and sayd:

*Cassius.*

*Brutus.*

1. Brutus what shall we do in that counsell? shall we, as *Cassius* flatterers agree to make hym King? *Brutus* answered, I would not be at that Counsell. *Cassius* being cheared with those wordes, said: what if they call vs as Officers, what shall we do (good *Brutus*?) I will (quoth he) defend my Countrey euen to the death. Then *Cassius* embraced hym, saying: Whom wilt thou take of the best being of this opinion? dost thou thinke that artificers and light people do set those writings vpon thy Iudgement place, rather than the best Citizens of *Rome*, which of other Pretors do looke for shewes, and pastimes of horse and wilde beasts, but of thee they require liberty, as a worke worthy thine auncestors.

More Conspirators.

After they had thus firste opened what they had long kept in their minds before, they then deale plainely, and eche of them proued his own friends, and some of *Cassius*, whome they knewe to be meete for a bolde enterpryse, and they got of their friends two brethren, *Cecilius* and *Bucolianus*, the *Rubrius Riga*, *Q. Ligarius*, *Marcus Spurius*, *Seruilus Galba*, *Sextius Naso*, and *Pontius Aquila*, all these of their trusty friends, and of *Cassius* familiars, *Decimus*, of whom we spake, *Caius Casca*, *Trebonius*, *Atilius Cymbrius*, *Minutius*, and *Bassus*. These being thoughte sufficient, and not iudging it fit to haue anye more, they agreed together without othe or sacrifice, and yet was there not one that changed or disclosed, but only sought tyme and place.

The tyme was shorte, because *Cassius* muste goe away the fourth daye to his armyes, and then shoulde straighte haue a garde of souldiours aboute hym: The place, they appointed the Senate house: thinking though the Senatours were not praiue, yet when they sawe the dede, they would helpe to it, as they saye happened to *Romulus*, who of a King became a Tyranne.

And that thys acte euen as that, being done in the place of Counsel, shoulde not be thoughte a treason, but a dede of the Citty,

Citty, boyde of dreade of *Cassius* army, because it was a common consent, and that honour shoulde remaine to them also, as not ignorant of the whole entent. Concluding vpon this, they thought the Senate house the fittest place. Of the maner, they differed: some thought good to kill *Antonie* also, being Consull with *Cassius*, and his greatest friend, and most accepted to the armye: But *Brutus* sayde, if we dispatche *Cassius* alone, we shall be named killers of a Tyranne, because we deliuer vs of a king, and thereof muste haue our prayse: but if we kill anye of his friends, we shall be thoughte seditious against *Pompeys* enemies. Being all perswaded by this, they looked for the next meeting of the Senate.

Consultation of *Cassius* death.

The daye before that *Cassius* shoulde goe to the Senate, he had him at a banquet with *Lepidus* Capitayne of the horsemen, whither he carryed *Decimus Brutus Albinus*, and talkyng merilye what death was best for a man, some saying one, and some an other, he of all, passed the sodaine death.

*Cassius* at a banquet.

Sodayne death best.

Thus he prophesied of hymselfe, and spake in tesse of that whiche shoulde come to passe in earnest the next day. After the banquet, in the night, his body was sickely, and his wife *Calphurnia* dreamed she sawe hym all to be goared with bloude, and therefore stopped his going forth. In making sacrifices, manye fearefull tokens appeared, wherfore he determined to haue sent *Antony*, to dissolve the Senate.

*Cassius* wife a fearefull dream.

Sacrifices vnprosperous.

*Decimus* being present, perswaded him not to take that calumination of the suspicion, but himselfe to goe and dissolve it, and so he was carryed thither in a litter.

Impediments to the conspiracie.

That daye certaine playes were exhibited in *Pompeys* Theatre, therefore the Senate shoulde be kept in the place nexte to it: being also to see the sights.

Theatre of *Pompey*.

*Brutus* and *Cassius* early in the morning, did sit as Pretors, giving audience to suitors very quietly in a courte nigh the theatre of *Pompey*, and hearing of *Cassius* sacrifices, and the differing of the Senate, were in greate doubt: and one that was there, took *Casca* by the hande, and sayde vnto hym: would you keepe it from me that am your friende? *Brutus* tolde me *Casca*

Disclosing.

*E. is.*

was

*Romulus* was thoughte to be come a peeces of the Senate.

Julius had the ouer-  
sight of nou-  
fes, temples, and  
preparation of  
Playes.

was in a todayne passion, that he kincde it: then he saide more to hym smiling, where say you haue money for your office of *Edile*? and *Casca* tolde him *Brutus* and *Cassius* being together, and in talke, one of the Senators *Publius Lentulus* sayde, he wished well to that they had in their mindes, and exhorted them to dispatch it. They being much amazed, helde their peace for a while.

Suspicion of dis-  
cloing.

As *Caesar* came forth, one of his familiars vnderstanding of the conspiracie, and vnto to tel what he hearde, went to *Calpurnia*, and saide onely this, because the matter touched *Caesar* much, he would tarry til he came from the Senate, for he knew not al that was wrought against him.

A booke of the  
Conspiracie.

And one *Artemidorus* that was his hoste in *Gaido*, ranne by to the Counsell house and found hym newe slaine. Of another a booke of the Conspiracie was deliuered, as he made haste into the Senate, whiche was founde againe in his hande when he was dead. And came out of his litter *Lena*, that had wished wel before to *Cassius*, came vnto hym, and talked verie earnestly wyth him, the sight wherof did trouble the, and the length of the talke made them winke one at another, to dispatche themselves, before they should be taken.

Feare to the co-  
spiratours.

But percepuing by the manner, that *Lena* was liker to speake for himselfe and make supplication, than to bewray them, they stayed, and in the ende, when they saw hym giue humble thanks, they were encouraged againe.

Sacrifices.

It was the custome that Rulers of the Citie shoulde sacrifice, when they went to the Senate: And agayne in *Caesars* firste sacrifice, there was no harte, or as some say, no heade of the entrailles, and whē the Diuinoz said it was a signe of death, he smiled and sayde, so it was in *spaine*, when I ouerthrew *Pompey*: and the Diuinoz answering that then he was in perill indeede, and now the token was more manifest: *Caesar* had hym sacrifice againe, & nothing appearing better than it was, & being ashamed he made the Senate tarry for hym, & being hastned of his ennies, as though they had bin friends, in dispight of his ennies, he went in, For it must needs come that was determined.

*Caesar* containeth the sacrificies of euill luck.

They

They left *Trebonius* to entertaine *Antony* without the doores, and when *Caesar* was set in his seate, they stood aboute him as his friends, with weapons hid, and first *Attilius Cimber* stood before him, & made sute for his brothers returne that was banished: *Caesar* being against it, & utterly denying it, he tooke hym by the purple robe, as he would haue made more sute, he ruffled the garment, and pulled it ouer his necke, crying: Why staye you? (O friends?) *Casca* came ouer his head, & first thrust his dagger at his throat, which missing, hit him on the breast. *Caesar* thrusting his gowne fro *Cimbro*, & catching *Casca* by the hand, lunged fro his seate, & with great violence layd hold vpon *Casca*. Whiles he was doing this, wrestling with him, another stroke him on the shoe that laye open, and *Cassius* hurte him in the face, and *Brutus* on the thyghe, and *Bucolinus* betwene the shoullders: yet *Caesar* with rage and roare like a wilde beaste, stepped to euery of the: but after *Brutus* had hurt him, as though he had dispaired, he wrapte himself in his gowne, and fell comely before the picture of *Pompey*: and they, (when he was downe) vnder such despight, as they gaue him thre and twentie woundes, and many were so hastie, that they hurte one another.

The manner of  
*Caesars* death.

*Caesar* giueth ouer vwhen *Brutus* had stricken him, and some yrrice that he sayd, vwhat thou asse sonne.

When this act was done by these murderers in a sacred place, vpon a sacred and inuiolate man, by and by there was fleeing from the Senate house, and about all the Citie: and in the tumulte, some Senatours were hurt, and other men were killed: and there was much slaughter done both of Citizens and straungers, not of purpose, but as happeneth in such a Ciuill strife, when one commeth vpon another ignorantly. The sword players that had bene in armour from the morning, for the shewe of certaine playes, ranne from the game place, to the barres of the Senate house: the people that came to the playes dyuen into a feare, fledde away: shoppes were spoiled, doores were shutte, and preparation made for defence from the house toppes. *Antony* went to his owne house, intending to take ad-  
uice for this case of *Caesars*.

Confusion.

*Antony*.

*Lepidus* the Captaine of horsemen, being in the common place and hearing what was done, ranne to the Ile within the Ty-

*Lepidus*.

T.ig.

tic,

Conference of  
Lepidus and  
Antony.

Cesar vsed no  
souldiours in the  
Citie.

Three men only  
satte vwith  
Cesar.

Liberty.

They that  
sought prayse  
found payre.

The feare of  
the conspirators

tie, where he had a legion, and brought them abroade to be ready at Antonies commaundement. For he did cleave to Antony as Casars friende, and chiefly as Consull. Being mette together, they had greate desire to reuenge Casars death that thus was handled. They feared the Senate woulde take the killers parte, therfore they would stay to consider of it. There were no souldiours about Cesar, for he delighted not in a garde, but only vsed the Sergeants of his authoritie, and when he wente from his house to the Senate, he was wayted on with manye of the magistrates, and great number of people, as wel Citizens as straungers, and of seruantes and freemen in great multitude: all the which fleeing away by heapes, only three seruantes taried, which layd his body in the litter. Thus three men not futeable, did carie him home, that a little before was Lord of sea and laude. The murderers woulde haue sayde somewhat in y<sup>e</sup> Senate house, but no mā wold tarry to heare. They wrapt their gowns about their left armes as Targets, and haupng their daggers bloudy, cryed they had kyled a king and a Tyrannis, and one bare an batte vpon a speare, in token of Libertie. When they exhorted them to the common wealth of their countrey: and remembred, olde Brutus and the oth made againste the old Kings. Some went among them, shewing their daggers, who though they were not at the fact, yet woulde they haue parte of the prayse, as Lentulus, Spintor, Fannius, Aquinus, Dolabella, Murens, and Petrus, who wer not then partakers of the gloze, but afterwarde tasted of the punishment with the offenders.

The common people came not to them, which made them the moze doubtful and in feare. At for the Senate, although for ignorance and tumult, they were fled, yet they had good trust in the, as in their kinsfolkes and friends, and such as could as eust beare Tyrannie as they: but the people they suspected, and as many as had serued Cesar in warre, whereof there were not a fewe then present in the Citie, some discharged of the warfare were appointed to habitations, and some that had bin at their dwelling places, were now come again to go the iourney

with

with Cesar. They were afraide also of Lepidus and his army in the Citie, and of Antony the Consull, leaste he woulde vse the people only, leauing the Senate, and worke them some displeasure, being thus bestad, they wente to the Capitoll with the swordplayes, where consulting what was best to be done, it seemed good to giue a largesse to the people, hoping that if some beganne to prayse their act, the other wold follow, for loue of libertie, and the desire of common wealth: for they thoughte y<sup>e</sup> people of Rome to be as sincere now, as they had heard it was when olde Brutus expelled the Kings, not understanding that they looked for two things contrarie in themselves, that they that loue libertie and would be corrupted, should be profitable to them at this present, wherof y<sup>e</sup> one was moze easie to be had, as in a state for y<sup>e</sup> most part corrupted: for now the people was mixt with strangers, & a libertie was equal with a Citizen, & the fashion of a seruant, like to the maisters: for y<sup>e</sup> Senate except, the rest was indifferēt to the seruantes. Further, y<sup>e</sup> distribution of cozne, which was vsed only in Rome to be giuen to y<sup>e</sup> poore, had brought y<sup>e</sup> idle & needie bacabonds of Italy to Rome. Again, a nūber of olde woyme souldiers out of wages, were not deuided into their countries as they wer wont seuerally, bicause some had serued in vniust wars, but woulde go into comon habitations, & take other mens land & houses, remayning together in temples & comon places, vnder one banner, & one chiefe, y<sup>e</sup> might apoint the a prouince, & selling away their owne, to be the moze redy to go, they were sone bought for reward. Therfore it was not hard for Casius to gather a nūber of such men, & bring them into y<sup>e</sup> comon place: & albeit they were hired, yet durst they not prayse y<sup>e</sup> was done, for feare of Casars gloze & others deuotion, but for y<sup>e</sup> comon welth sake, they cried for peace, & earnestly exhorted the rulers vnto it, for thys was the deuise of the killers, to worke theyr owne safetie. And there coulde bee no peace vnlasse there were a forgetting, standyng in these termes.

Cinna a Pretor and a kinsmanne by marriage to Cesar, Cinna accuseth  
beyonde all opinion, came among them, hauing on hys  
besure

Difference of  
cynic.

Causes of cor-  
ruption at  
Rome.

Distribution of  
Corme.

Masterless  
men.

vesture of office, which he therselfe of, as giuen him of a Tyrant, and called *Cesar* the Tyrant, and them that kyled hym, killers of a Tyrant, and praysed the facte, as mooste like to their progenitors, and that those men were to be called from the Capitoll, and to be honoured with dew rewarde. This *Cinna* sayde: but they, seeing the vncorrupted people was not mynre wth them, did not call them from the Capitoll, nor did any thing else, but onely exhorted to peace. Then *Dolabella* a yong man and a noble, appointed to be Consul, after *Cesar* had ben gone, for the reste of the yeare, hauing on the garment of a Consul, and the spaces of his office, was the second that spake euill, and pretended he was priue to the deuise, and only soie that his hand was not at the doing of it: and as some saye, he decreed that that daye shoulde be honoured as the byrth day of the Citie. Then the hyred men toke harte, when they saw both a Dictor and a Consul to forgiue them, & they called *Cassius* and the rest out of the Temple, who were glad of *Dolabella* a yong noble man & a Consul being moost meete to match with *Antony*: only there came downe *Cassius* and *Marcus Brutus* with his bloudy hand, for they had struē who should giue *Cesar* mooste woundes, and when they were amiddest the people, they spake nothing humbly, but as in noble and euident things one praysed another, calling the Citie now blessed, attributing much to *Decimus*, that in so fitte a time had serued them with swordplayes. Then they stirred the people, that they woulde do things worthy their auncestours, whiche had expelled kings, not reigning by violence as *Cesar* did, but being chosen lawfully: they also propounded that *sextus Pompey*, sonne to *Pompey* the greates, that hadde made warre agaynst *Cesar* for the common wealth, myght be called home, beyng yet in armie in spayne agaynst *Cesar*s Captaines, and lyke wyle *Cicero* and *Marullus* that were deprived and banished by *Cesar*, being Tribunes of the people. When they hadde thus sayde, they wente vpp againe to the Capitoll, for they dyd not truste verie muche in that multitude. Then their friends and kinsfolke might repaire vnto them into the Temple, of whom they chose

*Dolabella.*

*Brutus and Cassius*  
first to the  
people.

chose the moost auncient to send to *Lepidus* and *Antony* for reconciliation, and regarde of libertie, and to saue the Countrey from the euils that might growe, vnlesse they be foresene. This much did the messengers require, not prayeing y thing that was done, (for they durst not to *Cesar*s friends) but desired to haue it bozne with, for the worthynesse of the doers, not for hate to him, but for the loue of their countrey, and pitie of the Citie, nowe consumed with continuall sedition, of whiche one moze woulde utterly destroy all good men of the same, and that it was not right that for any hate amongst a few, they shoulde worke the publike destruction, but rather that for publike commodities, priuate enmities might be wiped away. *Antonius* and *Lepidus* (as I sayde) minded to reuenge *Cesar*s death, eyther for friendships sake, or for a practise betwene them, or for desire of rule, and thynkyng all things woulde be the easier to them, if such notable men might be ridde out of the way, yet they feared their friends and theyr kinsfolkes, and the Senate that enclined to them, and moost of all *Decimus*, whome *Cesar* hadde appoynted to gouerne France theyr neyghboure, whereby he hadde a mighty armie. Therfore they thought it best to tarry for a better occasion, and deuise to gette *Decimus* army that was so valiant and expert, with laboures neuer left. Hauing this fetch, *Antony* thus answered the messengers. For priuate displeasure we will worke nothing, but for offence and matter, wherein we are all sworne to *Cesar* to be keepers of his body, and defend it agaynst violence, it is requisite, by our oth to follow the fact that is done, and the rather to lyue, with a few pure, than all to be in daunger of those execrations, yet for their honoz that be of that opinion, we will debate with you in the Senate house, and take the way for the Citie, that, by common consent shall seme good. Thus *Antony* answered safely. They gaue thanks and departed with sure hope that all should haue gone well, and that the Senate woulde haue fauoured their cause throughe. *Antony* in the meane time caused the officers to make watche for the Citie all night, and by turne to keepe their seates as was wonte in the daye, and to haue fires ouer all the Citie, by meane whereof, the friends of y offendours

Messengers to  
*Antony* and *Lepidus*.

The deuise of  
*Antony* and *Lepidus*.

*Antony*s answer.

went to euery Senatoures house, and requested them for themselves, and for the Countreys common wealth. There ranne also the Captaynes of such as should haue habitations, threatening mischief, vntil some did performe the lāds & places that was giuen and promised. The sincere sort of the Citie took good heart, perceiuing the smal number of these doers. They enclined to the memorie of *Caesar*, and were of diuers opinions. *Caesars* money, and the bookes of his doings, were carryed to *Antonie*, eyther bycause *Calphurnie* for the danger of hir house did send them to *Antony*, as more surer, or that *Antony* did so commaund it. This done, a decree was made by *Antony* that night, to call the Senate before daye at the Temple of the Goddess of the earth, not farre from his owne house, for neyther durst he goe to the Senate house in the Capitoll, bycause of the sword players gathered there, nor bying the armye into the Towne for troubling of it: notwithstanding *Lepidus* brought them in. Day being nigh, other Senatoures came to the Temple of the Goddess of the earth, and *Cinna* the Pretor hauing on agayne his garment, which the day before he had throwen off, as giuen him of a Tyrant, made hast thither, whome, when parte of the vncorrupted people, and parte of *Caesars* Souldiours sawe, being in a rage, bycause the day before he was the firste that openly spake euill of *Caesar*, being his kinsman, they throwe stones at hym, and droue hym into an house, and gotte woodde to haue burned it, had not *Lepidus* come with the armye and forbydden them. This was the firste token wherby *Caesars* friendes hadde confidence, that the conspiratoures and the hyed fellows were afrayde.

In the Senate house there were fewe that were pure from violence and contention. The most parte with diuers deuise fauoured the manquellers, and thoughte them most worthy of trust to be there for common consultation, and of offenders to make them Judges, the whiche *Antony* dyd not lette, bycause he knewe they would not come, as they dyd not indeede. When in trvall of the Senate, some very earnestly and playnely prayed the facts, naming them Tyrant-killers, and wylled they shoulde be rewarded. Other denyed the reward, themselves not desiring

desiring it, nor haupng done it for that intente, but thoughte it iust they should only be commended as well doers. Some would not allow that commendation, but onely thoughte it ynough if they were forgiven. Thus did they deuise and forecast at the firste, to what the Senate would encline, that after by little and little, they myghte the easier obteyne the rest. The vncorrupted company did abhorre the acte as wicked, yet for the reuerence of their great houses, were not againste, but that they shoulde be saued: yet that they should be honozed as well doers, they coulde not abide. Other spake againste this, that it was not conuenient so to haue them, as the rest, that beloged to their safety, shuld be enuyed. And when one sayde, that they honour shoulde be *Caesars* dishonoure, they answered, that it was not fyte a dead man shoulde be preferred to the quicke. Another vehemently saying, that of two things one must be chosen, eyther to declare *Caesar* a Tyrant, or to forgive these by mercy, they took hold of this only, and required that voyces mighte be tryed of *Caesar* by oth, and that the decrees made of necessitie, shoulde not prejudice them, for whyles he ruled, they dyd nothyng freely, but all for feare of themselves. *Pompey* being slayne, and wth hym manye a thousande more. *Antony* markyng all thyngs deceptefully, perceiuing that ample and euidente matter of speeches was offered, determined to turne they cogitation wth a priuate care and feare of themselves, and vnderstandyng that a greate parte of these Senatoures, were appoynted to offices and Priestehodes in the Citie, and to gouernements of armyes and prouinces by *Caesar*, for the tyme to come, (for he shoulde be long for the wth his armye, the space of fyue yeares) commaundyng silence as Consull, thus sayde.

They that would haue voyces tryed vpon *Caesar*, must knowe afore, that if he ruled as an officer lawfully chosen, then all his actes and decrees must stande in force, but if by violence we thinke he playd the Tyrant, then must his body be cast out of the Citie banished, and all his actes be reuoked: wherfore (as I see) we must medle wth all the world both by sea & land, & many be such,

M. 15.

as

*Caesars* money  
and writings  
sent to *Antony*.

The Senate in  
the Temple of  
the Gods of the  
earth.

Assault against  
*Cinna*.

Variety of  
opinion touching  
the Senate.

*Antonyes*  
speeches.

*Antonyes* Oration.

as though we would, will not obey vs, as I shall declare heere after. Now what apperteyneth to vs alone for this matter, touching only vs, I will put all things befoze you, that as in an easy platte you may see a shew of harder things. All we in manner haue bozne office vnder *Cesar*, and yet doe beare, chosen, and made by him, and some are, to haue offices in time to come, as the lotte falls out, for you know he appoynted for fise yeares the yearely offices of the Citie to you, and the regimentes of Countreys and armies. If you will willingly forgoe them (for that is in your power to do) this would I haue you first determine, and then procede to other. Thus *Antony* did kindle a fire, not for *Cesar*, but for themselves, and helde his peace. When they by and by in throngs with shoutes, starte vp, and denyed that any other triall shoulde be made by the voyces of the people, but that the things appoynted, shoulde be assuredly holden. There were some vnder age, and other that mighte finde resistance in election, whome he chiefly stirred, of whome *Dolabella* the Consull was one, to whome it was not lawfull to be consull by election, because he was not fise and twenty yeares of age, wherefoze he shewed a suddayne mutation of that he pretended the day befoze, rebuking as many of them, as thought the conspiratours worthy of honoz, that they that were in office, shoulde be dishonozed, by making their securitie to haue the better shew. Other put *Dolabella* and the rest in hope, that they shoulde receyue thanks of the people, and straight resume their dignities, without any alteration of the officers, but to shewe a lawfuller way by common election, and that it shoulde be an ornament to them to be aduanced, as well by the authoritie of the people, as by the appoyntments of one ruler: and this was no sooner spoken, but some of the officers, to deceyue the other, put off their robes, as to receyue the same agayne moze lawfully. Some perceyued the craft, and did not thinke to get by election, that they already had. The matter standing thus, *Antony* and *Lepidus* wente out of the Senate house, for certaine that came running from the multitude, did call them, and as they were scene from aboue, and silently hardly put to them that made much noyse, one cryed vnto them,

whether

whether of his owne minde, or that he was suborned, and bade them take heed, least they suffered the like. When *Antony* losing his gowne, shewed his curret, incensing the lookers on, as though now no man coulde be safe, vnlesse he ware armour, no not the Consull. There was some cryed that the fact might be punished, and moze made request for peace, to whom he thus sayd: Of that we will consider, as shall be fitte to be, and what it is, that it may auayle, but the suretie of it is hard to be found, since neyther oth, nor execration could profit *Cesar*, and to them that called for reuenge, he turned and commended them, as moze carefull of their othes and honestie. I would be (quoth he) youre Captayne, and crye as you do, but that I am a Consull, to whome belongeth rather to speake for profite, than for iustice, for so doe they within persuaide vs, and so *Cesar* himselfe, for the profite of the Citie, sparing them that he hadde taken in warre, was of the same destroyed. Thus wrought *Antony* artificially, & they that thought the fact to be punished, required *Lepidus* that he would punish it. *Lepidus* intending to speake, they that stood farre off, prayed hym to goe into the common place, that all might heare him indifferently. He wente straight forth, with opinion that the peoples minds were new turned, and when he was come to the place of speech, he lamented weeping, and thus sayd. Here I was yesterday with *Cesar*, and now am I heere to enquire of *Cesars* death, what will you haue done? many cryed that they shoulde reuenge *Cesar*. The hyzed men cryed for peace in the Citie, to whom hee sayd, we will so, but what peace speake you of? with what othes, can it be sure? for all our Countrey othes we haue swozne to *Cesar*, and we that are compted the least of them that did sweare, haue troden all vnder the foote. When he turned to them that cryed for reuenge, *Cesar* sayd he, is gone from vs, an holy and honored man in deede, and we be afrayd to hurte the Citie, and them that be left. This do the Senate treat of, and manye thinke it good, then they cryed, that he alone shoulde take it in hand, I wyll (sayd he) for it is a iust oth to me alone, but it is not prouough that I and you alone doe will it, or that we alone can fulfill it. Handling the matter thus craftily, the hyzed men, knowing that he

will.

was

A new stirre  
by *Antony*.

*Lepidus* to the  
people.

*Dolabella* changed.

*Cæsars Priest-  
hode offered to  
Epida.*

was ambitious, praised him, and exhorted him to take the office of *Cæsars* Priesthode, of the which he being very glad, sayde: You shall remember me of this hereafter, if I shall be worthy of it. They that were hired, were the more instant for peace, because of the liberall speech of the Priesthode. Then sayde he, although it be vnjust and wicked, yet will I doe it, because you will me. This said, he returned into the Senate house, where *Dolabella* all that time had bin importune for the continuance of his office. *Antony* gathering the peoples humour, looked ouer hym with a smiling countenance, and finding them to dissent among themselves, and the people to doe nothing earnestly, hauing beholden all sufficiently, he determined to saue the men, hiding one necessity with another, that both they shuld be saued by especial grace, and that *Cæsars* actes should be confirmed by decrees, & the Senates orders take effect: therfore silence being commanded, he sayd thus.

*Antony to the  
Senate.*

Of the Citizens offendours (you men of equall honour) in this your consultation, I haue sayd nothing, but to them that contrariwise desired a triall of *Cæsar*, I put forth the onely one of his decrees, which hath not withoute cause kept you in contention tyll this time: for if we doe refuse those offices, we shall confesse so many worthy men, vnworthily to haue receyued them. Then consider that is not easie to be hard, and number in your mindes the Cities, the nations, the kingdomes, the regions, and (as I may say) all things from the East to the West, y<sup>e</sup> *Cæsar* had by his vertue vanquished for vs, and all that by his power subdued, the same by law, clemencie, and curtesie he made assured vnto hym. Which of these do you thinke wil beare to be depriued y<sup>e</sup> things they haue enioyed, vntlesse you wil fyll all with warres, that are desirous to heale youre countrey that is now most feeble with disease. Those that be farre off, and kepte downe with feare and sight, I wil omitte to touch: but those that be not at hand only, and as I may say, euery where throught out all *Italy*, some haue receyued rewards of victorie, and by multitudes, with the armies, wherewith they serued, be of *Cæsar* appointed habitations by the same institution, whereof many a thousand be within this citie: what do you thinke they wil do, if you take from them that they

had,

had, or that they looked to haue of Cities and Countreys: This last night did shew vs an Image of this matter, for when you did intreate for the offendours, they on the contrary ranne aboute with threatnings. Do you thinke they can abide to see *Cæsars* body violated, torne & vnburied (for these things by law are wont to be done against Tyrants) which haue serued in the warres with him, and to haue the gayne gotten by the victories of *France* and *England* confirmed vnto them, when he that was the gyuer of them, is so despightfully handled: what thinke you the people of *Rome* will do? what thinke you the *Italians*? what hate shal you haue both of God and man, if you do so defile your empire, enlarged from the Ocean sea, to the people vnknewen: for you shall not lacke repprouse and blame for this poure inconstancie, more than they that thinke you worthy honour, that killed a Consul in the Counsell house, an holye man in an holy place, Senatours being the doers in the sighte of the Gods, and dishonour him, that of his enemies is most honored: from these things as vnlawfull and not in your power, I do warne you to refrayne. When this sentence I giue, that *Cæsars* actes and decrees doe remayne firme and stable, that the offenders be praised in no wise, for it is not goodly, iust, not consonant, *Cæsars* actes being ratified, that of mercy onely you will pardon them for their friends and kinsfolkes sake, so as they do so accept it, and will of the confesse it in thankfull part. When *Antony* had said this, with great contention and vehemency the decree was made, all other being silent and content: That there should be no action for *Cæsars* death: That all his actes and decrees should be confirmed, so as they were commodious for the citie. And this, with much adoe, did the friends of the offendours cause to be added for their safetie, that they were not more kepte for iustice sake, than for profite. *Antony* gaue place vnto it. These being decreed, they that were heads of men to be set in habitations, desired a priuate decree by common authoritie, that their places of inhabitation myghte bee made sure vnto them, and *Antony* was not agaynste it, shewing some feare with the Senate. This decree was made, and another like for them that went to their inhabitations.

Decrees.

A decree for  
habitations.

The

Piso.

Consultation  
touching *Cæsar*  
Testament.Piso to the  
people.Cæsar's Testa-  
ment.Brutus to the  
people.

The Counsell being thus broken vp, there were some that persuaded *Lucius Piso*, to whome *Cæsar* had left his Testamente, that it should neyther be brought forth, nor his body buried openly, least it might breed some new tumult in the Citie. He being otherwise minded, was threatned to be called to answer, for that he defrauded the people of such substance due to the common treasure, once agayne making signification of Tyrannie. Then *Piso* cryed as lowde as he could, praying the Consuls that were yet present, to goe to counsell againe, and sayde. They that haue affirmed that one Tyrant is taken away, they in Steele of that one, be all Tyrants vnto vs, forbidding me to bury an holy Priest, & threaten me, if I bring forth his last will. They make confiscation of his goods, as of a Tyrant. His actes that maketh for them they ratifie, but those that he hath left for himselfe they reuoke, not *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but they that did incense them to this mischefe. Of his Sepulture be you Lordes, of his Testament, I will be, and shall not suffer him to be deceyued in my trust of faith, before some man taketh away my breath.

Much Mirre and businesse did rise of this among them all, and specially by them that supposed to get somewhat by his Testament: therefore it was thought conuenient that his Testament should be brought abroade, and that his body shoulde be buried openly, and so the Counsell rose. *Brutus* and *Cassius* vnderstanding of this, did send to the multitude to call them to the Capitoll, and when many came running thither with greate hast, *Brutus* sayd thus. Poore Citizens, we be here with you, that yester day were in the common court, not as men sleepe to the Temple that haue done amisse, nor as to a fozt, hauing committed all we haue to you, but the sharpe & strage mishap of *Cinna*, haue compelled vs thus to do. We haue herd what hath bin objected against vs of oure enemies, touching the oth, and touching cause of doubt, y in peace can be no suretie. What we haue to say herein with you Citizens, we will conferre, with whome we haue to do concerning other common matters. When *Caius Cæsar* from France invaded his Countrey with enemies armes, and *Pompey*, a singulare fauourer of the people, had suffered, as euery man knowes:

knoweth: after hym a number of good Citizens wente into *Iberia* & *Libya*, & were destroyed. Vnto his degree gaue him security, and as it should seeme, stayde of himselfe, seeking to make his Tyranny sure, we sware vnto it. If he had required vs to sweare, not only to confirme the things past, but also to haue bene his slaues in time to come, what woulde they then haue done that now lie in wayte for our liues? I suppose verie Romanes indeede, will rather chouse certaine death, as they haue oft done, than by an othe to abyde willing seruitude. If *Cæsar* hitherto haue gone aboute nothing to make vs seruite, we confesse we haue broken our othe: but if neyther offices in the Citie, nor prouinces in y country, nor armies, nor dignities of the church, nor assigning of inhabitaunce, nor other honours be left to vs, or had the consent of the Senate, or the allowance of the people, but did all by his owne commaundement: if his ambition was neuer satiate, as *Sylla* was, who, when he had ouerthrowne his enemies, restored to vs the common wealth: if he making another armye for a long time, toke awaye our election for foure yeares, what libertie was this, when no hope coulde appeare? what should we say of the peoples chiefe officers, *Septimus* and *Marnullus*, were they not with contumely thrust from the sacred & inuiolate offices? and where the lawe and othe of our auncestours do not suffer any actiō to be made against y Tribunes, yet *Cæsar* banished them and shewed no cause: whether they haue offered against the holy Tribunes, we, or *Cæsar*? being a sacred and inuiolate man, to whom, not willingly, but of necessitie, we graunted these things, nor before he came agaynst his country in armour, and had killed so many noble Citizens. The office of the Tribunes can not be holy nor inuiolated, to the whiche our fathers in time of common welth dyd sweare without collusion, with intent to haue it euermore lasting. The reuenew and accompt of the Empire, where became it: who brake open the Treasure house against our wills: who caught the money by touched and vnremouable: who threatned death to the Tribune that resisted him: but what oth (saye they) shall be sufficient to preserve peace: if there be no Tyrannie, there needes no oth: our

¶

foze,

for fathers neuer had made of anye. But if any other wil as-  
 pire to tyrannie, there is no faith, no not with an other, between  
 the Romaines and a Tiranne. Thus we speake now in perill,  
 and will euer speake it for our country. For being in honoure  
 and safety with *Cesar*, we preferred the honour of our countrey  
 before our owne: wel they be calumniation against vs and  
 stirre you for the habitations. If here be any present, eyther y  
 hath, or shalbe appointed to those inhabitation, I pray you do so  
 much at my request as giue a token of your selues. Many dyd  
 so: then sayde he: Oh well done (good men) that you be come to  
 do as other do, and it is conuenient that you which indifferent-  
 ly doe trauayle and labour for youre countrey, shoulde  
 receyue equal reward of the same. The people of *Rome* did ap-  
 point you to *Cesar* against the English and French men: it is  
 therefore reason, that hauing done good seruice, you receyue  
 as good rewards. But he bound you with oths and vniwillingly  
 led you against the Citie: he led you likewise against the beste  
 Citizens in *Libya*: likewise against your wils. If your trauayle  
 had ben only in this, peradventure you would haue bin asha-  
 med to aske recompence: but the seruice that you did in France  
 and England, no enuie, no time, no oblivion of man, can put  
 out of memoire: and for these, the beste recompence which the  
 people was wont to giue to the old souldiers, not taking away  
 mens landes or houses that had not offended, nor giuing to one  
 that was an others, nor thinking they ought to recompence  
 with iniustice, nor when they had conquered their enimies, to  
 take away all their land, but made a particion, and appointed  
 some of their souldiers to dwel there, as a garrison for the co-  
 quered places, and many times when the Land that was won  
 wold not suffice, they eyther diuided of the common, or bought  
 more of newe: So did the people place you, without any others  
 displeasure. But *Sylla* and *Cesar*, who inuaded their countrey as  
 enimies, hauing need of garde & garisson vpon theyr countrey,  
 dyd nether send you to lue in any of your owne countreyes,  
 nor bought any land for you, nor bestowed that vpon you that  
 they had got from other, nor vpon composition restozed the ho-

nours

nours on them, from whome they were taken, although they  
 had the treasure and conquered lande, but took from *Italy* that  
 had not offended, nor done any thing amisse, by lawe of warre,  
 or rather of robbery, lands, houses, Sepulchres and Temples,  
 which we would not take from our greatest strange enimies,  
 only setting a tax of the tenth part vpon them: but they haue  
 made diuision to you of that which was your owne countrey-  
 mens, and then that sente you to serue *Cesar* in the French  
 wars, and made many houses for your viduages, also appoin-  
 ted you by companies to conuenient dwelling places, with ci-  
 uiles and discipline of Souldiours: So as you can nether  
 enioye peace, nor be sure of them that be thrust out, for who so  
 euer is put out and spoiled of his owne, he will remaine to  
 lye a time for to be euen with you. This was the cause why  
 the Tirannes would not let you haue any land, which might  
 haue ben giuen you by other meanes, that hauing euer eni-  
 mies that laye in waite, you shoulde be sure keepers of their  
 power, which by iniustice did continue yours. For, the good  
 will that Tirans haue of their garde, is that they be as far in  
 doing wrong, and feare, as themselves. And this they (O God)  
 do cal a cohabitation, whereby lament of countreyment might  
 be made, and insurrection of them that haue done no wrong,  
 they for this purpose haue made vs enimies to our owne coun-  
 treysfolke, for their singular profit: & we, who now y chiefe offi-  
 cers of y countrey, do say they saue vs for mercies sake, do con-  
 firme presently, & hereafter wil confirme, y same to be bond to you,  
 for euer, of the which we take god to witnesse, that ye haue &  
 shal haue al you haue had, & that none shal take it fro you: not  
*Arms*, not *Cassins*, not they y for your liberties haue put al their  
 selues in peril, & we y be only accused in this matter, will saue  
 our selues, & be to you & to your allied friends, a special comfort,  
 & that is most pleasant to you to heare. At the first occasiō that  
 shal be offered, we wil giue you the price for the land y is takē  
 fro other, of the comon reuenew, that you shal not onely haue  
 your setting settled, but also hope of al encombrance.

Whiles *Brutus* thus spake, al the hearers disordering with the  
 selues that he spake nothing but right, did like them wel, & as

men of courage and lovers of the people, had them in great admiration, and were turned into their favour, and determined to doe them good the next day: whiche being come, the Consuls called the people to an assembly, and repeated the opinions.

When *Cicero* did speake very much in the prayse of forgetting of iniuries, of the which they reioiced, and called *Brutus* and *Cassius* from the Temple. They desired pledges, to whom *Lepidus* & *Antony* sonnes were sente. When *Brutus* & *Cassius* were sente, there was such a noise, as the Consuls that would haue sayde som what, could not be suffered, but wer first requited to shake hands and be at one, which they dyd. And the Consuls mindes were troubled with feare or enuye, that these men and their friends should pcechaile in that common cause. When was *Caesars* testament with the writings for the dispositiō of his goods, brought forth, which the people commaunded to be red. There was *Octavius* his nephew by his sisters daughter, to be his sonne by adoption. His gardings were giuen the people for solace, and to currey Citizens of Rome that was present, leaue the drames of Athens. Now was the people streight turned to anger, being abused by the name of a *Truante*, that in his testament had shewed most loue to his country. And one thing seemed most to be pittied, that *Decimus Brutus*, one of the killers was made his sonne among his second heyres: for the Romanes maner was, to their first heyres to adde the second, yf the first take not, the second may. With this they were much troubled, thinking it a wicked and abhominable act, that *Decimus* should conspire againste *Caesar*, whome hee had made one of his children.

First brought forth *Caesars* body, to the which, infinit numbers in armes ran, to kepe it, & with much noise & pōpe, brought it to the place of speech. There was much lamentation & weeping, ther was rushing of harnesse together, with repentance of the forgetting of reuēgence. *Antony* marking how they were affected, did not let it slippe, but toke vpon him to make *Caesars* funeral sermon, as Consul, of a Consul, friend, of a friend, & kinsman, of a kinsman (for *Antony* was partly his kinsman) and to use

ble craft againe. And thus he said:

I do not thinke it meete (O Citizens) that the burfall praise of suche a man, should rather be done by me, than by the whole country. For what you haue altogether for the loue of hys vertue giuen him by decree, aswell the Senate as the people, I thinke your voice, and not *Antony*, oughte to expresse it.

This he vttered with sad and heauy cheare, and wpyth a framed voice, declared euery thing, chiefly vpon the decree, where by he was made a God, holy & inuiolate, father of the country, benefactor and gouernor, and suche a one, as neuer in al things they entituled other man to y like. At euery of these wordes *Antony* directed his countenance & hands to *Caesars* body, and with vehemencie of wordes opened the fact. At euery title he gaue an addition, with brieue speech, mixte with pittie and indignation. And when the decree named him father of the Country, then he said: This is the testimony of our duty.

And at these wordes, holy, inuolate and vntouched, and the refuge of all other, he said: None other made refuge of hym. But, he, this holy and vntouched, is kyled, not taking honoure by violence, whiche he neuer desired, and then be we verve thall, that bestowe them on the vnworthy, neuer suing for them. But, you doe purge your selues (O Citizens) of this unkindnesse, in y you neuer do use suche honoure towardes hym being dead.

Then rehearsing the othe, that all shoulde keepe *Caesar* and *Caesars* body, and if any one wente about to bettaye hym, that they were accursed that would not defende him: at this he extolled hys voice, and helde vp his handes to the Capitoll, saying:

O Iupiter Countries defendour, and you other Gods, I am ready to reuenge, as I am aware and made execration, and when it seemes good to my companions to allowe the decrees, I desire them to abide me. At these plaint speches spoken against the Senate, an uproare being made, *Antony* wared colde, and recanted hys wordes. At last (O Citizens) (saide he) that the things done had not bin the worke of men, but of Gods, and that we ought to haue more consideration of the present, than of the past, by reason the things to come, maye bring vs to greater

E. 111.

danger,

*Cicero*.  
This forgetfulness was called *Amnesia* after the maner of the Grekes.  
*Brutus* and *Cassius* reconciled with the Consuls.

*Caesars* testament.  
*Octavius*.

This dramme is the value of a groate.

*Decimus Brutus* heyre to *Caesar* in remaynder.

The people turned

*Antony* of *Caesar*

, danger, than these we haue, if we shall returne to oure plde, and waste the reste of the noble men that be in the Citty. Therfore let vs send thys holy one to the number of the blessed, and sing to him his due hymne and mourning verse.

Antonies gesture  
in the time of  
the funerall of  
Caesar.

When he had saide thus, he pulled vp his gowne lyke a man beside hymselfe, and gyrded it, that he might the better stirre his handes: he stode ouer the Litter, as from a Tabernacle, looking into it, and opening it, and firste sang his Hymne, as to a God in heauen. And to confirme he was a God, he held vp his hands, and with a swift voice, he rehearsed the warres, the fights, the victories, the nations that he had subdued to his Countrey, and the great booties that he had sent, making every one to be a maruell. Then with a continuall crie,

This is the only vnconquered of all that euer came to handes with hym. Thou (quoth he) alone diddest reuenge thy countrey being iniured, 300. years, & those fierce nations that onely inuaded Rome, & only burned it, thou broughtest them on their knees.

And when he had made these and many other inuocations, he tourned hys voice from triumph to mourning matter, and began to lament and mone him as a friend that had bin vnjustly vied, & did desire that he might giue hys soule for *Caesars*. Then falling into moste vehement affections, vncouered *Caesars* body, holding by his vesture with a speare, cut with the woundes, and repte with the bloude of the chiefe Ruler, by the which the people lyke a Quire, did sing lamentation vnto him, and by this passion were againe replete with ire. And after these speeches, or ther lamentations wyth voice after the Country custome, were sung of the Quires, and they rehearsed again his acts & his hap.

Then made he *Caesar* hymselfe to speake as it were in a lamentable sort, to howe many of his enemies he hadde done good by name, & of the killers themselfes to say as in an admiratio, *Did I saue them that haue killed me?* This the people could not abide, calling to remembraunce, that all the kylers (only *Decimus* except) were of *Pompys* faction, and subdued by hym, to whom, in stead of punishment, he had given promotion of offices, governments of prouinces & armies, & thought *Decimus* worthy to be made his

heyr & son by adoption, and yet conspired hys death. While the matter was thus handled, and like to haue come to a fray, one shewed out of the Litter the Image of *Caesar*, made of ware, for hys body it selfe lying flat in the Litter, could not be seene. Hys picture was by a deuise turned about, & xxiij. woodes wer shewed ouer al his body, & his face horrible to behold. The people seeing this pittifull picture, coulde beare the dolour no longer, but thronged togyther, and beset the Senate house, wherein *Caesar* was kylled, and set it a fyre, and the kylers that fledde for their liues, they ranne and sought in every place, and that so outragiously both in anger and dolour, as they kylled *Cynna* the *Tri-* bune being in name lyke to *Cynna* the *Pretor* that spake euill of *Caesar*, and wold not tarry to heare the declaration of his name, but cruelly toze him a peeces, and leste not one parte to be put in graue. They caried fire against other mens houses, who manlye defending themselves, and the neighbours entreating them, they refrayned from fyre, but threatned to be in armes the next day. Wherefore the strikers hid themselves, and fled out of the Citty. The people returned to the Litter, & caried it as an holpe thing, to be buried in an holy place among the Gods, but because the Priests did deny it, they brought hym againe into the common place, where the Pallace of the old Kings were, and there, with al the bourds & tymber, which they could find in the place, which was muche, beside that every man broughte of himselfe, with garlandes and other gifts of priuate persons, making a solemne shew, they buryed the body, and abode al night about the fyre. In the whiche place, at the first was made an Altare, but now there is a temple of *Caesar*, where he is thought worthy diuine honors. For his son by electio, *Octauius*, taking the name of *Caesar*, & disposing the state after his example, which then taking the beginning, & he exceedingly aduancing to the degre it is now, did thinke his father to deserue honors equall with the Gods, the which at this time hauing their originall, & Romaines now ble to giue the same to hym that ruleth the estate, vnesse he be a Tyranne, or disfaimed at his death, that in olde tyme could not suffer the name of a Kyng alque.

*Caesars* shape  
shewed in  
vixare.

Change of peo-  
ples mindes.  
The Senate  
house set a fire  
vvherein *Caesar*  
vvas killed.  
One *Cynna* kil-  
led another.

Tumulte and  
rage of people.

*Caesars* funerall.

A Temple to  
*Caesar*.

The Romaines  
vsed to giue di-  
uine honours  
their princes.

Thus

Thus in Marche  
the 8. dayes fol-  
lowing the first  
7. daies.

Casars corneth  
the Southsayers.

A comparison  
betwene Alex-  
ander and Casar.

Ammon in the  
deserts of Aee-  
gypt, where Iu-  
piter gaue ora-  
cles.  
In India at the  
place called  
Maori.  
Pamphilia in Asia  
the lesse.

Alexanders asis.

Casars adies.

Thus Casar was killed, on the day which they call the Ides of Marche, whiche daye of the Moneth, the Southsayer sayde he shoulde not passe, at the whiche, he, in the morning mocked him, saying, the Ides be come: to whome he answered bololye againe, but they be not yet gone.

Thus hee despising as well the foresayings of this constant Southsayer, as all other tokens spoken of before, went abroad, & was killed y. lvi. yere of his age. A man most happy & fortunate in al his noble actions, and most like vnto Alexander the great, for they both were very ambitious, and valiant and swift to execute their enterpryses, in perils moste bolde, of their bodies most carelesse, and did not more trust in Soldiours seruice, than in courage and fortune, of the which the one, in the heate of summer thzough places voide of water, went to Ammon, and came ouer the gulfes of Pamphilia, of the crosse surgyng Sea, fortime staying the ragyng waues whiles he passed, and sendyng hym rayne when he wente by lande, he assayed the Indian Sea that was not paungable. He was the firste that scaled a town, and alone mounted the enimies wall, & alone receyued .xij. woundes on his body, euer inuincible, and alwayes getting victoery at the first or the second Battayle. He subdued manye barbarous nations in Europe, and overcame the Grecians, a valiant people, and louing libertie, and before him, obeying none, but Philip, & that a litle while, for an honour to appeare in his seates of warre. Asia, (as a man may say) he ranged all ouer, and briefely for to tell his fortune and Empire, as much land as he saw, he gotte. And conceyuing and determining a Conquest of the rest in his mind, he was destroyed.

To Casar the Ionian sea gaue place in the middest of winter, and shewed it selfe cauline to his navigation. He also sayled the Byttaine Ocean, not attempted before, and falling vpon the rockes of Englande, he had the shipmayster runne a shore and sitte their shippes. In an other sea, arising with the streame alone in the night in a litle boate, he hadde the mayster let the sayles go to the winde, and trust more in Casars fortune, than in the Sea. Against his enimies alone he hath lepte many tymes,

and

and all the reste haue bin afraide. He alone did fighte with the frenche thirtie times, til he had subdued fourtie nations of the, whiche were so terrible to the Romaines, as olde and holy men, by lawe were prauiledged from warre, except when the French enimie came, for then both horse and olde men muste go forth. At Alexandria, being left alone to fight on the brydge, and beset on euery side, he threwe off his purple, and leapte into the sea, and being sought of hys ennemies, he diued in the bottome a greate while, and only sometime rose to take breath, til a friendly shippe came nigh hym, to whome he helde by his hands, shewed himselfe, and was saued.

Al ages and de-  
grees must strue  
against the frenche.

Falling into the ciuill wars, eyther for feare, (as he did say) or for desire of rule, hee diide matche wpth the valiauntest Capitaines in his tyme, in many and great battailes, not Barbarians onely, but also Romaines, whiche in manhode and fortune dydde excel, and overcame them all, eyther at the firste or at the seconde battaile. Hys armye not being inuincible, as Alexander, for in France, Cotta and Titurus hys lieutenants were euidently ouercome with a greate losse, and in spaine, Petreius and Affanius helde hym besieged. In Dyrrachio and Libya, they fled slowly awaye, and in spaine they were afraide of young Pompey. But Casar himselfe was euer voide of feare, and in the ende of euery warre, had the victorie.

Casars had losse  
sometymes.

The Romaine Empire from the weaste to the floude Euphrates, by force, or by fayze meanes he obtayned, muche surer and stronger than syla.

Euphrates a floud  
of Macedonia,  
running into the  
redde Sea by  
Babylon.

He shewed hymselfe to be a King in spight of them al though he woulde not receiue the name. And he also hauing made determination of other warre, was taken away. Besyde forth, their armies were alike: prompte to them bothe with a beneuolente minde: and in sighte, of lyke fiercenesse: disobedient many tymes to them both, and ful of sedition for their long laboures. Neither thelesse, when they were deade, bothe after one sorte did lament and mone, and thought them woorthy diuine honours. They were both in body of good complexion and fayze: bothe of them hadde

¶

their

Caesar and Alexander lyke.

their petigrée from *Iupiter*, *Alexander* from *Aeacide* and *Hercules*, and *Caesar* from *Anchises* and *Venus*. As both were desirous to conquere with whome they contended, so easy to be entreated and to forgive them whom they had subdued, and beside forgiveness, would do them good also, seeking nothing else but victory.

Alexander and Caesar vnylyke.

Thus farre they were alyke, but in rising to their rule, they were not of lyke power: for the one rose from a Kingdome increased by his father *Phillip*, the other from a private estate, yet noble and renowned, and very needy of money. Of tokens, whiche to them both were great, they were alyke contemners, yet neither of them angry with the Diviners, that didde foretelle their death. The tokens were like many times to them both, & to like effect. Twice to them both were unlucke signes, in the whiche the first shewed to them both doubtfull danger. *Alexander* among the *Oxidians*, scaling the wall befoze the *Macedonians*, being utterly destitute by breaking of the ladders, leapt boldly among his enemies within, where he was sore hurt in his breast, & in the necke, & beaten down with a mighty mace, so as he was hardely saved by the *Macedonians*, that for very shame burst open the gates. *Caesar* in *Spain*, when his army was very feareful of *Pompey* the young, and refused to go to the fight, ran betwene them both, & receyued .ij. darts upon his Target, his army ran in for feare and shame, and saved hym. So the firste unlucky sacrifices didde signifie perill of death to them both, and the seconde, death it selfe indeede.

These people be of Indit and called Malli of Pharaech.

Perill of Alexander.

Perill of Caesar.

*Pythagoras* a Soothsayer, tolde *Apollodorus* that was afraide of *Alexander* and *Ephestion*, that he shoulde not neede to feare, for by the sacrifice, he founde that both of them shoulde shortly be dead. And comming to passe, that *Ephestion* died by and by after, *Apollodorus* was afraide that some treason had bin wroughte againste the King, and tolde hym what the Soothsayer had sayde: he smiled, and asked of *Pythagoras* what the token did pretende, he answered the laste day, whereat he smiled agayne, and thanked *Apollodorus* of his faithfulness, and the Soothsayer of his confidence. To *Caesar* (as we haue sayde) the laste tyme that he went

wente into the Senate, the same tokens happened. Whereat he laughed, and saide: The like was sene in *Spain*, and when the Divinour answered, that then he was in daunger, but now the token signifieth more certaine death, then relenting some what to this free speeche, he sacrificed againe, till he tarried so long aboute the sacrifices, that he was angry, and went in and was killed.

The like happened to *Alexander* when he came from *India* to *Babylon* with his army, where being nigh, the *Chaldeans* exhorted hym to refraine at this presente, to whome he rehearsed a verse.

The best Prophet is he, that coniectureth honestly.

When the *Chaldeans* warned hym the second tyme, not to go with his army on his weast side, but to compasse & take the City on the East, and stay there: with that (they say) he was content, and beganne to go about, but being angry at the moony and fenny way, he contemned the seconde warning, and went in at the Weaste. Then he sayled upon *Euphrates* to the floud *Pallacotta*, that receyvethe *Euphrates*, and runneth into the *ffennes*, whereby *Assyria* is kept from ouerflowing. He minded to haue defended this floud with a wall, and whiles he was sayling upon it, they say he scorned the *Chaldeans*, bycause he safely had entred *Babylon*, and was come forth againe to saile, but it was but deferred till he came againe, for then he dyed out of hande.

Alexander contemned tokens.

Euphrates, & Pallacotta, floudes.

The lyke contempt *Caesar* seemed to vse, for the Soothsayer hadde appoynted the daye of his death, and saide he shoulde not passe the Ides of March: when that day was come, he laughed at hym, and sayd, the Ides were come, but that very day he was killed. Both they despised his Prophecies alyke, but were not angry with the Prophets, yet they both dyed as they were tolde. They were both studious of learning and vertue, as wel of their own cuntry, as of Greke & other strangers. *Alexander* delighted in

Caesar contemned tokens.

W. y.

the

Brachmāes vver  
the vwise Philo-  
sophers of India,  
chosen to it by  
consent.

the *Brachmanes*, whiche among the *Indians* be reputed moste lear-  
ned and wise men, as the *Magies* among the *Persians*, *Cesar* de alte  
with the *Aegyptians*, when he putte *Cleopatra* in hys kyngdome,  
wherby he directed many ciuill things in *Rome*; & among other, he  
turned the order of the yeare, being without certaintie, because  
of the odde moneths (for they measured it by the *Moon*) to the  
course of the *Sunne*, as the *Aegyptians* doe. It was hys  
happe that none dydde escape that soughte hys death,  
but by hys heyre receyued worthe punishmente,  
as *Alexander* dydde them, that kyled *Phil-  
lippe* hys father. Howe that was done  
the booke in order shall  
declare.

(.)

### The end of the second booke of Ciuill dissentions.

*Agathas* *Exopodis* in *cy* *Exopodis*  
Cesar at *pharsalia* made *Exopodis* for *Exopodis* of *Exopodis*  
Cesar at *pharsalia* made *Exopodis* for *Exopodis* of *Exopodis*  
Cesar at *pharsalia* made *Exopodis* for *Exopodis* of *Exopodis*

*Exopodis*  
*Exopodis*

*Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis*  
*Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis*  
*Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis*

*Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis*  
*Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis* *Exopodis*

### Dissention.



Thus *C. Cesar*, & was most worthy of rule among  
the *Romaines*, was slayn of his enimies, & buried of  
the people. Of al his killers punishment, & how  
the best of them soonest receyued it, this Booke &  
the next shall declare, & likewise comprhende al  
the other Ciuill strifes, that the *Romaines* had among theselues.

The Senate blamed *Antony* for the funcrall of *Cesar*, by  
the which the people was so stirred, as they did forthwith de-  
spise the law of Obluion, and ranne with fire to the houses of  
the strykers. This unkindnesse, with one inuention, he turned  
into beneuolence. *Amatius*, a counterfaite *Mariane*, pretending  
to be *Marius* sonne, was for that name accepted of the people, &  
by this counterfaising, being taken as a kinsman to *Cesar*, he  
made most mone for his death, and set vp an Altar where he  
was buried. He had a rowte of *Ruffians* about him, & was e-  
uer terrible to the killers, of the whiche some were fled out of  
the citie, and so many as had by *Cesar*, the gouernment of pro-  
uinces, were gone to their charges. *Decimus Brutus* was gone  
to Fraunce next *Italie*: *Trebonius* into *Asia* aboute *Ionie*: *Tullius*  
*Cimber* into *Bythinia*. But *Cassius* & *Marcus Brutus* with whome  
the Senate bare most, and were likewise chosen of *Cesar* to be  
*Presidents* for the yeere to come, as *Cassius* in *Syria*, & *Brutus* in  
*Macedonia*, being yet officers in *Rome*, of necessitie and law, (as  
*Pretors*) must attend vpon the dispatch of the that should haue  
places appointed to liue in, & gaue audience to anye other that  
made sute to sell the partes of their places, which by law was  
forbiddē to be done within .xx. yerres. With these *Amatius* did  
conspire, & only expected occasiō. At the talke of this conspiracy,  
*Antony*, as Consul, came vpon them, & apprehended *Amatius*, &  
without iudgemēt, put him to death very stoutly. The Senate  
marueled at this matter, as great & beside law, yet the commo-  
dittie of it, they embraced very ioyfully: for without such stout-  
nesse, they thought *Brutus* & *Cassius* could not be in safetie. The  
companions of *Amatius* and other people with them, for the

Tunult.  
Amatius the colli-  
terierie *Marius*.

Lombardy.  
Asia the tell e.

Amatio put to  
death by  
Antony.

P.ij.

loue

loue of him, were much greued at this fact, chiefly that *Antony* should so dispatche one that was honoured of the people. They could not abide so to be despised, wherefore, with shoutes they went crying out of *Antony*, & commaunded the Magistrate to erect an aulter to *Amatio*, & there to make the firste sacrifice to *Cesar*. They were driuen out of the common place by the souldiours that were sent of *Antony*, wherewith they were moze greued and made greater noise: some of them brought forth the settles of *Casars* pictures pulled downe, and whereas one sayde he could bring them to a shop where his images were defaced, they straight way followed him, & when they saw it, they set al a fire, till other were sent of *Antony* which killed parte of the that stode to their defence, and parte they tooke, & as many as were bonde they hanged, and the free men, they threw downe headlong: and thus, this tumult ceased. But extreme hate of exceeding loue, was now wrought in the people, agaynst *Antony*. The Senate was glad, as though there was none other feare to be had touchyng *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

And further, where *Antony* purposed to call home *Sextus Pompey*, some to *Pompey* the great, who yet was loued of al mē, out of *Spayne*, where still he made warre with *Casars* Captaynes, and for his fathers goods confiscate, to giue him of the common, fūe thousand millions of *Drammes* of *Athens*, and to make him admirall of the sea as his father was, and to vse the *Romaine* stautes, where so euer they were, to al occasions: The Senate not a litle marueled, & accepted his offer, spending an whole day in the prayse of *Antony*, for they knewe no man moze accepted, nor better beloued of the people than *Pompey*.

*Brutus* and *Cassius* the most honozable of all other, & of *Pompeys* faction, thought to holde their safetie with sure hande, and that the course that they had takē should preuaile, and the peoples authoritie be surely confirmed, and that their estate should stande. *Cicero* for this, made continuall prayse of *Antony*, and the Senate considering that the people euidently did meane euill to him, gaue him leaue to chole him a gard for his person of the olde souldiours that resorted to him: he, eyther bycause

The consules of *Amatio* punished.

*Antony* pretended to call home yong *Pompey*.

Millions he here receiued.

*Cicero* prayseth *Antony*. The Senate giueth a garde to *Antony*.

he had done all to this ende, or for that he would embrace this occasion so fauourable, picked out at length a garde of vij. M. *Antony* chooseth a legion for his garde. not of the common Citizens, whom he knew he might haue at his pleasure at any other time, but of all the leaders and Captaynes of experience and estimation in *Casars* army. Of these, he chose chiefe officers in comely order, whome he vsed honorably, and made them partakers of ordinary Counsels. The Senate dyuen into a iealousie for this number and choyse, The Senate in a iealousie of *Antony*. counsayled hym to reduce this garde as enuious, to a conuenient number: he promysed so to doe, when he had quieted the tumultes of the people.

Soe where by decree he had stablished all that *Cesar* had done and would doe, and had the wrytings of menioriall in his custodie, and *Phaberius* *Casars* Secretary at his commaundement, for *Cesar* goyng away, lefte all his determinations with *Antony*, he added many things to the behoofe of many men: he gaue graunts to Cities, Princes, and to his owne garde. And he made knowne to all them, that coulde clayme any thyng by *Casars* assignation, that they takyng the benefite, might yelde him the thankes, and by this meane he brought many into the Senate and degree to himselfe, & the other, he wan with faire promise, that they did no moze maligne agaynst his garde.

*Brutus* & *Cassius* perceiuing nothing, neither of the people, nor of the souldiours to appeare peaceable for the, neither unlikely but y<sup>e</sup> conspiracie of *Amatio* might be done agaynst the by some other, neither well abiding bartable *Antony*, that bare himself so boldly of his army, nor seying that the peoples rule could be confirmed by these doings, but suspecting that *Antony* wrought agaynst it, they put their chiefe trust in *Decimo*, who had three Legions, lying in the sides of *Italy*. They wrote secretly to *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and to *Tullius* in *Bythinia*, to gather money closely, and loke aboute for an armye. They were desirous to take the prouinces that *Cesar* had appointed the, but y<sup>e</sup> time did not yet suffer them. They thought it not conuenient to leaue their office in the Citie, befoze the end of the same, and to run into suspicion of desire of rule of nations. They chose rather for the

*Antony* chooseth a legion for his garde.

The Senate in a iealousie of *Antony*.

*Phaberius*.

*Antony* abuseth *Casars* testament.

*Brutus and Cassius made purveyors.*

their necessitie, to spende the meane time, as priuate men, than to be officers in the Citie, where they could neyther be sure of themselves, nor do anye thing to their honour, in the seruice of their countrey. Being in this case, and the Senate perceyuing their minde, they thought good to make the purueyers of grain for the Citie, from euery countrey, til the time might serue the to take the charge of their prouinces: and thus they did, that *Brutus* and *Cassius* shoulde not seeme to flie. So great a care and reuerence was there of them, that for them chiefly they maintained the other killers. When *Brutus* and *Cassius* wer gone out of the Citie, and *Antony* nowe alone ruled all, he coveted the presidentship of some prouince, and the armye therof: he was chiefly desirous of *Syria*, but knowing he was already suspected, he thought he should be moze, if he required any, for the Senat had secretly wrought *Dolabella* to be against him, who was the other Consul, and always at strife with *Antony*. *Antony* seeing that *Dolabella* was a yong man and ambitious, perswaded him to aske *Syria*, in *Cassius* place, and their army that was made against the *Parthians*, but not to aske it of the Senate, (for that was not expedient) but of y people, by a law. He was perswaded by and by, and propounded the lawe. The Senate aleaged that he brake *Casars* actes: he answered, that the war of *Parthia*, was appointed to no man by *Casar*, and that *Cassius*, who was sent to *Syria*, was the first that had altered *Casars* decrees, in giuing leaue to them that wer assigned dwellings in the coutry, to sel their portions befoze twenty yeares determined by law: a that he could not take it wel, being *Dolabella*, not to be thought worthy of *Syria*, befoze *Cassius*. The Senate perswaded *Asprina* one of the Tribunes, to find a fault in the assely by some toké, hoping that *Antony* would haue allowed it, being Consul, and officer of the tokens, and stil (as they thought) at variance with *Dolabella*.

*A device to defeat a lawe.*

The electio now being come, & *Asprina* affirming the toké to be unlucky, & then the maner was to send other into it, *Antony* was angry at the subtilty, & commaunded the companies to make choyce for *Dolabella*. And so was *Dolabella* made president of *Syria*.

*Dolabella president of Syria.*

*Syria*, and generall of the army against the *Parthians*, and of the legions that *Casar* had gathered for this purpose, and left in *Macedonia*. This was the first time that *Antony* seemed to fauoure *Dolabella*. This being done of the people, *Antony* required *Macedonia* of the Senate, thinking they would be ashamed to denye it him, seeing *Dolabella* had *Syria*, and nowe voyde of an office. The Senate gaue it him unwillingly, and maruelled that he would deliuer the armye that was there to *Dolabella*, whome yet they were glad shoulde haue it befoze *Antony*. Some *Brutus* friends thought good to aske *Antony* other prouinces for *Brutus* and *Cassius*, so *Cyrene* and *Creta* was giuen them, or as some saye, both *Creta* and *Syrene* to *Cassius*, and *Bythinia* to *Brutus*. And these were the doings at *Rome*.

*Macedonia giuen to Antony.*

*Cyrene a Citie and a prouince in Africa, now Corema. Creta, an Ilande in the middest of the Sea, now Cardia.*

*Syrene and Creta to Brutus and Cassius. Octavius Casars nephew, at Patlona, which is on the other side of the gulfe of Venice.*

*Octavius*, *Casars* sisters nephew, was made of *Casar* generall of the horsemen for one yeare, and this honoz *Casar* vled to gyue to his friends from yeare to yeare. He being yet yong, was sent of *Casar* to *Patlona* to apply his booke, and to be trayned in seates of warre, there to remayne whilist he wente againste his enemies, and to exercise himselfe with the bands of Horsemen that came from *Macedonia*, with other great Captaynes of the armie that resorted thither to bist hym, as *Casars* kinsman, whereby he was knowen to many, and wanne the loue of the army, for he receyued them that came to him with great curtesie. Hauing bin now sixe monethes in *Patlona*, about the euening, it was told that *Casar* was slayne in the Senate house, of them that he loued best, and might doe most with hym. Of further matter nothing being yet tolde, he stood in feare and doubt, whether it were the whole publike worke of the Senate, or some priuate practise, or whether the doers were punished of the moze parte, or whose acte it was, or whether the multitude did ioyne with them. After thys, his friends sente to hym from *Rome*, wishing him to goe to the host of *Macedonia* for his suretie, in the which place, after it shuld be knowen, that it was no common fact, he might be a terroze to his enemies, in reuenging of *Casar*, and diuers of the Captaynes promised him, that if he woulde come to them, they woulde see hym safe. His mother, and *Philip* his father in lawe wrote vnto

to him, to take nothing vpon him, nor to be encouraged, remembering that after *Caesar* hadde ouercome his enimies, he was thus vsed of his dearest friendes. The priuate life at this present was further off from perill, and now rather to be chosen, and if he were with them at *Rome*, he should be well kept. *Octavius* by these perswaded, without further knowledge, what was done after *Caesar*'s deathe, embracing the Captaynes, sayled ouer the *Ionian* Sea, not taking land at *Brunduse*, bycause he did not trust the army that was there, and therefore was well ware: but at another Citie not farre off, called *Lupio*, where he stayed, and receyued aduertisementes from his friends, of *Caesar*'s deathe, of the peoples tumult, of the publication of his testamente, and of the orders taken, and was aduised to beware of *Caesar*'s enimies, bycause he was named his sonne and heire, & counselled him not to take the inheritance vpon him. But he, thinking it a dishonour, as wel of this, as not to reuenge *Caesar*'s death, wot to *Brunduse*, seying afoze to search, that there should be none of the strikers in anye awaite. The army of that place did meete him, and receyued him as *Caesar*'s sonne, where with good courage he made sacrifice, and straightway accepted the name of *Caesar*, for the *Romaines* vsed to giue their name to them whome they made their childezen by adoption, which he did not only admitte, but changed his name fro *Octavius*, *Octavius* sonne, to *Caesar*, *Caesar*'s sonne, which continued till his ende. By and by was there great repaire of men to him, some as *Caesar*'s friendes, some as his seruantes, and freemade men, and some souldiours with them, some bringing preparation & money toward *Macedonia*, and some other reuenues of other prouinces to *Brunduse*. He then trusting vpon the multitude that came vnto him, and in *Caesar*'s gloze, and in the beneuolence of all men to him, toke his journey toward *Rome*, accompanied with a conuenient number, which dayly like a streame did increase, being safe from open force, by the multitude of people, not without suspition of deceypt, bycause all that came with him almost were of new acquaintance, and euery citie did not fauour him. But *Caesar*'s souldiours, and such as were by his appoyntment placed, came from the habitations to the fauour of this yong man. They lamented

*Octavius* sayleth into Italy.

*Lupio* Texe, a port Towne.

The army at *Brunduse* receyued *Octavius*. Adoption.

*Octavius* receyued the name of *Caesar*.

Resort to yong *Caesar*.

for *Caesar*, and complayned of *Antony* that would not reuenge so great a mischiefe, affirming that they, if any man would be their guide, would reuenge his death. *Octavius* *Caesar* gaue them great prayse, and willed them to be quiet for the time, and came to *Ferracina*, about fiftie miles from *Rome*, where it was told him, that *Syria* and *Macedonia* was taken from *Brutus* & *Cassius* by the *Consuls*, and that to comforte them, *Creta* and *Syrene* were graunted them, and that certayne banished men were reuoked, and that *Pompey* was restored, and that many were made *Senatours* by *Caesar*'s determination, and diuers other things. Being come to *Rome*, his mother, & *Philip*, and their friendes came vnto him, and againe prayed him, not to dissent from the *Senate*, bycause it was decreed, that there should be no question of *Caesar*'s deathe. Further, they feared *Antony* and his power, who neyther came himselfe to meete *Caesar*'s sonne, nor sent any man to receyue hym, all the whiche *Octavius* toke very temperately, and said, it was meete that he should goe first to *Antony* as a yong man to an elder, and a priuate man to a *Consul*, and that he would obserue the *Senate* as should be conuenient. And though (quoth he) there be a decree, that no man should persecute the killers, and yet if any man durst take it in hand, both the people and the *Senate* by law, and the gods by iustice, yea and peradventure *Antony* also will be helps to it, & if he did refuse the inheritance & adoption, he should offend againste *Caesar*, & defraude the people of their distribution. In the end he knit by his speech, that it was not onely honest for him, to put himselfe in danger for this matter, but also, if neede be, to lose his life, otherwise he should seeme unworthy the choyce *Caesar* had made of him in so great matters, seeing he himself was wont to contemne all maner of perill. Then turning to his mother, he rehearsed those words that *Achilles* spake to *Thetis*.

*Tenacora*, foule time *Antony*.

In desire of *Octavius*.

*Octavius* words to his mother.

*As do rather wish of my life an end,*  
*than I should see reuengement of my friend.*  
This word (quoth he) did winne *Achilles* immortall fame, but much more the deede, and that he ought to reuenge *Caesar*, not as a friende, but as a father: not as a fellowe souldiour, but as a *Generall*: not dying by lawe of warre, but murdered wickedly

wickedly in the Senate house. For this speeche, his mother, from feare, turned to you, embraced him, affirming he only was worthy for *Caesar*. This talke being ended, she prayed that all myghte haue lucky and prosperous successe with speede, yet she perswaded him at the firste, rather to vse policie and sufferance, than playnnesse and boldnesse, when he commending hir, answered he would so do. In the nighte, he sent to his friendes, and prayed them the nexte morning to be with him in the comon place with the other multitude. In that place meeting with *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Marcius Antonius*, a Pretor of the Citie, he sayde vnto him, that he did accept the adoption of *Caesar*, for it was the manner of Rome, that the adopted childe should exhibite testimonie to the Pretors, which beyng registred, he straighte wente out of the common place to *Antony* the other Con.ull, who was then in *Pompeys* gardings, whiche *Caesar* had giuen him: and when he had tarried at the gate a long whyle, he entred into a suspicion of *Antonies* alteration. Being at length lette in, due salutations and intretaynments were betwene them, and bycause they must talke of things that were expedient, *Octavius Caesar* sayd thus.

Adoption.

The meeting  
of *Octavius* and  
*Antony*.*Octavius* Orati-  
on to *Antony*.

I (Father *Antony*) for the benefites that *Caesar* shewed to thee, and the thanks thou gauest to him, requiring thee to be a father to me, do prayse thee for the things thou hast done for him, and I will be thy debtor of thanks for them; but wherein I may blame thee, I will speake it frankly, for dole doth thereto oblige me. When he was slayne, thou wast not present; the quellers holding thee withoute the doores, for either shouldst thou haue saved him, or hadst bin in the like danger thy selfe, of the which if the latter must haue happened. It is well now that thou wast absente. When some decreed them to be honored as againste a Tyrant, thou denyedst it effectually, for the which I know thou deseruest clere thanks: but if thou knowest that those men did conspire thy death, not as one that would reuenge *Caesar* (as we thinke) then were they not Tyrantkillers, and to haue they fled to the Capitoll, as to a Sanctuary like offenders craving mercy, or sake a soile, as enemies for their strength, wherefore obligation and acquittal of the murder was requested for thee, though

But as a successe  
four of his  
say they say.

some

some of the Senate or the people were corrupted of them, and if thou hadst bin otherwise minded, thy office did require thee to punish so great a fault, and to correct them that did erre, yet didst thou send pledges of thine owne into the Capitoll, for the assurance of the manquellers. Well, graunt the corrupted sort did force thee to it, but when *Caesars* Testament was redde, and thou madest his funerall Oration as righte was, and the people for the fresh memoire of *Caesar*, carryed a fire againste them, and for their neyghbours sake, spared them: and agayne, they were in armes twice the next day, why didst not thou help the people as their leader, with fire or armour, to punish the murthorers: if any punishment ought to be of them that are euident offenders, by thee, a friende to *Caesar*, a Consull, and *Antony*. *Marinus Amatinus*, by commaundement of thy great power, was put to deathe, but the quellers thou sufferedst to flee, and to runne to certayne prouinces, which wrongfully they holde, hauing killed him that gaue them. *Syria* and *Macedonia*, thou and *Dolabella*, doying well, when thinges were settled, toke from them, for the whiche I would thanke thee, if thou hadst not straight appoynted them to *Creta* and *Cyrene*, and thought fugitiues worthy prouinces, euer to be as garrisons against me. *Decimus* hauing France our neybour, you haue suffered, he also being made ruler of that, and other by my father, but some will say, the Senate did determine it, yea and thou didst confirme it, and latest as chiefe in that Senate, the which thou chiefly of all others for thy selfe, oughtest to haue resisted. To giue them obliuion of their faulte, was as a granting only of their liues; but to assigne prouinces and honours, was a continuellie of *Caesar*, and an ouerthrow of the iudgement. Therefore as passion dothe carrie me peraduenture beyonde the due respect of my peares and reuerence to thee, I will speake it, both as to a sure friende of *Caesar*, and of him, though worthe much honor and power, and also, as to one, that mighte haue bin his frende, if he had knowen that thou hadst come of *Achens*, rather than *Heracles*, for that did he muche comfort, when he toke order for his succession. But for the tyme to come, O *Antony*, for the Gods of friendship, and for the dutie to *Caesar*, if thou wilt,

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change.

change any of the things done, as thou must if thou wilt, if not, at the least help to further me, that minde to be reuenged of y<sup>e</sup> quellers, with the people, and such of my fathers friends as I haue: and if any respect of men, or of the Senate doth moue thee, be not angry with me. Thou knowest what a charge I and my house haue about these matters, for the performing of the distribution that my father gaue to the people, and for the care thereof, that by delaying of them, I might not seeme vnthankfull, nor they y<sup>e</sup> should receyue habitations in the countrey, shoulde be consumed by me, tarrying in the Citie. Of al that was to thee brought immediately after y<sup>e</sup> death of *Caesar*, to be in safetie for danger of his house, the iewels & apparel, I thinke good thou shalt haue, and al other things which thou wilt, but for the distributiō, giue me the copied gold which he had gathered for his determinate warres, which shall suffice me to deuide amōg threē hūndred thousand mē. The residue of the charges, if I may be so bold, I will eyther of thee, or by thy helpe, bozowe it of publike money, and forthwith make sale of my priuate substance. Whilest *Caesar* spake thus, *Antony* was astonished at his courage and boldnesse, farre beyond the opiniō of his yeares, and being greued with his speech made without reuerence of him, & specially for that he required the money, he answered him sharply after this manner.

If *Caesar*, together with his inheritāce and name (as *Sonne*) had left thee also the state, thou mightest well haue required an account of common things, and I must haue answered: but if the *Romaines* haue by oth decreed, that no man shall receyue rule by inheritance, nor no man be a successor to kings, whome they did expell, whiche was chiefly objected againste the father of the quellers, affirming they killed him as a king, and not as a Captayne, I ought not to aunswere thee touching any of these publike causes, and by the same reason, I do deliuer thee of the giuing of thanks, whiche thou owest to me therefore, for it was done not for thy sake, but for the peoples, yet one of the greatest actes that ever was done for *Caesar*, and for thee: for if I of mine owne boldnesse and hate to them, had ouerpass the honours

for the striker, as killers of a Tyrante, *Caesar* had bin iudged a Tyrant, to whome, neyther gloze, nor honoz, nor establishmente, of his actes had bin made, neyther Testament, Sonne, or substāce, had bin stayd, nor his bodye bin thought worthy buriall, no not, as a priuate man, for the law doth commaund the bodyes of Tyrants to be cast vnburiēd, their memozie to be rased, and theyr godes to be made common, all the which I fearing, did contend for *Caesars* immortall gloze, and for his publike buriall, neyther without perill nor enuie of mine owne person, of men fierce and full of bloudshed, and as thou mayst know, conspiring agaynst me, and of the Senat that could euill beare thy fathers gouernement: but I thought rather to offer my selfe to peril and trouble, than to suffer *Caesar* to be dishonored and vnburiēd, the best of all other men, most fortunat in his affaires, and of all other vsing me most honozably. By these mine onely perils, thou hast presently these singulare benefites of *Caesar*, his bloud, his name, his dignitie, and his substance, for all the whyche, thou oughtest rather to giue me thanks, than to reprehende me for anye thyng done for the appeasing of the Senate, for the recompence of such, as had deserued, or for other commodities and considerations, seying thou art yong in respect to me: therefore this shall be sufficient, for that thou spakest heerein. Thou doest glance at me, as though I were desirous of rule only, which I neuer coueted, and yet haue bin thought not altogether unworthy of it. Thou sayest I am soze, for that I was not made heire by his testament, yet by thine owne confession, I am content with the petigrée of *Hercules*. For thy necessitie, that thou wouldest borrow of the common treasure, I thinke thou didst but dissemble, bycause, thou canst not be ignozant, that all is consumed, & that thy father had y<sup>e</sup> receypt of all the reuenue, since he came to his authoritie, being brought to him in steade of y<sup>e</sup> treasure house, & to be found, in his substance, whē we had determined to search for the. This can be no wōg to *Caesar* being dead, nor be called vniust, though he wer aliue, y<sup>e</sup> being required, would yeld thee accōpts: & whē thou shalt find y<sup>e</sup> many priuate men will cōtend w<sup>th</sup> thee for hys goddes, thou shalt wel perceiue thou canst not obtaine the without great

contro,

Antonyes answer  
to  
Octavius.

controuerſie. As for the money which thou ſayeſt was left w<sup>th</sup> me, neyther was the ſumme ſo greate, nor nowe they be in my handes, for all were diſtributed to officers and magiſtrates, as thyants goodes, *Dolabella* and my breethren onely excepted, and by me beſtowed v<sup>po</sup> ſuch purpoſes, as *Caſar* had appointed: whē thou ſhalt haue the reſt, thou ſhalt beſtow it rather vpon the that may hinder the, thā on the people, if thou beſt wiſe, whome they will ſende away (if they be wiſe) to their habitations. For the people as thou oughtſt to know (being lately trayned in *Græke* letters) is vnkable, and euer mouing as waues in the Sea, now comming, now going. After the which ſorte, the people haue ſet aloſte ſoure ambitious men, and broughte them downe as lowe agayne.

Peop<sup>le</sup> vnkable.

*Octavius* ſelleth his ſubſtance.

*Octavius* beyng græued with many of theſe things that tended to contumelie, wente his way, often calling vpon his fathers name. He put to ſale his whole ſubſtance by and by that came vnto him by inheritance, coueting to winne the people by thys liberalitie, bycauſe *Antony* appeared a manifeſt enimie vnto him. The Senate intending to make enquire by decreē for the publike treaſure, many of them were afrayde of yong *Caſar*, for the bencuolence of his father had with the ſouldyers and the people, and for the preſent largeſſe in alluring of them, by conſuming of his ſubſtance which was verie greate, many thinking that he woulde not liue in the rate of a priuate man, and chieflie for that *Antony* woulde agré with him, bycauſe he was yong, famous, and rich, and would ſtill vſurp *Caſars* former dominion. Some were ioyfull of theſe things, that theſe men ſhoulde be at variance, and by the inquiſition of the moneys, *Caſars* riches ſhould waſt, and they haue abundance of the common treaſure, bycauſe muche of the publike ſtoze woulde be found among *Caſars* goodes. Many of them called *Caſar* into the lawe for theſe landes, every one clayming his owne, and for that muche was common, by reaſon of condemned, baniſhed, and attaynted men. Theſe controuerſies they brought befoze *Antony*, or befoze *Dolabella*, the other Conſul. If any matter were heard befoze other Judges, *Caſar* had euer the worſt, bycauſe of *Antonyes* friend

ſhip.

ſhip, albeit he ſhewed by record what his father had purchaſed, & that al his acts were ratified by the laſt decreē of the Senate. Many other actions of iniurie were put vp againſte him: extraordinarily, and they grew infinit, in ſo much as *Pedius* and *Pinaris*, to whom *Caſar* had giuen a portion of land, complayned of *Antony* for theſelues and for *Caſar*, as they that ſuffered wrong by the Senates decreē, affirming he ought to reſect onely matters of deſpight, and al other of *Caſars* doings he ſhould confirm. He answered, that things done peraduenture, had ſome contrarietie with the Senates decreē, and (quoth he) the decreē may be written contrary to the meaning. For where only obliuion of iniuries was graunted, there was no alteration of the former proceedings, neyther for his ſake, nor to be playne, for anye of their ſakes, rather than a deuice to apeaſe and ſtay the people which was in tumulte, and that it were moze iuſt to vſe the meaning of the decreē, rather than the wordes: neyther was it mete to reſiſt ſo many men, that by ſedition were fallen from their owne, or their auncetours poſſeſſions, for one yong man that beyonde all hope had gotten ſo muche of other mens ſubſtance, and none of his owne, viſing fortune not for honoure, but for inſolencie. Yet he ſayd he woulde fauour them, whē they had diuided with *Caſar*. Thus did *Antony* anſwere *Pinaris*, who ſtreight made diſmiſſion, leaſt their partes ſhoulde be conſumed in ſutes, not for theſelues but for *Caſar*, whom not long after they muſt gratify in all.

The time of playes drew nygh, which *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Antony*, ſhould exhibite for *Brutus* as Pretor, being abſent, in as good ſort as might be, becauſe *Brutus* had made great preparation for the ſame, thinking by this liberality & paſſime, the people woulde be wonne to cal him and *Caius* home again. But new *Caſar* working y<sup>e</sup> multitude to the contrary, did giue among the ambitious ſort (as euery man firſt came) al the money that he had got by his ſale, to preuent the others whole purpose. He went into euery common market, commaunding to be proclaimed, y<sup>e</sup> they ſhould ſel al his goods, thoughte that he had were neuer ſo good cheape, bycauſe of the doubtful and ſuſpicious

Playes for *Brutus*.

Ala.

pitious

pitious controuersie of the lawe and of his harte. Where by hee turned all the people to beneuolence and pitie, as vnto wozthe to suffer so muche. For whereas beside his owne heritage he had solde his priuate substaunce that came to him by his father *Octavius*, or by any other waye, and all that his mother and his husband *Philip* hadde, and clayming a portion of more goods of *Pedius* and *Pinaris*, he determined to sell all, as though *Casars* substaunce woulde not suffice, onely bycause of his veratios. The people thinking no longer y to be *Casars* giste, but *Octavius* liberalitie, they had inwarde compassion of him, wondring at his great attemptes, and well perceyving that he would not long passe for *Antonies* displeasure.

The playes described.

Now were the playes of *Brutus* shewed in most ample manner. When certaine hyzed men, did cry that *Brutus* and *Cassius* might be called home, and the rest of the Theatre did agree vnto them for their pardon, the other rushed in by heapes, and marred all the playe, and quenched their instant request. *Brutus* and *Cassius* vnderstanding that *Cesar* had dashed their hope in the shewe, they determined to goe to *Syria* and *Macedonia* by force, as prouinces appointed to them befoze *Antony* and *Dolabella*.

This being euident, *Dolabella* also went into *Syria*, and made hast by the way, to make money in *Asia*. *Antony* desired much to haue the army of *Macedonia*, as very fit for the maintenance of his power, being in vertue best, and in power most, (for they were sixe legions) beside other number of Archers, Darters, and light armed, with many horsemen and other greate furniture for the warre, al the whiche he feared should follow *Dolabella* into *Syria*, going against the *Parthians*, whether *Cesar* had appointed them. He minded to haue them himself, bycause they were nyghe to the sea of *Ionis*, fro whence he might some bring them into *Italie*. In the meane time a sodaine rumoz came, that *Geetes*, knowing of *Casars* death, did inuade *Macedonia*. Wherefoze *Antony* required his armie of the Senate, that he myght punish the *Geetes*, bycause they were first appointed against the of *Cesar*, & so that all was now quiet wth the *Parthians*. The Senate

The *Geetes*, be a people of *Sybia* in *Europe*. The name now is turned into the *Thracians*.

Senate suspected this rumoz, and sente to vnderstande the certainty of it.

*Antony*, to deliuer them of feare and suspicion hereof, decreed that for no cause it should be lawfull to create a Dictator, nor that any man should take it, though it were given him: and if any man did perceyue anye to contemne this order, it should be lawfull to kill him wheresoeuer he were mette. By this meanes he did temper the hearers, and practising with *Dolabella* friend to giue him one legion, he was chosen captaine of the army, & Lieutenant of *Macedonia*. Having now what hee would, he sent his brother *Cains* in al hast to cary the decree to y army.

*Antony* deuisech to stoppe the creation of a Dictator.

They that wente to vnderstande of the *Geetes* being returned, affirmed that they saue no *Geetes* in *Macedonia*, but they added (either saying true, or being taught of *Antony* what they shold say) It was to be feared, if the army were taken away, the *Geetes* would ouerrunne *Macedonia*.

Whiles this was doing in *Rome*, *Cassius* and *Brutus* did gather money and men, and *Trebonius* that was gouernour in *Asia* did make Cities strong for them, and woulde not admit *Dolabella* neither at *Pergamo* nor at *Smirna*, onely he appointed him a market place out of y wals as to a Consul. He therfoze went about with anger to winne the walles: *Trebonius* not obtayning, promised he should be receiued at *Ephesus*: he going thither, *Trebonius* sent certaine alowe to see his doings: who, when night was come, seeing him going on, not suspecting anye thing else, leste a fewe to followe hym, and returned to *Smirna*. *Dolabella* having layde wayte for this matter, turned vpon these fewe, and slewe them, and streight in that nighte came to *Smirna*, whyche finding without wathe, he toke wth a scale. *Trebonius* was founde in bedde, and despyed hee mighte be broughte to *Dolabella*, and that hee woulde willingly followe them. One of the Captaynes looked on hym, and sayd: Come on, giue vs thy heade, for thy heade, not thine, are we commaunded to bring: and when he had thus sayde, he stroke off his heade streight. When daye was come, *Dolabella* caused

*Dolabella* kept out. *Ephesus*, now *Eghe* in *Ionis*, *Dolabella* taketh *Smyrna*.

Al. If.

caused

Trebonius killed  
and spightfully  
vied.

Trebonius one of  
the conspirators  
was the first  
that was killed.

Celtica now  
Lombardy.

Senate vvor-  
keth secretly a-  
gainst Antony.

Critonius shewes

Edilis Cerealis, &  
of houses as euel  
prolone as holy.

caused *Trebonius* heade to be set vp ouer the iudgemente place wher he was wot to giue audiēce. The army (in fury) y folowed y cape, & the people (bicause *Trebonius* was priuy to *Casars* deith, and helde *Antony* with a tale without, when they killed *Casar* in the Senate house) did vse his body very spightfully, & threw his head vpon a pauemēt of stone, like a bal frō one to another, which whē they had scozefully vsed, they crushed and bzake it a pierces. And this was the first of *Casars* strikers that receiued this punishment.

*Antony* intended to bring the army from *Macedonia* into *Italy*, and wanting other pretence ther vnto, desired the Senate, that in steade of *Macedonia* he might haue *Fraunce* within the *Alpes*, of the which *Decimus Brutus Albinus* was ruler, remembring that *Casar* brought his army from thence, when he ouercame *Pompey*: but when it was perceyued, that he minded to bring that army not into *Italy* but into *Fraunce*, and the Senat considering that part of *Fraunce* to be as a strong fort for thē, was grieved, and now vnderstode the deceptes of *Antony*, repenning they had giuen *Macedonia* vnto hym. Wherefore they sent priuie messengers to *Decimus*, to kepe his prouince strongly, and to gather other army and money, that he might resist *Antony*. So muche were they troubled and in anger against *Antony*. And he, contrary to the Senats minde, intending to aske it of the people by lawe, as *Casar* once obtayned it before, and as *Dolabella* had *Syria*, now of late. And to asray y Senate, he commaunded his brother *Caius* to transpōrt the army of *Macedonia* by the *Ionian Sea* to *Brunduse*, and there to doe what *Antony* should require.

Nowe was there playes to be shewed by *Critonius* the ouerfcer of victuals. At the whiche *Casar* hadde prepared a crowne and a chayze of golde for his father, as in al shewes they had ordeyned, so to honour him.

*Critonius* sayde he woulde not admittē *Casar* to be honored in the charges y he should make. Wherefore *Octavian* brought him before *Antony* the Consul: *Antony* sayd he would put it to the Senate. Whereat *Octavian* being offended, Doe

so (quoth he) and I will set the Chaire till thou haste made the decreet.

*Antony* was angry and forbade hym. He forbade it also in othher playes after to be made, and that was somewhat vnfearful, for *Octavian* hymselfe did exhibit it, being instituted of hys father, to *Venus* his parent, to whome in the common place, hee builed a Temple wyth a Courte.

Of thys did manifeste hate growe agaynst *Antony* of all men, as though he did not rather enuy *Octavian* *Casar* now, than contemne the former vnthankfully. Young *Casar* with a multitude as a garde went among the people, and such as had bin benefited by hys father, or serued hym in the wars enuiously, hee besoughte them, that they woulde not suffer hym thus, to be so many waies despised, but both reuenge *Casar* their chieftayne and benefactour so dishonoured of *Antony*, and defende themselves, who should haue none assurance, vnlesse the things that he had decreed were established. He went vp to euery highe place of the Citie, and cried vpon *Antony*:

We not angry with *Casar* for me, nor dishonor him that hath moste honoured thee *Antony*, and was moste affectionated to thee, do me what injury thou wilt, but saue his substance from spoile, till the Citizens haue their parte, all the reste take vnto thee. It shal be sufficient for me, though I be poore, to be successfull to hys glozpe, so thou wilt suffer the people to haue their portio.

After these wordes, there was euident and continuall exclamation against *Antony*, and although he sharpe ly threatned *Octavian*, and that hys threats were openly known, yet did they the more stirre at it. Wherefore the chiefe of the Capitaines that serued in *Antonies* guard, in great estimation wyth hym, and had bin before wyth *Casar*, desired him he woulde leaue his dispyght, as well for their cause, as for his own, hauing serued vnder *Casar*, and receyued so many good turnes of him.

Which things *Antony* considering, and confessing them to be true, and halfe ashamed they shoulde be layde vpon hym, and now he shoulde haue neede of *Octavian*s helpe, for the prouince of

Gallia.

France,

*Antony* against  
*Casar*.

Hate agaynst  
*Antony*.

*Casar* to the  
people.

*Casars* exclama-  
tions against  
*Antony*.

The Capitaines  
of *Antony* in fa-  
uour of *Octavian*.

Antony reſteth

France, he beganne at lengthe to bee quiet, and to ſhewe, that ſome thyngs were done againſte hys wyll.

But bycauſe the young manne was ſo hawtie at thoſe yeares, hee dydde reuoke certaine thynges, ſo that he hadde no regarde nor reuerence to the Capitaines and olde officers: yet ſo they ſakes he woulde reſtaine hys anger, and returne to his olde conditions, if hee alſo woulde leaue hys insolent behauiour.

Reconciliation  
of Antony and  
Octavius.

The Capitaines being gladde of this, brought them together, & when they had declared their griefs, they ſet them at one. Now was the law called vpon ſo France, the Senate being againſt it, and intending to prohibite it, if Antony woulde propounde it to them, and if hee dydde not, but require it of the people, they woulde ſet the Tribunes to be againſt it, and ſome there were, that woulde haue it free from al Licutenants ouer that nation, ſo muche aſraide were they of it.

Antony did obiect vnto them, that they would truſte Decimus with it, that was one of Caſars killers, and diſtruſte hym that did not kill hym that manne that prouince, and made it fall to his knees, caſting forth openly againſt them al, as though they had bin deſirous of that was done to Caſar.

The Senat as  
keeth a guard:

The courte daye being come, the Senate willed the aſſembly of the companies to be gathered, and in the night, they ſette vpp Tenters in the common place, and called a bande of ſouldiours to defende them from all happes.

Octavius nowe  
ſpeaketh for  
Antony.

The people being offended, laboured ſo Antony by the helpe of Octavius, that ſate among the Tenters, who entreated ſo hym: ſo hee was very much aſraid, leaſt Decimus ſhoulde be Gouernour of a prouince of ſuche importance, and an armye ſo greate, beeing one that hadde kylled hys father: and ſo thys cauſe hee beganne to fauoure Antony, wyth whome he was reconciled, truſting to gette ſome good at hys hande.

Tribunes cor-  
rupted.

The Tribunes being corrupted of Antony, and keeping ſilence, the lawe tooke place, and the armye being nowe at the ſea,

was ſo reasonable conſideration aſſigned to Antony.

One of the Tribunes being dead, Octavius much fauoured Flamininus againſt the next election, and bycauſe the people thought himſelfe woulde haue the office, but reſuſed to aſke it, bycauſe of his yong yeares, they determined neuertheleſſe at the election, to make hym Tribune. The Senate had enuy at his increaſe, & were aſraide, if he were Tribune, he woulde accuſe his fathers killers to the people. And Antony not regarding to breake frienſhip with Octavius, whither it were to pleaſe the Senate, and to quiet their minds, ſo the late lawe made ſo hys prouince, or ſo their ſakes that ſhoulde go to inhabite as Conſull, he decreed that Caſar ſhoulde deale with no man but lawfullye, otherwiſe he woulde further by al means his auctoritie againſt hym.

Flamininus.  
The people  
mindeto  
make Octavius  
Tribune.Antony againſt  
Octavius againe

Thys declaration being vnpleaſaunte to Caſar, and conſumelious bothe to hym and the people, they were angrye, and intended to make ſtirre at the election, and to affraye Antony, and by the helpe of the other Tribunes, to reuoke the decree.

Seditious proce-  
ed.

Octavius Caſar, as one evidently deceyued, ſente manye to the Citties that hys father made ſo to inhabite, to ſhew them how hee was vſed, and to knowe their minds therein.

He ſent ſome alſo as cariers of victual into Antonies campe, to mingle among them, chiefelye to deale wyth the boldeſt of them, and among the reſte to ſcatter libells: and thus hee dydde.

The Capitaines and chiefe men with Antony, finding time conuenient, ſaide thus vnto him:

Whee (O Antony) that wyth thee haue ſerued Caſar, and gaue to hym chiefe auctoritie, and till this daye haue remayned as aſſured ſeruauntes of it, haue knowne that hys killers and the Senate fauouring them, dydde as muche hate, and ſeake to diſpatch vs. But when the people did diſturbe them, we were encouraged agayne, bycauſe wee ſawe that Caſar,

The oration of  
the Capitaynes  
to Antony.

was

'was not forgotten lacked no friendes, nor destitute of fauoure: yet did we put all our truste in thee, as in *Casars* friende, and nexte him, most acquainted in the seruice of warre, and nowe our Generall and for al respects most fit for it. When our enimies did rise, and boldly forre *Syria* and *Macedonia*, and prepared many and men against vs, and the Senate maintainyng *Decimus*, and thou consuming the tyme in contention with *C. Iulius Caesar* *Octavianus*, not without cause, we were afraide, that in tyme to come, this dissention betwene you, woulde raise a greater warre than hath bene, and geue occasion to our enimies to do what they woulde againste vs: all the whyche, seeyng thy selfe doest vnderstande, we beseeche thee, that for *Casars* sake, and for oure loue, whiche hath done nothing to offend thee, and for the commodities that may rise both to thee and vs, that whilest thou mayest, thou wouldest agree with *Octavianus*, whiche onely is sufficient, intending to be reuenged of the strikers. The whiche thing, cleare of all care, shall stay thee in auctoritie, and place vs in securitie, that now are in doubt both for thee, and for oure selues.

The chiefestaynes haupng sayde thus muche, *Antony* thus answered:

*Antony thus  
answers to the  
Captaynes.*

What beniuolence and loue I haue cuer borne to *Cesar*, in all hys causes, offering my selfe to moste perills of all other, you that haue bene in shouldour saue with me, and present to euery thing that hath bin done, can well testifie. How muche loue and good will he shewed to me, euen till his last day, I shall not neede to repeate. For his quellers, waping both these, meante to haue kylled me with him: as though I being a lue, they coulde not thinke their intentes to consist in safetie. And if anye manie bydde affraye them from that mynde, it was not done for desire and care of my life, but for a respecte onely that they woulde not seme to persecute their enimies, but to dispatche a Tyrant. Who then can thinke that I doe forgette *Cesar* my benefactour, or haue more esteemed his enimies than him, or woulde willingly forgyn them his death, that haue sought mine, as this new *Cas-*

*far* thinketh: How then commeth the obliuion of his deathe, and their aduancemēt to prouinces: for this he objecteth against me, and not the Senate? Heare you then how it hath come to passe. *Cesar* being slayne in the Senate house, euery man was afraide, and I most of all for *Casars* friendship, and ignorance of the facte, for I neyther hearde of the coniuration, nor vnderstode howe many were of the conspiracie. The people was in tumulte, and the strikers with the swordplayers toke the Capitoll, and made themselves fast, and the Senate was of their side, whyche is nowe more euidēt, because they decreed honours to them, as to the killers of a Tyrant, and if *Cesar* were a Tyrant, then must we haue bin destroyed strayght, as friends to a Tyrante. So I being troubled with tumult, with feare and sorrow, coulde not vse reason, nor bee without perplexitie, as you maye percepue, if you will consider, for on the one side, was neede of boldnesse vehement, and on the other dissimulation extream. Firste this was to be done (the residue easlie followyng) to take away the honoz to be gyuen to the strikers, againste the whiche I onely standyng, resisted both the Senate, and them, and broughte to passe with greate payne, vsing euidente courage, onely offering my selfe to that perill, supposing that we, *Casars* friendes, should be in suretie, if he were not condemned as a Tyrant. The lyke feare troubled our enimies and the Senate, that if he were not iudged a Tyrant, they shoulde be accompted manquellers. And for this contention, I thoughte it best to geue place, and to allow obliuion of hys death, in stead of honoz to be giuen to them, that I mighte wyne of them, as muche as by necessitie I coulde. And this was the manner of my doings, that neyther I dyd suffer *Casars* name to be abolished, nor his substance to be confiscate, nor his adoption (in the whiche this man nowe most gloryeth) to be dissolued, nor his testament to be frustrated. Hys bodye I caused to be buryed princely, and honoures due vnto him before, to be consecrated as immortall, and all his actes and decrees to be kept firme and sure, and hys sonne and our friends the Captaynes and the shouldoures, to be in good safetie, and to lue in honoz in stead of rebuke. Thinke you the obteyning of

these thynges of the Senate for Oblivion, were but small and trifles: or doe you thinke without Oblivion the Senate would haue graunted them: whyche for these causes (I thinke) is playnely to be performed, for a true dealing wyth the strikers, and for an immortall glory of *Cesar*, and all oure weale and suretie. The whyche I haue not done of that purpose, but to turne the course to the contrarie. For when I hadde brought the Senate to that that was profitable to vs, and allowed the killers to remayne in quiet, I did ouerthrowe the Oblivion, not by decree nor statute (for that I coude not) but by an earnest ielousie of the people, bringing *Cesars* bodie to be buried in the common place, and causing his woundes to be seene of the multitude, shewing his vesture bloudy and mangled, and declaring his vertue and beneuolence to the people, weeping when I made the mourning Oration. I called hym by the name of a kyled God. These were my wordes and workes, whereby the people was so prouoked, as in stead of Oblivion, they took fire, and wente to the quellers houses, and in the ende drove them out of the Citie. Howe thys was contrarie to the Senate, they beeyng greeued wyth it, it was evidently seene. For they accused me first of ambition, and appoynted prouinces to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Syria*, and *Macedonia*, whyche were full of greate armyes. And least they shoulde seme to make hast befoze they tyme, they gaue them pretence to prouide grayne for the Citie. Wherefoze a greater feare dyd yet trouble me, for lacke of an appoynted armye, as mine naked to fyghte wyth so manye well armed, my selfe lowe beeyng a man suspected, and disagreeyng from me, and one of the conspirators agaynst *Cesar*, and appoynted to be here at the daye of his deathe. For these thyngs beeyng in great trouble, and seeking with speede to disarme oure enemies, and to arme oure selues, I kyled *Amatius*. I thoughte good to call home *Pompey*, that by thys meane I mighte ioyne the Senate againe. Yet not much trustyng them, I perswaded *Dolabella* to aske *Syria*, not of the Senate, but of the people, by a lawe to be made: and in his sute I furthered hym, of a frende to make hym an enemye to the strikers: and that it shoulde seme verie

vnsyttte

vnsyttte for the Senate to denye me *Macedonia*, seeyng they hadde graunted *Syria* to *Dolabella*, for otherwise woulde they not haue graunted mee that prouince, nor deliuered me that armye, excepte they hadde firste graunted to *Dolabella* the same, to goe agaynst the *Parthians*: nor they woulde not haue taken from *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Syria* and *Macedonia*, vnlesse they hadde appoynted some other prouinces to them for theyr suretie. Speedes must they appoynte one for another, but what manner ones, *Cyrene* and *Creia*, boyde of armies, whyche they our enemies, in contempte, haue leste as vnprofitable, and by violence, haue entred the other, whyche we took from them. Thus was oure armye putte from oure enemies to *Dolabella*, by deuice and sleighte, and erchange of other prouinces: for where warre was not, there must thinges be done by lawe. This beeyng thus broughte to passe, and oure enemies gathering another armye, I hadde neede of the same my selfe, that was in *Macedonia*, yet wanted occasion to require it. When the same came that the *Getes* woulde inuade *Macedonie*, whyche not being belened, espies were sente to vnderstande the truth, I decreed, that no man ought to aske the Dictatorshippe, nor to take it though it were gyuen hym. By the whych thyng they beeyng chiefly allured, appoynted me the armye, and then dyd I thinke my selfe equall with mine enemies, not these that be euidente, as *Octauius* thynketh, but other moe in number, greater in power, and not yet appearing. When I had done this, one of the strikers remayned still hard at our sides, *Decimus Brutus*. He being a gouernoure of a greate countrey, and a mighty armye berpe bolde, I deuised to take his prouince from hym, yet wyth a regarde of the Senate, promising to deliuer *Macedonia* boyde of armye. The Senate takyng the thyng euill, and perceyuing some deuice to be hadde, what and howe greate matter was wrytten to *Decimus*, you knowe, and to stirre the Consulles agaynst mee, wherefoze wyth the moze boldenesse dyd I practise to wyne that prouince, not by the Senate, but by the people and lawe, and to haue the armye of *Macedonia* come to *Brunduse*, to

Wb.ij.

vle

' vse at all oportunities, and with the Gods help, we will vse them  
' as necessitie shall compell vs. Thus from muche feare, wherein  
' we were at the first, we be turned into safetie of them that haue  
' to doe wylh vs, and into boldnesse agaynste oure foes, whose  
' courage beginnes to shrinke, and ours to increase. You see what  
' repentance they make of their decrees, and what payne it was  
' to me to take *France*, gyuen to another man. You knowe what  
' they wrote to *Decimus*, and what they perswaded the Consuls a-  
' gaynste me for that matter, but wylh the Gods of oure Com-  
' trey, wylh dutifull mynde, and wylh oure valiante actes, by the  
' whiche *Cesar* was a conqueroure, we wyl reuenge him, labour-  
' ring with our bodyes, and counselling wylh sure mynds. These  
' thyngs (O Souldioure fellowes) I woulde haue secrete, al-  
' though howe I haue done them, I haue tolde you, with whome  
' I will participate all thyngs both in worde and dede, the which  
' you may shewe to any other that do not knowe it, onely *Octavius*  
' except, who is most vnthankfull to vs.

When *Antony* hadde thus saide, it seemed to the Captaynes  
that he had done all things with great art and policie, to deceiue  
the quellers whome he hated, and therefore they were desirous  
to reconcile them with *Cesar* once agayne, and perswaded them to  
meete in the Capitoll.

Not long after, *Antony* did cause some of his gard to be ap-  
prehended by his friendes, as entised by *Octavius* to destroy him,  
eithor to discredite *Octavius*, or for that he thoughte it true, lea-  
ning it of such as were sente to hys Campe. He declared this to  
be done by all coniecture, to dispatche hys person, whiche mat-  
ter being quietly heard, caused muche adoe and indignation a-  
mong the people. A fewe that were grounded vpon reason,  
were glad that *Antony* myghte doe *Cesar* good, and also hurte at  
hys pleasure, because hee was terrible to the strikers, and if he  
were once dispatched, they myghte wylh the more securitie, doe  
theyr feates, because the Senate chiefly fauoured them. Thus  
the wyser sorte did thinke: but the multitude seeing that despyght  
and hynderance was dayly offered to *Octavius*, they thoughte  
it not vnlike to be a calumination, and yet supposed it not good

Never despyghte  
of *Antony* a-  
gainst *Cesar*.

nor honest, that *Antony* being Consull, shoulde bee in daunger  
of hys person. *Octavius Cesar* with greate anger and furie wente  
among them that were of thys opinion, and cryed, that hee was  
circumuented of *Antony*, for the frendshyppe that he onely had  
with the people, and ranne to *Antonyes* house, and there he ex-  
claymed and called the Gods to witnesse, with all execrations  
and othes, prouoking hym to come to tryall: and because no bo-  
dye came to hym, he sayde to hys friendes, I am contente to bee  
iudged by hys owne people. And with that, he brake in at the  
dores, but being kepte backe, he sware, and rebuked them that  
kept the gates, because they stopped hym from making fur-  
ther tryall wylh *Antony*. He wente hys way, and protested  
to the people, that if any hurte came vnto hym, it shoulde come  
by *Antonyes* meanes.

*Cesar* exclays  
meth agaynste  
*Antony*.

Having spoken this with greate vehemencie, it græued the  
people, and some of them repented of theyr former opinion.  
Some stood in doubt, and trusted neyther of them. Some  
thoughte it a dissimulation betwene them, the better to bying  
to passe, that they had agreed vpon in the Temple agaynste their  
enimies: and some thought *Antony* deuised it, to haue a greater  
garrison about him, and to turne mens good will from *Octavius*.

Nowe was there secrete intelligence gyuen to hym, that the  
armye at *Brundise*, and the ordinarie Souldiours, were angrie  
with *Antony*, because he neglected *Cesars* death, and that they  
woulde reuenge it to their power, and that *Antony* was gone in  
hast to *Brundise* for this cause. *Octavius* was afrayde, least he re-  
turning with his armye, shoulde finde hym vnprouided. He  
tooke mony, and wente to *Campania*, to winne the Cities that  
were inhabited by such as had serued his father, and first he per-  
suaded *Celatia* and *Silio*, two Townes about *Capua*. He gaue eu-  
erie man fye hundred drammes, and had tenne thousande menne,  
neyther armed, nor distributed into due bands and order, but on-  
ly as a gard of his person vnder one ensigne. They in the Citie  
were afrayde of *Antonyes* commyng with his army, and when  
they heard that *Octavius* was commyng with another, they were  
in a double feare, and some toke it well, that they mighte vse

*Antonyes* armye  
at *Brundise*  
discontented.

*Antonyes* goyng  
to *Brundise*, shoulde  
be expected to *Cesar*.

*Octavius* goeth  
to make men.  
*Celatia* in *Latio*.  
*Silio*, *Casilinum*  
in *Campania*, not  
farre from  
*Capua*.  
Feare in the  
Citie.

*Octavius* against *Antony*. Some that sawe theyr reconciliation in the Capitoll, thought it but a dissimulation, and a recompence of the one to be in authoritie, and the other to persecute the quellers.

In thys disquietnesse, *Carnutius* the Tribune, enemie to *Antony*, and friende to *Octavius*, wente to knowe the truth, whyche beeyng done, hee declared to the people that there was playne variance betwene *Antony* and *Octavius*, and that it stode them in hande to make *Octavius* theyr friende, seeing they had none other armie to resist *Antonyes* Tyrannie. When he had sayde thus, he willed *Octavius* to enter, who lay a little withoute the Citie at the Temple of *Mars*. Hee dyd so, and came to the Temple of *Iupiters* chydren, about the whyche the Souldiours stode with theyr weapons openly. *Carnutius* spake firste against *Antony*. Then *Octavius* hymselfe reuiued the memorie of hys father, and shewed what iniurie *Antony* hadde done hym, whereby he was forced to gette an armie for hys suretie, wyth the whyche he woulde obey, and serue his Countrey in all thyngs, nowe readye agaynst *Antonie*. When he hadde thus sayde, the Counsell was broken vp.

The armie that thoughte otherwysse, bycause of theyr reconciliation, and that they were onely broughte to preserve *Octavius* person agaynst hys quellers, seemed to bee græued, that suche wordes shoulde bee spoken agaynst *Antonie*, then beeyng a Generall of an armie, and Consull of the Citie: and some desired to goe home, as to arme themselves, for they coulde abyde none other, but theyr owne armies: and some tolde the very truth.

*Octavius* beganne to doubt agayne, seeing it came otherwysse to passe than he thought, and therefore gaue place to the occasion, trusting to wyne them rather by gentlenesse than by force, wherefore some he sente to bee armed, and some to theyr home agayne, promising them all for theyr laboures, and by dyng hys griefe, he gaue them newe giftes, and promised them moze liberally to requite them, and that he woulde vse them in all hys enterpryses, rather as hys fathers friendes, than as hys

Sould

Souldiours: When he hadde so sayde, one thousande, or thre at the most (for in thys the Writers vary) he wanne to tarrie, the rest wente awaye. They remembryng the toyle of tyllage, and the gayne of warfare, and the wordes of *Cesar*, that easilie dyd draue them, and the giftes they hadde receyued, with the hope of that they shoulde receyue, as the variable nature of people is, beganne to repent, and turning occasion to dutie, they armed themselves, and returned to him, and he went to *Rauenna* for moze reuenue, and when he hadde gone ouer the Countrey, and gotten moze menne one after another, he sente them to *A-*

*Octavius* armye  
returneth  
to him.

*Arelum* a Citie  
in *Tuscan*, thirty  
myles from  
*Florence*.

In this meane time, of the five Legions of *Macedonie*, foure were come to *Antonie* to *Brundise*, accusing him, as one that neglected *Casars* deathe: and bycause they gaue no grætyng to hym when they broughte hym to hys seate, as to heare somewhat firste sayde of themselves, he was offended with their silence, and coulde not refrayne, but rebuked them of vnthankefulnesse, that where by hym they were called from the iourney into *Par-*

*Antony* offended  
wyth the  
Souldiours.

A mutiny in  
*Antonyes* Camp,

*thia*, to remayne in *Italy*, they did not acknowledge anye thanke for it. When he blamed them for bearing with the rashe yong man, (for so he called *Cesar*) that they woulde not discover to hym suche persons, as he had sente to make difference betwene them: but he woulde fynde them out hymselfe, intending to leade them to the wealthie prouince of *Celtica*, and to gyue e- uery one that woulde abide with hym, one hundred drammes.

The Souldy-  
ours laughe  
at the miserie  
of *Antony*.

The Souldiours laught at his miserable offer, and the moze he was angry, the moze were they in disorder and tumulte, wherefore he rose and sayde, *You shall learne to be ruled*. Then he enquired of the Chiefetaynes, who were the se- ditious: (for among the Romaines they vsed to note euery manne by wyting) and by lawe of warre he chose them out, but hee dyd not kyll euery tenth manne, but parte of them, thinking by a fewe, to affray the rest. They, not to feare, but rather to anger and hate, tourned his doings, whiche thyng when they perceyued, that were sente thither by

*Octavius*,

*Carnutius*.

*Carnutius* a Tri-  
bune, receiueth  
yong *Cesar*  
agaynst *Antony*.

*Octavius* to the  
people.

*Octavius* army  
goeth from him.

*Octavius* gaeth  
place to the  
Souldiours.

The praetors  
and tribunes  
of the army in  
the camp.

*Octavius*, they threwe billes aboute the Campe, conteyning the niggardeinesse and crueltie of *Antonie*, with an vnthankfulnessse to *Cesar* that dead was, and the liberalitie and gentlenessse of him that now they might help. *Antonie* with great diligence soughte out the authours, with threathning of greate payne to them that dyd not disclose them, but when he coulde not finde anye out, hee was muche offended, that the whole army should fauoure them: and when he hearde of the extraordinarie bands that were gone to *Cesar Octavius*, and what was done for him at *Rome*, he was troubled, and came agayne to the army and sayde. It did graue him to doe that he had done for the necessitie of Souldiours discipline, taking but a few, in stead of many, according to the lawe, and that they did well knowe, that *Antonie* was neyther cruell, nor sparing, but (quoth he) let anger go, let this be ynough, both of punishment, and of offence, and as for the hundred drammes, he meante it not as a gifte, (for *Antonies* fortune requyred o therwyse) but as a welcome of fyrste acquayntance betwene them, rather than a gifte, hee wylled them to haue it, and that by the lawe of their Countrey and Souldiours order, they oughte to bee obediende to hym in thys, and in all other thyngs.

Thus he sayd: yet dyd he not adde anye more to the somme, least the Captayne shoulde seeme to giue place to the Souldioure, and they eyther for repentance or for feare, accepted it, and hee changed the officers of hys Campe, eyther for the displeasure of thys sedition, or for some other suspicion. The rest, with suche furniture as he had, deuiding his host, he sent by sea to *Armeno*.

He takyng one bande of the most likely men, both in bodye and obedience, wente towarde *Rome*, from thence to goe also to *Armeno*. Hee proudly entred the Citie, leauyng one bande withoute the Citie in Campe, and wyth them that were aboute hym armed, hee caused hys house to bee garded in the nyghte for hys safetie, to whome he gaue watchwordes, in dyuers parts, as a garrison in the Citie. He assembled the Senate, intending to haue accused *Octavius* for his doings, but at

*Armeno* in  
*Romagna*.

his entry, it was tolde him that the marttall legion by the way was gone to *Octavius*. And as hee stode in doubt and feare what to doe, it was also shewed hym, that the fourthe legion following the *Partials* example, was likewise reuolted to *Octavius*. Being much troubled, he entred, and made a shew as he had called the Senate for an other purpose, & tarried not long there, but went to the gates, and from thence to the Cittie of *Alba*, to stay the reuolters. But being put from the walles, hee returned, and to the other legions hee sente fife hundred drams a man, and with them that he hadde, hee wente to *Tibure*, harpyng suche prouision as they bee wonte that goe agaynst theyr enemies.

Two legions  
reuolted to *Octavius*  
with 16 *Antony*.

*Tibure*, now  
*Tivoli*.

Nowe was it euident that warre woulde followe, for *Decimus* meante not to leaue hys prouince.

*Antony* being in thys place, almoste all the Senate, and manye of the Gentlemen came to do hym honoz, and so dyd a great part of the people, synding hym guyng othe to hys souldiours that were presente, and of other that hadde serued him befoze, whyche resorted to hym in greate number. And they frely sware to *Antony*, that they woulde not bzeake faith and beneuolence wyth hym. So as nowe a man mighte doubt, who they were, that a little befoze hadde spoken agaynst *Antony* for *Octavius* *Cesars* sake.

The Senatours  
and Citizens  
swore to *Antony*.

*Antony* thus wyth great pompe, approached *Armeno*, where was the beginning of *Fraunce Celtica* his armye. Beside these newe Souldiours, was thre legions from *Macedonia*, for nowe all were come vnto hym, and the olde Souldiours that then serued, were counted twice so good as the yong.

So hadde *Antony* an armye of foure legions of experte Souldiours, beside suche as bee wonte to followe as venturers, and the olde garde of hys person, wyth other newe chosen.

*Antonies* armye.

*Lepidus* in *Iberia*, hadde thre legions, *Asinius Pollio*, two, *Lepidus*, *Asinius Pollio*, and *Planus* in further *Fraunce*, thre, all the whyche seemed to take *Antonies* parte.

*Lepidus*,  
*Asinius Pollio*,  
*Planus*.

*Octavius* *Cesar* had two choise legions that wente from *An-*

*Ec.*

*tony*,

sony, one of y<sup>e</sup> souldiours, and two of them that serued him first, neyther full in number, nor furnished in armour, yet supplied of the newe commers. He gathered these together at *Alba*, and sent them to the Senate.

They vydde so muche reioice in *Octauius*, as a man myghte doubt that anye vydde befoze honour *Antony*: yet were they not content that the legions that went from hym, shoulde goe to *Octauius*, and not to them. Wherefore they prayed them and *Cesar*, promising shortly after to determine by decree what was to be done, when the newe Magistrates hadde theyr offices.

It was euident in the ende, that they woulde bend against *Antony*, and bycause they had no army, and coulde gather none without the Consuls autoritie, they deferred all till the newe election.

*Cesar*s army offered him *Places* and *Sergeants* prepared, and prayed him to take vpon hym the *Licutenantship* and leading of their warre, they being cuer vsed to such autoritie.

He thanked them for the honoure, but referred the matter to the Senate, & them that wolde haue gone by heaps for this purpose, he forbade, and staied them that would haue sent Ambassadors, that the Senate (quoth he) maye take order for it of themselves, vnderstanding of your offer, and my refusall. They hardly beeyng contented this waye, and the Capitaines construing it as men had in some suspicion, he declared vnto them, that the Senate vvd not rather encline to him for good will, than for feare of *Antony*, and want of army, til we (quoth he) haue dispatched *Antony*.

The murderers being friends and kinsmen to the Senate, wil gather power for the, whych I perceyuing, wil pretend to obey them. And this is not to be disclosed, for if we take power vpon vs, they will call it violence and contumelie: but if we make daunger of it, they will peradventure giue it vs, fearing otherwise we shal haue it by you.

When he hadde thus sayde, he sawe the two legions that

that came to him from *Antony*, shewing the shape of battayle, contending together in as vehement wise, as though they hadde bene fighting in dedde (kyllyng onely excepted) and hee being delighted with this seate, and glad to take the occasion, diide gyue to euery man other siue hundred drammes, and if anye necessitie by the warre shoulde followe, hee promised to them, hauing the better hande, fyue thousand drammes a man.

Thus did *Cesar* with liberalitie of rewarde, winne them that were hys hyzed menne, and these were the downgs in Italy.

In Fraunce, *Antony* commaunded *Decimus* to go into *Macedonia*, to obey the people, and saue himselfe.

*Decimus* sente him the letters of the Senate verie well wrytten, signifying, that as well oughte hee to obey the Senate, as he the people. *Antony* appoynted hym a daye when hee woulde vse hym as an enimie. *Decimus* requied hym to appoynt a longer daye to hymselfe, that hee shoulde not too soone be made an enimie to the Senate. *Antony*, that was too good for hym in the fielde, yet thoughte it better to goe vnto the Cities, and they receyued hym.

*Decimus* beeyng afrayde that hee shoulde not when hee woulde, enter anye of them, sayned he hadde receyued letters from the Senate, to returne to Rome with hys army, and so as one goyng home into Italy, he was receiued in euery place.

But when he came to *Mutina*, a plentifull Citie, he shutte the gates, and commaunded the Citizens to bying all thynges wythe, that was necessarye for foode, and caused al their beasts to be kylled and poudred, for feare the siege woulde laste long, and so he tarried for *Antony*s coming.

Hys armye was a number of sword-players, and three legions armed, whereof one was of new souldiours without experience, the other two of former service, and very faithfull to hym.

At this tyme, *Antony* was at *Modena*, and *Decimus* was at *Mutina*.

A sheve of  
fight by 1000  
legions.

*Antony* vvar-  
neth *Decimus*  
oute of his Pro-  
vince.

*Mutina* a Citie in  
*Lumbardy*, now  
*Modena*.  
*Decimus* taketh  
*Modena* for hys  
defence.

The Senate mi-  
like of *Octauius*  
us and *Antony*  
booke.

*Antony* with anger came againste *Decimus*, and caste a trench aboute the Cittie, and so was *Decimus* besieged. In *Rome*, the Consuls according to the yeare, being chosen, dydde straighte assemble the Senate with sacrifices in the Temple agaynste *Antony*.

*Cicero* againste  
*Antony*.

*Cicero* and his friends, did require he might be iudged an enemy, bycause, he by force of armes, didde take the Province of *France*, contrarie to the Senats pleasure, to trouble hys country, and bycause he had brought that army into *Italie*, that was appoynted hym againste the *Thracians*.

They alleadged also againste hym, that after *Caesar* he sought to rule, being armed in the Cittie with so many hand-leaders, and vsing his house as a forte full of Souldiours and Ensigns, and in all hys doyngs moze insolent, than became a pearely officer.

*Lucius Piso* a-  
gainste *Cicero*.

*Lucius Piso*, one that fauoured *Antonies* faction (and a man verpe notable among the *Romaynes*) and other that fauoured *Piso* for *Antonies* cause, required hee myghte bee called in to iudgement, bycause it was not the manner of theyr country to condemne anye manne before hee were hearde, nor conuenient, that hee that was yesterdaye a Consul, should this daye be an enemy, especially hauing bene so ofte prayled bothe of *Cicero* and of other.

Senate against  
*Antony*.

The Senate stode doubtfull in the cause all the night. The nexte day in the morning, beeyng agayne assembled, the *Ciceronians* wyth greate instaunce, hadde decreede *Antony* an enemye, hadde not *saluius* the Tribune dissolued the counsell till the nexte daye. In these offices hee hath mozte power that maye prohibite.

*Adira* against  
*Antony*.

The *Ciceronians* dydde spitefully labour agaynste hym, and ranne among the people, to styre them vppon hym, and cited *saluius* to aunswere. He wythoute feare came forth, till the Senate stayed hym, fearing leaste he should incense the people to drawe them to the memozye of *Antonie*, they were not ignoraunte, that they condemned a noble manne wyth out iudgement, nor that the people had gyuen hym *France*:  
but

but for feare of the styphers, they were angry with hym, bycause he first brake the lawe of *Oblision*, & therefore they chose *Octavius*, agaynst him before, who not being ignoraunt therof, was desirous to dispatch *Antony*.

The Senate being thus affected, the voyces notwithstanding were deferred to the Tribunes. Yet it was determined, that *Decimus* shoulde be prayled for that he had not giue place to *Antonie* in *Celtica*: And that *Caesar* with the Consuls *Hircius* & *Pansa*, shoulde ioyne with such armies as he now had, & that an Image of gold shoulde be made to honour him, & that he might giue voyce among the Senatours, and be allowed to be Consul ten yeares before the lawe: and that the legions that went from *Antony* to him, shoulde haue as muche giuen them of the Treasure, as *Caesar* had appointed to them after the victorie: all the which being decreed, they brake vp, euen as already *Antony* had, being an enemy in dede, no Tribune daring speake for him the next daye.

Honour giuen  
to *Octavius*.

Wherefore his wife, and hys mother, wyth his sonne being yet yong, and his other friendes and familiars, all the night went to the great mens houses, to beseech them, and the next daye came to the Senate house, suing to euerpe man, falling to their sate, with weeping and wayling in blacke habite, they cryed out at the counsell doze: and some, for the lamentable voyces and behauour, & for the sodennesse of the matter, were moued with compassion: wherefore *Cicero* being afrayde, he spake thus vnto the Senate.

What we ought to decree of *Antony*, yesterdaye we did determine, for when we gaue honour to his aduersaries, we condemned him as an enemye. *saluius*, was only an impediment against vs, eyther for that he thinketh himselfe moze wise than we, or for the friendship he beareth to *Antony*, or for ignoraunce of the matter. Euerpe one of these, is to our great shame, that al we should haue lesse witt than one: and also to *saluius*, if he do prefer his friendship before the common wealth. But whether he hath not well vnderstand this present case, he should haue giuen credite to the Consul, the Pretors, and to the Tribunes,  
Cc. iij. his

*Cicero* against  
*Antony*.

his fellows; and to the other Senators in number and worthinesse so manye, who for our age and experience; oughte to knowe *Antony* better than *Saluo*. In publique causes and iudgements the more parts euer hath the right, but if causes muste bee knowne, and nowe learned agayne, I wyll re- peate them bycelye; and so he the moste principall mat- ter.

When *Cesar* was deade, *Antony* toke awaye oure com- mon money, the rule of *Macedonia* he hadde by vs, but into *Fraunce* he entred violently without vs. The army that was deliuered hym againste the *Thracians*, hee brought into *Italy* againste vs, requiring the deceitfully of vs, and not obtay- ning, hee did them of himselfe. At *Brundise* hee ordained a princely bande to be aboute hym, and openlye in *Rome*, men in armour dyd garde and wathe hym vnder ensignes. He broughte from *Brundise* an other armye to the Cittie readye to all attempts, aspiring to the things that *Cesar* (whom hee lamented) coucted: and when yong *Cesar* prepa- red againste hym another armye, hee was afrayde and wente into *Fraunce*, as a place fittest to vse force a- gainste vs, because *Cesar* from that place did inuade vs, and got the rule ouer vs, and giuing terrour to his armye, that they mighte sticke to him in all hys unlawfull do- yngs, by lotte, hee caused them to dye, neither making anye mutinie, nor forsaking their charge and order in battell, for the whiche onelye the lawe of armes, (I thinke,) hath appoynted that punishment, whych, fewe Capitaynes scarcelye in greates perills woulde vnder- nesse. But hee at a worde and a lesse giueth death to Cittizens, and death not of them that deserue, but of suche as he woulde chuse: wherefore they that coulde, haue forsaken hym, and yow yesterdape dyd determine to rewarde them, as those that hadde done well. They that coulde not escape awaye, for feare doe dwell with him, and as enemies inuade yowre lande, and beslege yowre armye, and yowre generall, and whom yow appoynted

to remaine in *Fraunce*, *Antony* commaundeth hym to de- parte.

Whether then haue we iudged *Antony* an enemye, or doeth hee vse vs as enemyes? Dure Tribune wyll not knowe this, tyll *Decimus* be deade, and tyll that prouince so greate, and so nygh vnto vs, and after the prouince, the armye also of *Decimus* maye be in *Antonies* power, to worke hys hope, agaynste vs. For by lyke the Tribunes wyll not to lone decree hym to be an enemye, tyll hee bee Lorde o- uer vs.

Whyle *Cicero* was thus saying, hys friendes made a greate noyse continuallye, and woulde not suffer anye manne to speake agayne, tyll *Piso* rose vppe, when as the Senate for the reuerence of him commaunded silence, and then the *Ciceronians* stode, and *Piso* thus begayne to speake:

The lawe, (O Senators) doth allowe the accused to haue hys cause heard, and when he hath answered for him- selfe, to be iudged accordynglye: *Cicero* the moste vehement Oratoure, I doe chalenge, who durste not accuse *Antony* when he was presente, and in hys absence hath layde greate matter to his charge, the greatest and doubtfullest whereof I wyll note, and wylth shorthe answerc shewe them to bee false.

Hee sayeth, that *Antony* after *Cesars* deathe, dyd take the publique money as hys owne, the lawe calleth suche one a Thiefe, and not an enemye, appointyng the payne. Therefore when *Brutus* hadde slayne *Cesar*, and accused hym to the people, for spoyling the common money, and leauing the Treasure nothyng *Antony* by and by did decree, that the matter shoulde be searched: yow approued hys sentence by publique proclamation, appointyng a rewarde of the tenth parte, to them that woulde declare it, whych we wyll double if any man can accuse *Antony* of that. And thus much concer- ning the money.

*Piso against Cicero*

The

The prouince of *Fraunce* we did not appoint to *Antony*: the people did by lawe, *Cicero* being present, in such sort as many other be giuen, and heretofore gaue the same to *Cesar* in like maner. Part of the decree is, that *Antony* should make warre vpon *Decimus* if he would not giue place vnto him, and that the army prepared against the *Thracians*, (who stirreth not) should be led against him, if he resisted. *Cicero* doth not iudge *Decimus* an enemye that maketh warre againste the lawe, but *Antony*, that obeyeth the lawe. If he condemneth hym, hee condemneth them that made the lawe, whome hee ought by perswasion to pacifie, and not to prouoke by contumelie. Neither ought he to credite that place to *Decimus*, whiche the people haue bannished for murder, & discredite *Antony*, to whom the people haue giuen it by law. It is no good counsel to make diuision with the people, especially in dangerous times, nor to forget, that this belongeth chiefly to the people, to iudge of friendes and foes: for by the auncient lawes, the people only is Lord of war and peace, in the whiche at this time notwithstanding they haue not appointed, nor commaunded, nor vsed their priuiledge ouer vs. But (he saith) *Antony* killed certain souldiours, being general and appointed thereunto by you. Fewer was there Captaine generall, that was charged with that office. For the lawes haue not thought it meete, that the Captaine should be subiect to the souldiours: and there is nothing worse in a campe, than disobedience, by the whiche some conquerours haue bene ouerthrowen. None of them that were punished, haue complayned, nor none of their friendes or kinnefolke. But *Cicero* hath accused, and finding fault at their death, in stead of such honoz as hath ben wont to be giuen to such executours, he wil haue *Antony* exclaime an enemy. How *Antonyes* army was disordered, & how they disdayned hym, it is euident, by the two legions y<sup>e</sup> are fled fro him, whome you commaunded to serue vnder him: & they, contrary to y<sup>e</sup> lawe of souldiers, haue not fled fro him to you, but to *Octa. Cesar*, which *Cicero* prayeth also, & yester day would haue the rewarded of y<sup>e</sup> common Treasures, whiche example I pray God you do not one daye repent,

to suche inconuenience hath enmity caried *Cicero*. He accuseth *Antonyes* Tyranny also, and murder of souldiours, where, as they that sake mischief to their countries, euer do please their armies, and not so punish the. And bycause he can accuse *Antony* of none other matter of Tyranny after *Casars* rule, go to, I wil aske him questions of euery thing. Whom hath *Antony* killed vnharde, as a Tyrant, who now him selfe vnhard is in daunger to be condemned: whome hath he banished: whom hath he cast out: hath he bin so to euery particular man: hath he layde traynes for vs all at once when (*Ad Cicero*) he decreed forgetfulness of all things done: or that no man should prosecute the murder: or that a search should be made of common Treasure: or when he called home *Pompey*, your *Pompeis* some: or when he wished he might be recompenced of the common, for his fathers substaunce: or when he dispatched the counterfayte *Marius*: whom then you al praysed and now only, in that *Cicero* will not, you dispraise: or when he determined that no Dictator should be created or spoken of: or when he ordayned that he that would, should dye for it. These were the things that *Antony* did to vs in two monethes, when he alone remained in the Citie after *Cesar*: when by and by the people pursued the strikers, when by and by we were afrayde of things to come. When, if he would haue taken his occasion, and haue bene vniust, he coulde not haue had a better, yet hee dyd not vse hys power to the contrary. What did not he alone rule, when *Dolabella* was gone into *Syria*: What dyd not he vse hys army preste, to al purposes in the Citie, whyche you appointed to hym: did he not watch the Citie: was not he himselfe garded by night for feare of his enemies: had he not occasiō by *Casars* death, his friend, and benefactor, and most deare to the people: Had he not another, more nere whē his body was laid for of me, of whom he neyther banished, nor put to death, any but rather fauoured them as much as by realty & honesty he coulde, not enuying them: These you see, *Ad Romaines*, be the greatest, and most doubtful matters that *Cicero* hath gathered against him, and to hys accusations he ioyneth deuina-

tion: as though *Antony* would haue broughte so greate an armie, againste the Cittie, but that hee was afrayde of *Octavius Caesar*, that preuented hym wyth another armie. If to entende onely so, bee the parte of a manne that is an ennemye, why doeth hee not counte hym one that came and encamped in the Cittie, and geue you no warnyng of it? If *Antony* would come, howe hapte it hee came not? was hee afrayde of *Caesars* thre thousande vnarmed, he hauyng thirtie thousand well armed? They came onely to *Caesar* for to helpe to a pacification betwene them, but when they saw that warre would follow, they forsooke hym. If he were afrayde when hee had thirtie thousande? howe came he hither with one thousande? with the whyche goyng to *Tibure*, howe manye dyd wee sende vnto hym? howe manye of vs wente to bee sworne of hym, that were not sworne before? what prayles dyd *Cicero* make of hys god gouernemente and vertue? howe would *Antony*, if hee hadde knowen thys, haue leste wyth vs the pledges that now bee without the Senate house, hys mother, hys wife and hys young sonne, whyche lamente and feare nowe, not of *Antonies* doyngs in the common wealthe, but for hys ennymies power.

Thys I haue rehearsed vnto you, as an example of *Antonies* innocencie, and *Ciceros* mutabilitie. And to them that well wyll consyder, I wyll giue thys exhortation: neyther to charge the people nor *Antony*, neyther to bring in generall enimetie and daunger, the common wealthe, beyng sickely, and wantyng them that speake dylye might relieue it: but to make the Cytie strong before they abroade doe stirre anye tumulte, whereby wee maye resiste anye that wyll ryle againste vs, and iudge of them as wee shall thinke good, and performe what wee haue iudged. But howe can thys bee done? If wee can suffer *Antony* for the loue or fauour of the people

people, to haue *Fraunce*, if wee call home *Decimus*, wyth hys thre legions, and when hee is come, sende hym into *Macedonia*, retayning hys legions, and calling for the two legions that wente from *Antony*, wee doe require them (as *Cicero* sayeth of *Caesar*) to bee in the Cittie, so as hauyng fve legions, wee maye confyrme what wee will by decree, and not be dyuen to hang of anye mans hope.

Thys haue I spoken to the hearers, without enuye or emulation. But for them that inconsiderately and vnadvisedly seeke to trouble you for priuate grudge or displeasure, I shall beseeche the Iudges not to bee to quicke nor swifte, againste so greate men, and leaders of so mightie armyes, that they doe not force them to make warre againste their wyll, remembryng *Marcus Coriolanus*, and the late *Caesar*, whom, byring an armie likewise, and offring verie good conditions of concorde, wee rashely condemned as enemye, and of necessitie made him to bee so indede. Let vs beare wyth the people, that while earst did stirre againste the strykers of *Caesar*, that we seme not, to hys reproch, to giue them prouinces of nations, nor prayse *Decimus*, bycause hee despiseth the peoples lawe, and condemne *Antony*, bycause hee receyueth *Fraunce* by the peoples order. And it behoueth them that bee of god iudgement, to redresse them, that goe astraye, and the Consuls and Tribunes to prouide, for the daungers of the present state.

Thus dyd *Piso* speake in defence, with cries and sharpe wordes, and was the onely cause why *Antony* was not iudged a rebell. Yet coulde he not obtayne that hee shoulde haue the prouince of *Frenche Celtica*. For the friends and kinsfolke of the killers for feare did lette it, leaste the warre shoulde ceasse, and hee bee at one with *Octavius*, and they both reuenge *Caesars* deathe. Wherefore they practyse and deuise was to kepe *Antony* and *Octavius* still at debate.

It was decreed that *Antony* should receiue *Macedonie*, in stead of *Lombardie*. All other orders, eyther of ignorance or of purpose, they committed to *Cicero* to appoint, and to giue answers to Embassadors. He hauing this sentence, dyd thus determine.

The decrees of  
*Cicero* against  
*Antony*.

That *Antony* shoulde straight departe from *Modena*, and leaue *Celtica* to *Decimo*: and to be within the compasse of the floud *Rubicone* (which diuideth *Italie* from *Lombardie*) by a daye prefixed, and committe all his matters to the Senate.

Thus *Cicero* ambitiously and vniustly dyd appointe his determinations, not for anye so great priuate enmitie, but as it shoulde seeme, by destinye that was determined to trouble the State with mutation, and bzing himselfe to some euill happen in the ende.

At this instante they were come that bzoughte the ashes of *Trebonius*, and the despight vsed to him, which being thzoughly knowne, the Senate did easilys decree *Dolabella* to bee a rebell.

*Dolabella* a declar-  
ed a rebel.

When the messengers were come to *Antony*, they were ashamed of their strange commission, and sayd nothing, but deliuered the decree vnto him. He with great anger did inueigh against the Senate & *Cicero*, maruelling that they would thinke *Caesar* a Tyranne or a king: that had so much augmented the State of *Rome*, and not accompte *Cicero* so, whome *Caesar* toke in warre, and yet did not kill, whereas *Cicero* doeth preferre hys killers, befoze his friends, and hated *Decimus*, when he was trusty to *Caesar*, and loued him euer since he was a killer of him, & would ayde him, that only by *Caesar* kept *Celtica*, & iudge hym a rebell that had it by the people. To the legions that were assigned by decree, and renokted, the Senate giueth rewarde, but none to them that remaine in their duty: and so corrupt (quoth he) the discipline of war, not belonging to me, but to the Citie. To the quellers, he could graunt obliuion of the fact, to whiche I consente for two noble mennes sake: but *Antony* and *Dolabella* hee iudgeth enmyes, because

wee keepe that was giuen vs, for that is the verie cause. But if I leaue *Celtica*, I am neither enmy nor tyranne. I protest I will dissolue that forgetfulnesse, that shall not be verie acceptable to hym.

*Antony* to the  
Senate.

Many things after this sorte spake *Antony*, and wzote thys answer to the decree, that to the Senate he would obey as to hys Countrey, but to *Cicero*, that wzote the commaundement, thus he spake:

The people haue giuen me *Celtica* by lawe: *Decimus*, that will not obey, I will remoue, and reuenge the matter of murther in hym for all, that the Senate may be purged of the faulte they be in, whereof they be full for *Ciceroes* sake, to helpe *Decimus*. When *Antony* had thus saide, he wzote it by and by. Wherefoze the Senate iudged hym an enmy, and the armye with him, vlesse they wente from hym.

*Antony* condemn-  
ed.

*Macedonia* and *Illiria* with the armies of both, they appointed to *Marcus Brutus*, till the common wealth were bzought to better state. He had an armye of hys owne, and had receyued one of *Appuleius*. He had shippes bothe gallies and hulkes, and sixteen thousand talens of money, and greate plenty of armour, which he founde in the Citie of *Demeatride*, layde by there by *Caesar*, all the whiche the Senate confirmed by the decree, that hee mighte vse to the benefit of hys country.

The powver of  
*Marcus Brutus* in  
*Asia*, *Macedonia*  
and *Slawonia*.

*Syria* was by the Senate appoynted to *Cassius*, and commaunded to make warre vppon *Dolabella*, and all that had prouinces or armies of the Romaines from the *Ionian* Sea to the *Easte*, were charged to obey *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Wherefoze *Cassius* and *Brutus* estate was sodainely in great fame.

*Demeatride*, a  
towne in *Thess-*  
*alie*, that was  
called *Pagasa*,  
nowe *Demeas-*  
*trida*.  
*Syria* appoynted  
to *Cassius*.

When *Octavius Caesar* vnderstoode these thynges, hee was in doubt, for whe re he thought the lawe of Obliuion to procede of a conueniencie of humanitie, and a respect of pitie of their kinfolke that were men in like authoritie, and therfoze had appointed them to prouinces for a shorte tyme for their securitie, as *Celtica* to *Decimus*, to note *Antony* of Tyranny, and by that deuice to induce hym against *Antony*.

Nowe that *Dolabella* was condemned as a rebell, for killing

one of the quellers, and that mightye nations were giuen in pꝛouince to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and manye armies wꝛth greate spꝛedinesse appointed to them, with abundaunce of money: and that they were made Generalles of all the people from *Ionia* to *India*. He perceiued that all this tended to the aduancement of *Pompeys* parte, and to the vtter destruction of *Casars*: And that the Senate wente aboute to deerege hym as a youngman: (the plotte wherof he conceiued in his mynd,) and that when he was made a Capitaine against *Antony*, it was meant to take his armye from him, and that the Consulls being in the fildes, there was no nede of any other Capitayne, and that onely honours were gyuen to the Souldiours that reuolted from *Antony*, and hys vnhonoured: and that this warre would worke his infamy, beyng vsed to none other intent of the Senate, but to the destruction of *Antony*. He kept the considerations secreete to hymselfe, and making sacrifice for the charge gyuen hym, he thus sayd to hys armye.

When they decreed an Armye and an office vnto him.

Offering to the souldiours,

This honour, (O felloiw Souldiours) I may thanke you for, not onelye now, but from the tyme you gaue mee power. For your sakes the Senate haue gyuen it me, and therfore, for this also you know I am youre debtoꝝ of thanks, whiche, if the Gods shall gyue vs good lucke, I will requite abundantly. Thus did he speake to winne hys armye and marched forth,

Antony deliuereth two legions to Hirtius the Consull.

*Pansa*, one of the Consuls, lead his army, ouer *Italy*, *Hirtius*, the other Consull, diuided with *Cesar*: and as he was secreetly instructed of the Senate, he required in the diuision, the two legions that went from *Antony*, bycause they were counted the best Souldiours. *Cesar* did grant euerything, and when they had diuided, they encamped togither that wynter.

At the ende of winter, *Decimus* beganne to lacke victual, wherefore *Hirtius* and *Cesar* wente to *Mutina*, that *Antony* shoulde not get from them *Decimus* armye oppressed with famine.

*Antony* holding *Mutina* straighte, they with all their forces woulde not fight with hym, but tarried for *Pansa*. Diuers skirmishes were made, in the whyche, though *Antony* hadde the greater number of horse, yet the narrownesse of the fildes, and the

The siege of Aedon, one of the olde Cities of Italy, and made an inhabitaunce of Rome with *Pesaro* and *Pesaro*.

the ditches about the riuers, did keepe backe the multitude of horsemen. And thus went the matter at *Mutina*.

In *Rome* in the absence of the Consuls, *Cicero* dydde al, as the peoples ruler. He assembled the Senate euerye daye: he made pꝛouision of armour, compelling workeimen without payment: He gathered money, and putte great impositions vppon *Antonies* friendes. They suffered it patiently to auoide displeasure, til *Publius Ventidius* that had serued vnder *Cesar*, and was friende to *Antony*, could not abide the sharpenesse of *Cicero*, but wente to *Casars* habitations, where he was well knowne, and gotte two legions, whyche he ledde to *Antonie*, by *Rome*, to take *Cicero*. Great trouble grew of this, insomuche as manye wente awaye wꝛth their wiues and children for feare, and *Cicero* fledde out of the Cittie, whyche when *Ventidius* knewe, he tourned straighte to *Antony*, and being stepte by *Cesar* and *Hirtius*, he wrote to *Picene*, where he gathered another legion, and stayed to see what would come.

*Cicero* ruleth all at *Rome*.

*Ventidius* maketh *Rome* afraid and *Cicero* to flee.

*Cicero* fleeth.

*La Marca de Ancona* the countie of *Ancona*.

The Consull and *Cesar*, seeing that *Pansa* drew nighe with hys hoste, sente *Carfuleius* the leader of *Casars* chiefe bande, and the partiall legion to helpe him to passe the straights.

*Antonie* dydde not muche care for the passage, so he mighte other wise hinder them, and being desirous of the fight, could not vse his horsemen in the playne, bycause of the fenny place full of ditches. He hidde two of hys beste legions in the fenne, the waye being made by hande, and straighte, and on both sides couered with reedes.

The stratagemme of *Antony*.

*Carfuleius* all the nighte passing thys place, by the breake of day, was come to the way made with hand. With the partialls Souldiours and fyny other bandes, they wente vppon the made way, being cleare of ennimyes, and behelde the fenne on euerye syde, and when they sawe the stirring of the reedes, and some glittering of tergats and headpieces, they began to suspect, when as the chiefe band of *Antony* sodainelye appeared afoze them.

The partiall legion being on both sides beset, and hauing no

no roomth to shifte abroad, forbad the newe souldiours to take anye paines wpyth them, leaste for lacke of experiance they shoulde trouble them, they placed *Casars* chiefe bande againste *Antonies*, and they diuiding themselves to two, encountred with bothe legions. *Pansa* was Capitaine of the one parte, and *Carfulenus* of the other. And bycause there was two ffens, there was two fights: and bycause of the straight place, the one could not see the other: and vpon the verpe waye, the two chiefe bandes beganne another fight betwene themselves. *Antonies* men entended to be reuenged of the *Partials*, bycause they were fugitiues, and to vse them as traytours. The *Partials* would be reuenged of them, as suspected of theyr fellows deathes at *Brunduse*. Bepng thus priuie one to anothers doings, and that they were the strength of eyther armye, they hoped by thys onely feate, that the warre woulde be determiued. The one was ashamed that two legions shoulde be ouercome of one, the other sought glozpe, that one legion shoulde de feate two: and so they toynd battel for anger and emulation, rather of themselves, than of their Capitaynes, tryng now their owne matter. And for their experiance, they neyther made crie, as though they had not stroken one another, nor in the fight any of them vttered anye voyce, neither when he had the better, nor when he had the worse. They fetched no compasse nor course, but stode firme, as in ffennes and ditches, where they could not one put another backe, but with their shorthe swords, they clasped together, as in a wrestling place. No blowe was giuen in vaine, but either woundes or slaughter followed, and only sighes in stede of voyce. He that fell had straight another putte in his place. There was no neede of exhortation or calling on, euery man by his owne experiance was a Captayne to hymselfe. And when they had ouerlaboured, they woulde stave to take breath, as men do in places of exercise, and straighte close agayne.

The young souldiours stode in a maze to see thys feate done with so good order and silence: all these continuing beyond mans nature, the chiefe band of *Cesar* was all slaine. The *Partials* vnder *Carfulenus* hadde rather the vpper hande of their enemies,

who

who not disorderedly but in ray, withdrew themselves. They vnder *Pansa* dyd abide it out, and equally stode to it on bothe sides, till *Pansa* was wounded with a darte in the belly, and was caried to *Bononia*. Then they, at the firste retyred in order, but after they turned more swiftly as flying, which when the young souldiours sawe, they fled with confusion and crie to the campe: which *Torquatus* the Pretor had provided whyles they were fighting, foreseeing the neede of it, to the whiche the new souldiours ran with great violence, bepng *Italians* as well as the *Partials*, but exercise maketh them of one nation so much to differ in vertue. The *Partials* dyd not enter the trench for dishonour, but stode before it, and weary though they were, remayned ready to resist any assaulte, and to abide the ende of the matter. *Antony* dyd not touche the *Partials*, bycause he knewe them valiant, but the young souldiours he chased, and made greate slaughter among them.

*Hirtius*, at *Mutina*, hearyng of the fight, bepng aboute eyght myles distant, came in haste with the other legion that was fled from *Antony*. The sunne was now goyng downe, and *Antonies* souldiours hauing the victozy, went singing to their camp. *Hirtius* appeared to them, he bepng in good order with one legion sounde and valiante, and they out of order. Wherefore of necessity, they placed themselves in due sort, and shewed many valiant and noble feates: but although they were courageous, yet bepng weary, they were overcome of the other that were freshe, and the most parte slayne of *Hirtius* in this feate: albeit he did not solow them, for feare of the ffennes, and the night coming on, did seuer them. The ffenne in most places was filled with hardness and dead men, and with half dead and wounded. They that were safe, dispaired of themselves for wearinesse. But the horsemen of *Antony* rode about all night, and gathered them together: some they caried themselves: some they brought home on horsebacke: some they hadde take holde by the horse tayle, to goe the faster, and seeke to saue themselves. Thus *Antony* hauing fought very nobly, losse his force by the commyng of *Hirtius*: wherefore he abode in a billage in the fiede without a campe.

Ce.

The

The notable fighte of the Martiall legion againste two of *Antonies*, and the two chiefe bandes of *Antony* and *Octavius*. This battell is declared in the tenth booke of *Ciceros* hye B-tilles.

*Pansa* the Consul is wounded.

*Antonia*, now *Volgens* la grassie. The olde name was *Pellus*. *Torquatus*.

Exercise.

The fight with *Hirtius* and *Antonies* men.

*Antonies* men overthrovven.

The horse men of *Antony*.

in Antonium,  
ter in dition  
no. 7. Cont.

The Village is called *French Market*. The halfe of eyther syde was slayne, and *Casars* bande of his person utterly destroyed. Of *Hirtius* Souldiours few were left, all the which the nexte morning remoued their Camps to *Mutina*.

After this losse, *Antony* determined no more to giue battell to his enimies, nor to admitte any attempt to the same, but with his Horsemen only to molest them daye by day, till he had gotten *Decimus* to yelde, being driuen by hunger. For this cause *Hirtius* and *Cesar* the rather prouoked hym to fight: and whereas they did perceyue, that *Antony* would not come forth, keeping his men in order, they went to the other side of the Citie, whych (because it was the harder to appoach, was the lesse kept) with their whole army they myght enter by force. *Antony* made resistance only with his horsemen, but they being put backe by other horse, and the army passing as it would, *Antony* was afraid of the Citie, and brought forth two legions. They glad of this, retired, and fought with them, and whylest *Antony* frain other campes sent forth more legions, as in a troubled time of so greates and suddayne attempt, the whiche being long a coming, *Casars* men ouerthrew *Antonies* in the fight, and *Hirtius* prouoked *Antony* to his Campe, where fighting manfully before *Antonies* Tente, he was slayn, whose body *Cesar* louing, in great speed recovered, and got the Campe, till shortlye hee was repulsed by *Antony*. Both of them watched all night in armour. *Antony* being fallen with this seconde losse, straight after the battell called his friends to counsell. They thought, according to his former meaning, to keepe still the seige at *Modena*, and not to come to any fight, for both the losses were like, *Hirtius* slayne, and *Pansa* hurt. In Horsemen, he the better, and *Mutina* broughte to extreame want, must needs shortly giue ouer. Thus his friends thoughte good, and it was best indeede, but *Antonie* (God now striking him) was afraid least *Cesar* shoulde procede to the obteyning of the Citie, as he did the day before, or by making walles entrenche hym, hauing many pioners for the purpose, and then his Horse should do him no good: he said, *Lepidus* and *Plancus* wil despise me, as one ouercome, but if we goe fro *Modena*, *Ventidius* wil straight come

The third fight  
where, Antony  
to the field,  
and the Consul  
was slayne.

*Hirtius* slayne.

*Antony* deter-  
mined.

come to vs with three legions, from the marches of *Ancona*, and then being so strong, *Lepidus* and *Plancus* will take my part. Thus he said, and as a man not afraid in perils, he leaped his seige, and went straight toward the Alpes. When *Decimus* was deliuered of the seige, he began to feare *Cesar* as an enimie, because both Consuls were now gone, wherefore he brake the bridges of the riuer before day, & sent to him, both acknowledging hym the authoz of his safetie, and prayed him, that hauing the floude betwixte them, he would come to a talke, with witnesse of Citizens, where he would let him vnderstand, that very wicked fortune forced him to conspire against *Cesar*, being thereto driuen of other. *Octavius* angerly answered the messengers, refusing the thanks that *Decimus* gaue him, for (quoth he) came not to saue *Decimus*, but to ouerthrow *Antonie*, with whome to be reconcyled, there is no reason, but to come to spech or sighte of *Decimus*, his nature abhorred it: let him therefore keepe himselfe, so long as it shall so seme to them of the Citie. When *Decimus* heard this, not being farre from the floud, he called to *Cesar* by name, and with a loude voyce, redde vnto him the Senates letters, by the which they had giuen him the prouince of *Celtica*. And he said also *Cesar*, that without the Consuls, he shoulde not passe the bidge into any others prouince, nor follow *Antonie*, for he was able ynough to do it. *Octavius* seeing him in such boldnesse by the Senate, when he mighte by his commission haue taken him, he spared him, and wente to *Bononia* to *Pansa*, from whence he wrote to the Senate of all things, and so did *Pansa*, whose letters *Cicero* did reade to the people of *Rome*, as from the Consull, but *Casars*, were redde to the Senate onely. There was decreed generall Proclamations of fiftie dayes agaynst *Antonie*, the like wherof was not dane of the Romaines, neyther for the warre of *Fraunce*, nor none other battayle.

The Consulles armies were appoynted to *Decimus*, *Pansa* being yet aliue, but not lyke to scape, and *Decimus* made generall alone agaynst *Antonie*, and publike Prayers were made, that *Decimus* myghte ouercome *Antonie*: so greates an hate and displeasure was growen agaynst *Antonie*.  
Ce.ij. Ro

*Decimus* sendeth  
to *Octavius*.

*Octavius* answereth  
seuerely to *Decimus*.

The Consuls  
letters are redde  
openly.  
*Casars* to the  
Senate only.  
Supplications  
of fiftie dayes.

*Decimus* made  
generall.

To the two legions that fledde from *Antony*, was confirmed to euery souldiour accordyng to the former promise, fūe thousand Drammes of the common treasure, as to souldiours of conquest: and it was graunted them in solemne feastes to weare a crowne of olive leaues. Of *Octavius* nothing was mentioned, not so much as his name, so sone dyd they contemne him, as though *Antony* had bene utterly destroyed. They wrote also to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius*, to fight with *Antony*, when they should be nigh hym. These were done in *Rome*. *Pansa* beyng at poynt of death by reason of his wounde, said thus to *Caesar* sitting by him:

I was a friende to thy father as to my selfe, whome I coulde not reuenge beyng slayne, not able to resiste so many, whome, thou also haste done wisely to obey, although thou haddest an armie. They at the firste fearyng thee and *Antony*, a manne moſte ambitious, and enclinyng towarde *Caesars* sentence, haue bene content to suffer you to be at variance, and consume your selues, and when they sawe that thou wast worde of an army, as a yong man, they set thee forth with some countenance and slender honours. After thou wast stronger and of more estimation, and that thou wouldest not receiue the authoritie vnder the army, that they gaue thee, they were troubled, and they appoynted thee to ioyne with vs, that we mighte take from thee the two legions, which were moſte practised, hoppyng that if any of you were overcome, the other alone shoulde be the more weaker, and after hym destroy all *Caesars* friendes and set vp *Pompeys*. This was the summe of the determination. I and *Hirtius* haue done our commission, to repress *Antony* that greiue into suspition. Now that he is overcome, we thought it beste for thee to be at one with him, doing thee this benefite, in remembraunce of *Caesars* amities, onely that whiche we supposed will further thy felicitie in tyme to come. Afore this time to haue giuen thee this Consell had not bene fitte, but now that *Antony* is broken, *Hirtius* dead, and I not like to liue, opportunitie serueth to speake, not that thou shouldest thinke me when I am dead, but that thou beyng bozne to great felicitie (as thy deedes do shewe) mightest knowe what is beste for thee, and the choise and destiny of *Hirtius* and me.

The

The armye that thou gauest vs, we thinke it most fitte to gyue thee agayne, and so we do. The yong souldiours if thou couldest keepe, I would also giue thee, but it would much offende the Senate, bycause the officers of them, were sent as keepers to vs, and it would worke thee enuie, and put thee to more trouble than nedes, therefore *Torquatus* the Dictor shall haue them. When he had thus sayd, and deliuered them to *Torquatus*, he dyed: and they as the Senate commaunded, were sent to *Decimus*, *Caesar* deliuered *Hirtius* and *Pansa* to their funerall with greate honoz, and sent them to *Rome* with great shew. In *Syria* and *Macedonia* at this time diuers things happened.

*Julius Caesar* when he passed by *Syria*, left a Legion there, myning then to go against the *Parthians*. *Cecilius Bassus* had the charge thereof, but *Julius Sextus*, a yong man, and allyed to *Caesar*, had the dignitie, who ledde the legion without order, to delitious and licentious life, the which when *Bassus* repproued, he vsed him wyth despightefulnesse, and *Bassus* againe calling him, and he grudging at it, he commaunded he should by force be broughte before him. At the which whē tumult and fray was made, the army not bearing this despighte, killed *Julius*, whereof they freighte repented the, for feare of *Caesar*. When making oth one to another, that vnllesse forgiuenesse and faith were giuen them, they woulde fyght to deathe, and compelling *Bassus* to that oth, they gathered another legion, & trayned them to their exercise. Thus some do write of *Bassus*. But *Libo* writeth, that *Bassus* was of *Pompeys* parte, and after the battayle, liued priuately in *Tyro*, where he did corrupte some of the Legion, who killed *Sextus*, and after obeyed *Bassus*. But howsoeuer the matter wente, they valiantly resisted *Sextus* *Mureus*, that was sente of *Caesar* with three Legions, till *Mureus* did call to *Minutius Crassus*, that was ruler of *Bythinia*, who came into his ayde with three other Legions, and when *Bassus* was besieged of these, *Crassus* came in great hast, and receiued by and by the two legions of *Bassus*, and also wanne the sixe legions that besieged him, by friendship, who obeyed him as vnder Consul. For (as I sayd before) it was decreed, that all should obey *Crassus* and

Pansa the Consul dyeth.

The Consuls buried honourably.

*Cecilius Bassus*.*Julius Sextus*.The mutiny of the army in *Syria*.*Julius* kylled.*Sextus Mureus*.  
*Minutius Crassus*.  
*Bythinia* in *Asia* the lesse, nexte *Troy*.  
*Crassus* obeyed the Legions.*Cecilius*.*Albius*.

Abienus.

Abienus at that time, being sente of Dolobella into *Aegypt*, brought from thence foure legions, whiche being scattered after the querththrowe of *Crassus* and *Pompey*, or else leste of *Caesar* with *Cleopatra*, *Cassius* comming suddaynely vpon hym, compelled him to deliuer his Legions in *Palestina*, being asfraid with foure Legions to fight with eyghte. So *Cassius* beyonde expectation, was Lord of twelue full Legions, and *Dolobella* going out of *Asia* into *Laodicea*, where for friendship he was receyued, he followed and belaged, whiche thyng when the Senate hearde, they were glad.

*Cassius*, Lord of  
twelue Le-  
gions.  
*Laodicea*, a noble  
Citie in *Asia*,  
nigh the floud  
*Lycus*.

In *Macedonia*, *Caius Antonius*, brother to *Antonius Marcus*, dyd make warre with *Brutus*, hauing one Legion of armed *Citizens*, and being inferioure to *Brutus*, he layde traynes for hym, which *Brutus* escaping, dyd catch him with the like traynes, and doing nothing to him nor them that he had taken, he badde his owne Souldiours to be familiar with their enimies, but they refusing that familiaritie, and not admitting their conuersation, he suffered them freely to departe, when he had them at aduantage. They goyng another way, he appeared suddaynely vnto them in another straight, where he dyd not touche them, but gently receyued them. They remembryng that he was euer thought to be the most courteous Citizen, and worthy the opinion that he had of wisdom and mildenesse, they accepted his courtesie, and gaue themselves vnto him. *Caius* also yelded to hym, and was in honoz with *Brutus*, till he was founde manye times corruptyng the army, and so put away.

*Brutus* getteth  
legions in  
*Macedonia*.

*Brutus* the gyle.

Thus *Brutus* to his former army, had syxe Legions, and praysing the *Macedonians*, he gathered of them two legions moze, whome he exercised after the Italian manner.

These thyngs were done in *Sirra* and *Macedonia*.

In *Italie*, *Caesar* tooke it euill, that *Decimus* was made Generall agaynst *Antonie* before him. He hidde his anger, and desired that he myghte make a Triumph for the feates he hadde done, and being reiected of the Senate, for requiring greater thynges than belonged to his age,

*Octavius* desireth  
Triumph.  
The Senate de-  
nyeth Triumph  
to *Octavius*.

he was afraide, least if *Antonie* were ouerthrowen, they woulde moze despise him, and therefore desired to haue conference with hym, as *Pansa* counselled hym when he dyed.

All the Souldiours and Captaynes of *Antonies* that he had taken, he vled courteously, and tooke them as his owne, and them that woulde, he sente to *Antonie*, as a signification, that he was no enimie to hym.

*Caesar* vseth *Antonies* Souldiours vwell.

To *Ventidius* that was friend to *Antonie*, and hadde broughte three legions, he drew nigh with his army, and when he had made hym afraide, he did nothing to hym, but graunted hym eyther to soyne with hym, or to goe to *Antonie* freely with his armie, and to protest, that for lacke of knowledge, he had omitted the common profite. When *Ventidius* heard thys, he wente to *Antonie*.

*Octavius Caesar* practiseth vwith *Ventidius*, *Antonies* friende.

In the meane tyme, *Octavius Caesar* honoured *Decius*, one of *Antonies* Captaynes whome he hadde taken at *Mutina*. He gaue hym leaue to goe to *Antonie* if he woulde, and he demaunding of his mynde towarde *Antonie*, he sayde, he had shewed sufficiente and manye tokens to them that coulde perceyue, and to them that woulde be ignozante, moze woulde not suffice.

*Octavius* saying to *Decius*, a Captayne of *Antonies*.

Thus dyd *Caesar* signifye to *Antonie*.

To *Lepidus* and *Asinius* he moze playnely signified of the despyght agaynst hym, and of the myghtie preparation of the kyl- lers, makyng them afraide, that to increase *Pompeis* faction, all *Caesars* friendes one after another, shoulde be serued as *Antonie* was, whych he, through ignozance and suspition of a feare, dyd longer suffer. He allowed well they shoulde obey the Senate for a fashion, but for theyr owne suretie they shoulde agree togyther whylest they myghte, and that they shoulde herein reproue *Antony*, and to vse the maner of the legionaries, not to departe from them when the seruice was done, nor to leaue the trade of warre and disseuer, (leaste thereby the Enimie myghte take some aduantage,)

*Octavius* dealeth vwith *Lepidus* and *Asinius*.

*Octavius* practise vwith *Antonies* friende.

but

but rather together inhabite others places, thereto desirous for their power, than severally every man in his countrey consume his owne. This did *Cæsar* send to *Lepidus* and *Asinius*, *Decimus* armye olde and famished, was full of sicknesse, and loosenesse of bodye, and the newe souldiours were yet vnercised: but *Plancius* with his ordinarie armye drew nigh vnto him, & *Decimus* wrote to the Senate, that *Antonie* shoulde be caught in his snares, being tyed with things past.

*Pompeys* friends hearing of this, did maruellously reioyce, crying now to be time, to restore their Countreys libertie. Euerie man made sacrifices, and elected tenne men to punish *Antonie* power. And this was a forme to abolish *Cæsars* decrees, whiche *Antonie* put in vze by his remembrances, doing little or nothing of himselfe: whiche thing the Senate well perceyuing, did by occasion disannull some, and so they hoped to dissolue all: and the tenne men did commaund, that whosoever hadde receyued any thing by *Antonies* authoritie, contrarie to the Senate, they shoulde restore it, and declare it, and to them that disobeyed, a punishment was threathned. *Pompeys* sede required the rule of Consuls, in stead of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, for the rest of the yeare. *Cæsar* did the like, not of the Senate, but of *Cicero*, privately sendyng to him, and exhortyng him to be in office with him, bycause he was more sage, more experte, and better acquainted with the office than he, and that he only would thinke it a benefyte to beare the name, that he might haue an honest ptece to leaue his armye, for the which cause he had required a triumph.

*Cicero* hereby being blowen vp with ambition, sayde, he perceyued a conspiracie to be wrought by the Captaynes abroade, and therefore he thought good to pleasure this yong man, being not well intreated, and Lord of a greate armye, and rather to graunte him an office in the Citie before his time, than to force him to be in armes, least he might do something that shoulde not content the Senate, and wished some of the wise antients might be appoynted, as a maister of his yong yeares. But the Senate laughed at *Ciceros* ambition, and the kindmen of the killers were against it, fearing that *Cæsar* would accuse them when he shoulde be

be Consull, and for diuerse lawfull causes made delay in the election.

*Antonie* in this tyme passed the mountaines. Having perswaded *Culeo* a Capitaine of *Lepidus*, and keeper of the passage, to create hym, he or two night the floud where *Lepidus* was, and lay without trenche or ditche, bicause he would shew he was friend to him. Diuerse messages were sent betwene them. *Antony* regarding diuers friendshippes and pleasures, affirmed, that if he woulde not agree, all they of *Cæsars* amitie, shoulde be brought to the like calamitie.

*Lepidus* being affraide of the Senate, that hadde commaunded hym to make warre vpon *Antonie*, assyured yet that he did as it againste his will. Now *Lepidus* his army reuerencing the dignitie of *Antonie*, and perceyuing the messengers betwene them, and delighting in the quietnesse of his souldiours, secretly first mingled among the, & after openly, as with their fellow citizens and souldiours: and when they were forbidden by the Captains, they making no accompte of their commaundement, made a brydge of boats over the riuer, that they mighte the better come together: and the legion called the tenth, sometime wont to be led of *Antonie*, prepared for him in their tents.

*Leterensis*, one of the noble Senatoures perceyuing this, opened the matter to *Lepidus*, who giuing no credite to hym, willed the armye to be deuised into diuerse partes, as to be sent to diuers viles to trie their treason or faith. *Lepidus* deuised them into thre, and commaunded them in the night that they shoulde conduct a Treasurer of the armye that was coming at hand. They passing the last watch, and arming themselves as to a iorney, went to the strongest parte of the campe, and opened the gates to *Antony*, who ranne into *Lepidus* Tent, all the armye bringyng hym and praying *Lepidus* of mercie and peace for the afflicted Citizens, *Lepidus* leapt out of his bed without his clothes, and promysed so to doe, and embracing *Antony*, excused the necessitie. Some saye he bydde knee to *Antonie*, as one that was a coward and of small experience, the whyche all writers doe not allowe, nor I thinke

*Culeo* suffereth *Antony* to passe the mountaines.

Practise betwene *Antony* & *Lepidus*.

The tenth legion beganne to reuolt from *Lepidus*.

*Leterensis*.

*Lepidus* souldiours lets in *Antony*.

*Antony* and *Lepidus* agree.

*Decimus* armye after hunger, rather like for plenty. *Plancius* toyneth with *Decimus*.

A creation of tenne men in Rome.

Edict of tenne men.

*Octavius* requirith to be Consul with *Cicero*.

The ambition of *Cicero*.

*Cicero* is laughed at.

Antony hath  
greate power  
against.

thinke it to be probable, for hee hadde done no parte of an enemye againste *Antony*, whereby he should bee asrayde of hym.

Thus *Antony* was risen agayne to greate power, and became mooste fearefull vnto his enemyes, for hee hadde the Armye that hee ledde from *Modena*: hee hadde receyued thre legions by the waye, of *Ventidius*, and nowe hadde the fellowshippe of *Lepidus*, wyth seauen legions, armed wyth all kynde of furniture, and preparation requisite.

*Lepidus* bare the name among them, but *Antony* had the direction of all.

When this was shewed at *Rome*, a marvellous and suddayne mutation of mindes followed: some, from greate boldenesse fell to feare: some from great feare were lifted vpye to courage.

Alteration in  
Rome.

The decrees of the fenne men were broken wyth spight, and the creation of *Consulles* was instantelye called for.

The Senate stode in doubte what to doe, and feared that *Cesar* and *Antony* would agree.

The Senate  
deth *Lucius* and  
*Pompey* to *Brutus*  
and *Cassius*.

They sente secreteelye *Lucius* and *Pansa*, to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, as to vewe publique playes, that they sette forth in *Grecia*, and secreteelye required them, that as soone as might bee, they would come to helpe them.

From *Libya* they called two of the thre legions vnder *Sextus*, and the thirde, they commaunded to be gyuen to *Cornificius*, that was ruler of the other *Libya* that obeyed the Senate.

The feare of the  
Senate.

They were asrayde of these, when they remembred they hadde serued vnder *Iulius Cesar*, and were enclined to hys doings.

Nevve Cesar  
chosen lieuten-  
ant to *Decimus*.

This doubtfulnesse droue them to this pointe, that by cause they feared nevve *Cesar* would consente wyth *Antony*, they chose hym agayne verpe vnfitlye lieutenaunte vnder *Decimus*, but *Cesar* for anger, as continuallye vsed wyth dyspight, stirred

stirred his armye, that they shoulde be sente to a nedye toneye before they were payde the fyue thousande drammes, promised them for the fyfte, and counselled them to scude to the Senate for it, and they sent the Captaynes of the bandes.

*Cesar* stirreth his  
souldiours a-  
gainste the Se-  
nate.

The Senate knowing wherefore they were taught to come, answered they would sende their Ambassadors vnto them, whome they thus instructed.

That they shoulde priuatelye speake to the two legions that wente from *Antony*, and teache them not to putte their truste in one, but in the Senate onelye, whose power was eternall, and that they shoulde goe to *Decimus*, whether they would sende them theyr money, and pretended they hadde readye to gyue them the one halfe, and that tenne men shoulde be appointed for the payment, not namyng *Cesar* for the eleuenth.

Senate sendeth  
to the souldiours

The Messengers, bycause the legions would not be spoken to, without *Cesar* returned in vaine.

*Cesar* would no moze haue othre to speake to the souldiours, nor tarrye anye longer, but himselfe wente to the armye being assembled, and shewed what dyspight the Senate had done him, and that they ment to destroy euerye one of *Cesar*'s frendes.

He badde them beware of them, that would haue them tourne to a Capitayne, by sentence of gods iudged an enemye, and so from one enemye to another, eyther to bee vterlye destroyed, or to be at debate among themselves, for the feate at *Mutina* being common, rewarde is onelye appointed to two legions, to worke strife and discorde among them.

*Octavius* stirreth  
his souldiours  
against the Se-  
nate.

You knowe (quoth hee) why *Antony* is persecuted, and what the *Pompeyans* haue propounded in *Rome*, agaynst them that haue receyued giftes by *Cesar*'s appointment. What truste can you haue, eyther of the lande, or the money that hee gaue you, or of my safetie, so long as the killers kinsmen doe beare rule in the Senate? As for my selfe, I am readye to take suche ende as shall happen vnto me,

ff. y.

me, and it shall be myne honoure to suffer for my fathers desire: but for you, so manye and so worthye men, my whole care is, bying in perill for my fathers sake and mine. You know that I am cleare from al ambition, since I refused the authoritye that it you would haue giuen me, with the ceremonies of a Magistrate. Nowe I see that bothe oure safeties doeth consist, if I be of you declared Consull, for so shall the things be made sure vnto you, that my father hath giuen you: the landes and habitations that be due vnto you, you shall obtaine, and all your giftes to the uttermoste: and I seeking the punishment of the strikers, will, wyth you, dispatche our other enemies.

When he hadde thus saide, the armye chearefully made a noyse, and sent the Capitaines againe to Rome to require the Consulshippe for *Caesar*. When the Senate objected against his age, the Capitaines, as they were instructed, saide that in olde tyme *Corvinus* was Consull befoze his tyme, and after hym *Scipio*, both the firste and the seconde, and by their youth, the Countrey was aduanced. Comming to later tyme, they broughte forth *Pompey* and *Dolabella*, and *Caesar* himselfe, to whom it was graunted to be Consull tenne yeares befoze his tyme.

The Capitaines speaking thus with much boldenesse, some of the Senatoures coulde not abide, that they beeyng but band-leaders, should vse suche free spech befoze the Senate, and rebuked them, as menne moze insolent than became Souldiours duety.

When the whole armye heard this, they were moze angry, and desired they might straighte be led to the Cittie, that they might make *Caesars* sonne a Consull by a famous election, whose father they extolled with immortall praise.

When *Octavius* sawe this vehemencie, by and by from that assemblye, he marched forward with eight legions of footmen, and a sufficient number of horsemen, and all prouision accordingly, and when he was past the floude *Rubicon*, from *Celtia* into *Italy*, as his father did afore, when he moued ciuil war, he diuided his army into .ij. parts, & one he commaunded to follow at

leisure, the other and yet better, he toke with him, & made much speede, minding to take them vnprouided. He met with part of the money that the Senate had sent the souldiours for a rewarde, and being afraide of the bringers of this gifte, he sente secretly some afore to asraie them, whereby they wyth their money fledde awaye. When the report of his comming was at Rome, great was the trouble and tumulte, running hyther and thither to sende their wiues and childzen, and to carpe their chiefe substance, eyther into the countrey or to the strongest parts of the Cittie. For it was not thoroughly knowne, whyther he came onely to aske the Consulshippe. But when they heard that he came as an enemy wyth an angry armye, they were afraide of al hands.

The Senate was greatly stricken that they had no power sufficient, and as in suche feare happeneth, some of them accused an other: some, bycause they toke awaye the army from *Antony* wyth suche dispyght: some, bycause they had suspicion of the Triumphe, whiche was but right: some for hatred and diuision of the money: some, bycause he was not appointed the eleuenth manne in the distribution: some, bycause the rewards were not giuen, neither some ynough, nor ful ynough, sayd the army was become their enemy. & blamed this contention so much out of season, *Brutus* and *Cassius* being so farre off, and *Antonius* and *Lepidus* their enemies so nygh. Whome perceiving to be redy to agree wyth *Caesar*, made the feare to grow the greater.

*Cicero*, that befoze was the great spyrrer, did nowe no where appeare. In euerie manne was maruellous mutation in euery matter: and for the two thousande and fye hundred diammes that shoulde be giuen to two legions, to giue fye thousande diammes to eight legions, and in stede of tenne men, to make *Caesar* the distributour alone, and to graunte hym to aske the Consulshippe in his absence. Ambassadors went in haste to make this message with diligence, who were not out of the towne befoze the Senate repented them, as they that oughte not so cowardly to be troubled, nor to receiue an other Tyran

The feare at Rome.

Alteration in Rome.

*Cicero* not seene.

Inconstancie of the Senate.

¶. iij.

without

*Caesar* desired to be declared Consull by the souldiours.

Consulls vnder age.  
*Corvinus*,  
*Scipio*.

The Senate rebuketh the souldiours.

*Octavius* goeth against the citie.

without bloudshed, and that it was not the vse to aske the Consulship by force, nor that Captaynes shoulde rule the Countrey at their pleasure, and that they in the Citie shoulde arme themselves, and alleage the lawes againste them that came to invade the Countrey: and if they woulde needes procede, rather to suffer the segetill *Decimus* and *Flavius* myghte come: and better to defend themselves to death, than willingly to receyue servitude without redresse.

They recyted the olde examples of the *Romanes* in sufferance and Counsell for their libertie, whiche they woulde in no wise give over. And when the two legions called from *Libya*, dyd that day arrive at the porte, they thoughte that the Gods did exhort them to mainteyne their libertie: and repenting now themselves, they woulde reuoke all that they had done, (*Cicero* now appearing among them.) Wherefore all men that were of age, were appoynted to serue.

The two Legions that came from *Libya*, and wylth them a thousande horse, and one Legion that *Pansa* lefte them, were putte together, all the whiche was deuided. One parte kepte the hill *Ianiculo*, where all theyr money lay. Another kepte the passage of the floud, by the officers of the Citie deuiding themselves: and some hadde broughte their moneys to the porte in shippes and boates, that if they were overcome, they myght escape by Sea.

Thus they dyd with greate boldnesse and speede, trustyng thereby to affray *Cesar*, or to moue hym without his army to aske the Consulshippe of them, or manfully to defende themselves, and that the state myghte change to contrarie fortune, whyles they did fyght for their libertie.

*Cesar*s mother and his sister they coulde not fynde, neyther by priuie nor open search, wherefore they made a greate stirre, being spoyled of so great pledges, and thoughte that the *Casarians* did not encline to them, bycause they had so surely hid them from them.

Some of the messengers remainyng yet wylth *Cesar*, the contrarie determination was tolde him: wherefore they departed

parted from him with shame: he with the armye being the rather styred, came forwarde wylth greate hast, fearing the women myghte take hurte. And to the people that was in tumulte, he sente his horsemen afore, willing them no more to be afrayde: whereat every man reioysing, he take the places aboute Mount *Quirinale*, no man daryng to encounter or resist hym.

Wherefore an other maruelous mutation was scene of the sodayne. So many noble menne that wente vnto hym and receyued hym, the common people folowynge and besyng the shouldours in battayle raze, as men quiet in peace, he leauynge his armye in that place, the nexte daye came into the Citie with a sufficient Garde aboute hym: they of the Citie mette wylth hym all the waye on euery side, and saluted hym, omittinge no parte of humanitie nor humble seruice.

His Mother and his Sister from the Temple of *Vesta* wylth the holy Nunnes, ranne out to embrace hym. The three legions dispysing theyr Capitaynes, sente Embassadors vnto him to yelde themselves. *Cornutus* one of theyr chiefe Capitaynes, killed hymselfe, the other trusted to his promysse and sayth.

*Cicero* hearyng of these promyses, practysed to come befoze hym by his friendes, whiche being done, he excused hymselfe, and extolled the perswasion that he had vsed to the Senate for his Consulshippe: he answered onely with a taunt, that he was the lasse of his friendes that came vnto him.

In the nyghte a sodayne rumour was rayfed, that two legions of *Cesar*s, the partiall and the fourth, were reuolted to the Citie, as grieved they shoulde be brought to betraye their countrey. The officers and the Senate gaue sayth vnto the rumour very lightly, and though the other army was at hand, they thought with these menne so valiant, they might resist the reste of *Cesar*s hoste, till more power mighte come to them from other place. And in the nyghte, to be sure, they sente *Asilius Crassus* into *Picena* to gather an armye, and they

Mount *Quirinale*, one of the seven hills of Rome.  
Mutation in Rome.

Honour giuen to *Octavian*.

Legions of the Senate got to *Cesar Octavian*.

*Cornutus* himself.

*Cicero* taunted.

Light credite to a vayne rumor.

*Ancona*.

*Cicero* scene againe.

Two Legions arme agayne.

*Cesar*s mother and sister sought for.

commaunded one *Apuleius* a Tribune to runne to the people w<sup>th</sup> thys ioyful tydings: and the Senate that night, came to the Counsell, *Cicero* standing at the doze and receyuing them with greate ioye and gladnesse: and when it was knowne it was but a false rumo<sup>r</sup>, he fledde his waye in a waggon.

*Caesar* laughing at them, broughte his armye nigher the Citie, to the place called the felde of *Mars*. He hurt none of the officers, not so much as *Crassus*, <sup>Acilius Crassus.</sup> he was posting into *Picene*, althoughe hee was broughte vnto hym in a seruile habite, but spared all, to the opinion of hys humanitie, albeit, not long after, he put them to death.

<sup>Officiaries dealing in the Cities.</sup> The common treasure founde in *Ianiculo* or in any other place, he commaunded to be brought together: and al that was afore appointed by *Cicero*, he distributed to his army, two thousande and fūe hundred drammes to every man, the residue he promised to glue them. When he had done this, he retyned from the Citie, till the election of the Consuls, when, he was chosen, and with him, *Q. Pedius*, as he desired, who had left a portion of *Caesar's* inheritance vnto hym.

<sup>A token of xii. Vultures.</sup> When he came into the Cittie as Consul, and sacrificed. And there appeared to him twelue Grypes, as did to *Romulus* when he builded the Cittie. The sacrifices being ended, he gaue him selfe in adoption, to his father, according to the lawe *Curiate*, that is, to be confirmed in adoption by the people.

<sup>Curia, Phratia.</sup> For the *Romaines* call *Curias*, companies or wardes of the people deuided, as the *Grecians*, do call *Phratia*, fellowshipes and *Fraternities*. This vse among the *Romaines*, was most effectuell in the lawe for them that be without fathers: and they may as well as *Legitimate* children commaunde the kinsfolke and free made men of them that doe adopte them. And it was one of *Caius Caesar's* glories, that he had manye riche free made men: and chiefly for this cause peradventure, thys *Caesar*, in his first adoption by testament, had neede of this also.

He dissolved by a newe lawe that *Dolabella* shoulde not be iudged a rebell, and that the lawe mighte procede for *Caesar's* killing.

wherefore

wherefore accusations were written agaynst them by *Caesar's* friends, to them as strikers, to the other, as priue only: for thys was objected agaynst some of them, and to some, bycause they woulde not be seene when *Caesar* was kyled. And to all these, a day certayne was assigned by Proclamation, when they shoulde appeare to make their answer, all the whiche sayng at the day, *Caesar* himselfe markyng the iudgements, none was pardoned of the faulte, but one noble man, who then had no hurt, but shortly after was condemned to deathe w<sup>th</sup> the other. And at thys tyme *Q. Gallius*, brother to *Marinus Gallius*, *Antonys* friende, being a Pretor in the Citie, dyd desire of *Caesar* the Lieutenant-shippe of *Libya*, whych when he hadde obtayned, he wroughte shylles agaynst *Caesar*. The other Pretors depriued him of hys office, and the people and the Senate condemned him to deathe. *Caesar* commaunded hym to goe to hys brother that was w<sup>th</sup> *Antony*, and when he had taken shyppe to goe, he was neuer seene after.

Accusations against the friends of Caesar.

Many condemned for Caesar's death.

Q. Gallius condemned.

When *Caesar* had done these greate things, he enclined to pacification with *Antony*. When he had hearde that *Brutus* hadde twenty Legiōs, agaynst y<sup>e</sup> which he would haue *Antonys* hely, he wente out of the Citie towarde the *Ionian* Sea, and makyng small iourneys, he tarried to see what the Senate woulde do. *Pedius* when *Caesar* was gone, perswaded, that before grudge shoulde growe to extremitie, they woulde agree *Antony* and *Lepidus*. And although they perceyued that this agreement was not for theyr sake, nor for their Countrey, but onely to helpe *Caesar* agaynst *Brutus* and *Cassius*, yet did they by necessitie determine it, and reuoked the sharp decrees made agaynst *Antonie* and *Lepidus*, and all the Souldiours vnder them, and to sende them other moze fauourable, for the whiche *Caesar* wrote his letters of congratulation vnto them, and promised to helpe *Antonie* agaynst *Decimus*, if neede were. The Senate, vsed lyke friendly manner toward him, and gaue him their hartly thākes, and *Antonie* wrote that he woulde plague *Decimus* for *Caesar*, and *Plancus*, for himselfe, and ioyne with *Caesar*. Thus they wrote one to another.

Pedius counsell.

Pacification of Caesar & Antony.

Whylest *Antony* pursued *Decimus*, *Asinius Pollis* came vnto  
Eg. him

Plancus reeconomy.  
le I with  
Astrology.

him with two Legions; and practised to haue him pacified  
wyth *Plancus*, and *Plancus* with thre Legions agreed with  
*Antony*, in so muche as now *Antony* hadde a most myghtie  
power.

*Decimus* hadde tenne Legions, whereof foure moſte war-  
like being ſeebled with hunger, were yet vered with ſicke-  
neſſe.

*Decimus* is driue  
to ſee, and his  
army forſaketh  
him.

*Ravenna*,  
*Aquileia*.

*Reno* is a ſtoud in  
Italy, that run-  
neth not farre  
from *Concordia*.

Of newe taken, there was ſyre Legions; but vnerperte  
and ſcarefull. Wherefore *Decimus* doubting to ſyghte, deter-  
mined to ſee to *Brutus* into *Macedonia*, and not to paſſe by the  
ſountaines, but by *Ravenna* and *Aquileia*. And byeanſe  
*Cæſar* was coming that waye, he tooke a longer and an har-  
der iourney to paſſe by *Reno*, and goe to the wilde places of  
barbarous people, where the newe ſouldiours, oppreſſed  
with wante and heate, forſooke hym, and wente to *Cæſar*, and  
after them the foure Legions of older ſouldiours wente to  
*Antony*. When to the other multitude (the French *Hoyſemen*  
men, beeyng the gard of his perſon only except) he gaue leave (if  
they woulde) to goe euery man to his owne; and gaue them ſuch  
golde as he hadde, ſo as when he came to the *Reno*, he had but  
thre hundred, where, bycauſe the paſſage was hard, they all  
forſooke hym ſaue a fewe, whyche fewe alſo ſhortly byde leave  
hym, and wyth tenne onely, changing his garments like a  
French man, whoſe language he coulde ſpoake, he wente ſoſtly  
as one of that nation, not with haſty iourneys, but eaſie to  
*Aquileia*, thynking with ſo fewe he myght wel eſcape: but be-  
eyng taken of *Thæues* and bounde, he asked what Prince was  
Lorde of that parte, they ſayde *Camillus*. He muche eſteemyng  
the name of *Camillus*, deſired he myght be broughte to hym, who  
when he ſawe hym in apparance, ſpake ſayde to hym, and rebui-  
ked the takers, that without regard, hadde ſo euill entreated ſo  
noble a man, but praiſely he ſent vnto *Antony*, and *Antony* mo-  
ued with the mutation, coulde not abyde to ſee him, but willed  
*Camillus* to kyl hym, and ſende hym his head, whyche when he  
ſawe, he commaunded it to be buryed.

Thys ende hadde *Decimus*, a Captayne of *Cæſars* *Hoyſemen*,  
and

one by hym made Ruler of olde France, and for the yeaere to  
come elected Conſull, and Gouvernoure of the other France,  
and was the ſeconde of the kylloers that nexte *Trebanius* was pu-  
niſhed, a yeaere and a halfe after *Cæſars* deathe. And this verpe-  
tyme *Minutius* *Baſillus* one of *Cæſars* quellers alſo was kil-  
led of his owne ſeruauntes, bycauſe he had made  
ſome of them Eunuches for pu-  
niſhmente.

*Minutius* *Baſillus*  
killed of his  
owne men,

## The ende of the thirde Booke of Ciuill diſſentions.

Gg.ij.

The



The fourth Booke of *Appiane* of  
Alexandria, of the Ciuill dissen-  
tions of Rome.



Thus two of *Caesar's* killers, being ouer-  
throwen in their prouinces, had their  
punishment, *Trebanius* in *Asia*, and *De-*  
*cimus* in *Celsica*. Nowe, how *Caesar* and  
*Brutus*, chiefe of the conspiracie against  
*Caesar* were plained, being Lordes of  
all the lande betwene *Syria*, and *Ma-*  
*cedonia*, hauing mighty power both by  
Sea and land, with twenty armed le-

gions, besyde Hoysmen and Shyppes, and money at wyll, thys  
fourth Booke of Ciuill discorde shal declare. And with the same,  
the inquisitions, and the searchers of them that were appoynted  
to dye by proscription, and the lamentable afflictions on euerye  
syde, suche as neyther among the *Greeke* seditions or tumultes,  
nor among the *Romaines* themselues hadde bin done by any re-  
membzance, sauing onely of *Sylla*, who was the fyrste, that by  
proclamation condemned his foes to dye: for *Marinus* did onely  
seeke to punish them whome he founde: but *Sylla* with greate  
rewardes and lyke punishmentes of them that did conceale, pro-  
scribed merne to be killed, as they were caughte. What *Marinus*  
and *Sylla* dyd, it is shewed befoze in that matter, nowe the rest  
shall follow in order.

*Caesar* and *Antonie*, of enmities, were made friendes, aboute  
the Citie of *Modena*, in a little playne Ilande of the floude *La-*  
*binio*, eache of them hauing fyue armed Legions, whiche be-  
yng placed one ouer agaynst another, eyther of them wyth  
thre hundred, came to the bridges of the Riuer. *Lepidus* being  
come afoze to searche the Ile, made a token wyth his cloke to  
them both to come. They leste theyr companies wyth theyr  
friendes

Proscription, is  
a condemnation  
without lawe,  
to killen  
wherefozeuer  
they be founde.

The agreement  
of *Caesar*,  
*Antonie*, and *Le-*  
*pido*.

friendes at the Bridges, and came into the myddest, to a place  
that myghte bee scene, and sate all thre downe, *Caesar* in the  
myddest, bycause of his office. Two dayes from moynyng  
till nyghte they conferred, and made thys determina-  
tion.

1 That *Caesar* should gyue ouer his Consulshippe, and *Venti-*  
*dius* receyue it for the rest of the yeare.

That a newe office shoulde be instituted by lawe, for redresse  
of ciuill troubles: and that *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Caesar*, shoulde  
haue that authoritie for fyue yeares, wyth the same power that  
Consulles haue: so it was thought best to name it, peraduen-  
ture bycause of *Antonyes* decree, forbidding any man to bee  
Dictator.

That they shoulde by and by appoynte the offices of the Ci-  
tie from yeare to yeare, duryng the fyue yeares, and diuide the  
Prouinces.

That *Antony* shoulde haue all *Fraunce* on thys syde the  
*Pirenei* Mountaynes, excepte that whiche they call olde *Cel-*  
*tica*. Noyy Narbona.

That *Lepidus* shoulde rule that and *spayne*.

That *Caesar* shoulde gouerne *Lybia*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicilie*, and a-  
ny other Ilande there.

Thus did these thre diuide the *Romaine* Empire, leauing the  
prouinces beyonde the Sea, bycause of *Brutus* and *Caesar* that  
were Gouernoures there.

That *Antony* and *Caesar* should make warre vpon *Brutus* and  
*Cassius*.

That *Lepidus* shoulde be Consull for the time to come, and re-  
mayne in the Citie for all occasions, and gouerne *spayne* by De-  
puttes.

That *Lepidus* shoulde reteyne thre Legions of his owne ar-  
my for the defence of *Rome*.

That the other seauen shoulde be diuided betwene *Caesar*  
and *Antony*, that *Caesar* shoulde haue thre, and *Antony* foure,  
that eyther of them myghte leade twenty Legions to the  
warre.

¶ Eg. 14.

They

That they shoulde encourage their armies as well with rewarpes of victorie, as other giftes, as by the promise of eyghtene Cities of *Italie*, excellling in substance, soyle, and sayze buyldings, and that both landes and houses of the same shoulde be deuided unto them, as though they had bin taken by warre. Amongst the rest these were the chiefe, *Capua*, *Reggio*, *Venusia*, *Beneuent*, *Nuceria*, *Arimeno*, and *Pisbona*. Thus were the sayest partes of *Italie* assigned to the Souldiours.

Cities of Italy  
deuided to  
spoyle.

It was also agreed, that euery of them shoulde dispatche his priuate enemies, that no trouble myghte come by them, after that they, vppon these determinations, shoulde be gone farre off, to make a long warre out of their Countrey. All these thyngs were signed wyth their handes. *Cesar*, as Consull dyd declare them to the armye, sayng onely theyr names that were appoynted to dye. When the Souldiours hearde it, they were glad, and embraced together for ioy.

Tokens in  
Rome.

These beeing done, many monstrous and terrible tokens were scene in *Rome*. Dogges yelled like *Wolues*, a fearefull warning. *Wolues* ranne about the common place, a beast, not wont to be scene at *Rome*. An Ox sounded a mans voyce: and a childe spake as soone as it was bozne. Some of the Images sweate. Some dyd sweate blood. Greate voyces of men, noyse of harnesse, and running of Horses, were heard, and nothyng scene.

About the Sunne, there were manye vnpleasante sightes. Stormes also of Stones. Continual lightnings fell vppon the Temples and the pictures.

For this cause, the Senate sente for Southsayers and *Pythetes* out of *Toscane*, the most aunciente, of the whyche, affirmyng that the olde Kyngs shoulde retorne, and euery man be in bondage but himselfe alone, he shutte his mouth, and stopped his breath till he dyed.

A rare example  
of a Southsayer.

These three men being thus alone by themselves, dyd appoynte them that shoulde dye. They suspected some for their pri-

uer. Some they registred as theyr priuate enemies, and some theyr olde familiars and friends they gaue to dye, to serue eache others turne, both then, and afterwarde. And so were men condemned one after another, some for enemie: some onely for a little offence, as for louing his enemies, or hatyng his friends, or for beeing too riche, bycause they wanted much money to maynteyne the warre. *Brutus* and *Cassius* receyuing the rentes and Tributes of *Asia*, and beeing also holpen by the Kynges and Princes there, and for asmuche as they were in wante, bycause *Europe*, and chiefly *Italie* was wasted wyth warres and paymentes, they dyd put a greuous imposition vpon the common sorte of menne and women, and made the artificers and workemen to pay them tribute, and some was proscribed for the goodnesse of his lands & houses. And thus all these were condemned to dye, and to bee confiscate, whereof there were thre hundred Senators, and two thousande of them that bee called *Gentlemen*, among the whyche were the byerthen and vnclen of these that hadde condemned them, and some that ruled armies vnder them, and as many as hadde displeased them or other that were leaders vnder them. And intending to condemne the multitude after this conference, at theyr beeing in *Rome*, they appoynted twelue of the suddayne (or as some say) seauentene of the chiefe to bee kyled, whereof *Cicero* was one. And by and by they sente aboute it, and foure were straight kyled at theyr tables, or where they were mette, the other were soughte in houses and Temples, so as there was a sudden trouble al that night among them, with cries, running, and yelling, as in a Citie taken. For when it was known that menne shoulde bee apprehended, and no certenty vppon whome the proscription woulde fall, euery man thoughte himselfe to bee sought of them that made enquire. Wherefore in this confusion some hadde determined to burne their owne thynges, and some to sette publike places all on fyre, intending by good reason to doe some notable feate, before they woulde suffer. And they hadde done it out of hande, hadde not *Pedius* the Consull gone aboute with Proclamation, and comforted them

Equites.

Murder of Rome

them to carrie, till the truth were thoroughly knowen. When morning was come, *Pedius* according to the sentence of the three men, did condemn *seuentene*, as only supposed chiefe authors of ciuill euils, and onely condemned: whereof he gaue his faith publickly to the rest, not knowing what was done, and he for the labour he toke in the night, dyed. The three men, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Cesar*, entred *Rome*, each one by himselfe in three severall dayes, with the gardes of their persons, and one Legion a peece, in order of battell.

When they were come, the Citie was full of Souldiours, and ensignes placed, where was fyfte, and by and by there was an assemblie, in the whyche, *Publius Titius*, Tribune of the people, dyd by lawe confirme the newe rule, by the appoyntmente of them presente, for syue yeares of three men, *Lepidus*, *Antonius*, and *Cesar*, with equal power as Consuls (whyche a man myghte call reformers, after the Greeke manner, and that name the *Lacedemonians* gaue to them that directed their state, neyther any respite being gyuen for the approbation, nor a speciall daye appoynted for voyces to be used. Out of hande the lawe toke place, and that nyghte condemnations of thirtie, besyde the *seuentene*, and of one hundred moze, were sette vp in many places of the Citie, and shortlye after, another hundred and fiftie, and euer some were added moze in the booke, to them that were firste condemned, or kyled, as by ignorance, that it myghte bee thoughte they were worthy to dye. It was ordered, that all theyr heads shoulde be brought to the three men, and a rewarde appoynted. A free mans rewarde was syluer, a *Servantes*, libertie and syluer, and who receyued a condemned man, or concealed, or hindred the search, shoulde bee punished with lyke payne, and euery man myghte declare agaynst whom he would for the same rewarde. The Proclamation was after this sorte.

And that all men should suffer their priuate places to be searched. *Marcus Lepidus*, *Marcus Antonius*, and *Octavius Cesar*, chosen reformers and directours of the Common wealth, saye thus: If the unfaithfull, euill disposed menne, hadde

not bene pittied when they needed, and being so, had not become enemies of their benefactors, and after conspired against them, they had not slayne *Cesar*, whome he toke by warre, and saued by mercy: accompted them friends, and plentifully aduanced them, with offices, honours and giftes: nor we shoulde haue ben compelled thus violently to vse them, that haue with suche despite, made proclamations of treason against vs: but now by their euill meanings toward vs, & their worse working toward *Cesar*, perceyuing that by humanitie, their malice is made obstinate, we haue chosen rather to prevent them than to be taken tardy of them. Let no man thinke our act unchrist, cruell or to sore, considering what *Cesar*, what we haue suffered at their handes. *Cesar* being chiefe ruler, and prince of holy things, Conquerour and ouerthrower of nations, most terrible to the *Romaines*, and the first man that beyond *Hercules* pillars did psonne the sea not sayled before, and sounde lande unknowne to the *Romaines*, in the midst of the sacred place, called the Senate house, in the sight of the goddess, they haue cruelly killed with xliij. woundes, whom he toke prisoners in warre, and not onely saued their liues, but made some of them heyres of his liuing. The reste of them through the same wicked purpose haue sente these detestable offendours, in steepe of punishment, to the rule of Prouinces and armies, whiche they abuse in spoyling of common treasure, in gathering one army against vs of them, and requiring an other of the *Barbarians* alwayes enemies to this state. Certaine Citties belonging to the *Romaines*, refusing to obey them, they haue burned, spoyled or rased: others oppressed with their terrible threatnings, they soze agaynst their countrey and vs. We haue already punished some of them, and by the helpe of God, ye shall soon see the rest haue their iuste deserte. The greatest matters touching *Spain*, *Fraunce*, and here at home, we haue at our commaundment well dispatched. Neuerthelesse we haue an harde and sharpe worke in hande, to make warre agaynst the murderers, of *Cesar* that be beyonde the seas: and because we shall make this warre abrode, we do not thinke it sure, neyther for vs nor,

*Publius* Consul  
dyed.

*Publius Titius*  
propounded  
the new rule  
of the three men.

*Apposati*  
was the name  
among the *Lacedemonians*,  
which were  
rulers of Cities  
and Castels.  
Increase of  
condemned men.

Rewards.

The Proclamation  
of the three  
men.

for you, to leaue enimies at home, that mighte disturbe vs in our absence, and wayte theyr times as the warre shoulde haue successe, neyther to make any delay in this hasty expedition, but rather to ridde them at ones, they hauing begonne the warre agaynst vs, and iudged vs and our armies, traytours to our Countrie, not regardyng neyther the enuy of manne, nor the reuengment of God, in destroying so many millions of their Citizens.

We are not offended agaynst the multitude nor will take them all as enimies, that haue bene so to vs, nor altogether weigh riches, substaunce or dignities, nor kill so many as an other chiefe ruler haue done before vs, who redressed the Citie in lyke Ciuill dissentions, whome, for his lucky doings you did call *Happye*, (although there muste needes be moze enimies to thre than one) but onely the worst and most wicked sorte, as well for you as for our selves, we entende to correct otherwise by our contentions, you all, betwene vs, muste needes be utterly destroyed, and of necessitie, our armie that hath bene so iniured and despighted, as they haue bene proclaimed publique enimies, must needes some way be comforted at our hande.

And where as we mighte lay handes vppon the condemned, where we woulde, yet we thought it better to pronounce them, than at all aduentures to oppresse them, and that for your sake, least the rage of the Souldiours mighte exceede vppon them that are not touched, and that their names beyng comprehended in a certayne number, they might leaue the rest by the decre.

Then that good Fortune may come by them that be coneyned in this wytyng: Lette no manne receyue any manne, nor hyde, nor sende away, nor be wonne for money. For if any doe saue, helpe, or be founde pryue: him, will we, without all excuse and pardone, put among the condemned sorte.

Of them that shall byng the heades of suche as they shall

shall kyll, before vs, a free manne shall haue xrb. thousand, drammes of *Athens* for euery heade, a seruaunt shall haue, <sup>Revardes</sup> bys lybertie and tenne thousande, and bys Maysters place, in the Cittie, and the same shall they haue that shall enioyne, and none of theyr names that receyue these rewarde, shall bee noted in our booke, that they may not be knowne.

This was the proclamation of the thre men, as I coulde translate it out of Latine into Greke.

*Lepidus* was the firste that dyd condemne, and the firste of the condemned was *Paulus* his brother.

*Lepidus* condemneth his brother

The second that did condemne, was *Antony*: and the second that was condemned, was his vnckle *Lucius*, for they firste condemned these as enimies.

*Antony* condemneth his vnckle.

The thirde and the fourth was of them, whiche in another booke, were appoynted to be Consuls in tyme to come. *Platius*, brother to *Plancus*, and *Quintus*, Father in lawe to *Asinius*: and these were not the rather putte before other because of theyr dignitie onely, but as muche for terrour and desperation, that none shoulde hope to be saued.

*Thoranus* was among the condemned men, who, as some say, was Tutor to *Cesar*.

*Thoranus* tutor to *Cesar* condemned.

By and by after these condemnations, the gates were kept, and all other passages and portes of the Cittie, shennes also and wyndes, and any other place suspected to be fitte to fle vnto, or for them that fledde, to be hydden in.

The Capitaynes of the bandes were commaunded to range the fieldes abroad, and to searche diligently, and all this was done at once.

Forthwith, bothe in the countrie and the Cittie, as menne were taken, there was greate suddayne slaughter, and diuerse kyndes of murders, & cuttings off of heades to be shewed for rewarde sake.

Then was there hally slepyng, and vnseemely sight of them, that

Wh. y.

that

that befoze were goodly to be ſene: ſome leapte into puddles, ſome into ditches and ſinckes moſt vncleane: ſome got vppeto the ſmoky routes and chimnies, or ſat cloſe with deepe ſilence vnder heapes of tyles: ſome were as muche afrayde of their wifes or children that bare them no good will, as they were of the killers: ſome of their free made mē: ſome, of their bondmē: ſome creditors, of their debtors: ſome of their neyghbours, conueyng their groundes: what ſoener had bin kept in befoze, the it buſt forth: a cruell and confuſed mutation of Senators, of Conſuls, of Pretours, of Tribunes, of newe elect to thoſe offices, or of them that had borne office. It was to ſee them ſal at a ſlaues ſete with teares, naming him ſauour and good maſter: and more pittifull it was, that when they hadde done all this, they could get no grace, there was all ſhapes of miſerie: not as in ſedition or ſacking of a Cittie, where men myghte feare their foes and enemies, and truſt their families, but here they were more afrayde of them, than of the killers: The whiche beyng voyde of feare, otherwiſe than in tumulte and warre, they ſodainelye of friends were made enemies, eyther for hydden hate, or for the proclaymed rewards, or for the gold and ſiluer in their houſes: for by this occaſion, euerye man wared extremely vnſaythful to his maſter, and their reward did ouerwhelme naturall dewty toward the ſame, and he that was ſaythfull and wel willing, was a ſcapde to help, to hyde, or conceale, for the crueltie of the puniſhment.

The former feare of the ſeuenteene men did amaze them againe, for then none being named, but many ſodaynly taken, all were afrayde of the like, and therefore ſought together for defence: for upon theſe proſcriptions, ſome were by and by giuen in pray to euery man, and ſome being ſure of themſelues, and deſirous of the gains, hunted out the other, to haue reward of the killers. The reſte of the common ſorte, ſome ſpoyle the houſes of them that were killed, which profit drew their minds from common feeling of preſent miſchief: ſome more temperate and mylde, were aſtoniſhed and amazed. It ſeemed wonderful  
to

to them to conſider, that other Citties being vndone by ſedition, haue bin preſerued againe by agreement. This Cittie, the diſſion of the rulers hadde conſumed, and their agreement brought it to deſolation: ſome dyed reſiſting the killers, ſome withoute reuenge, as not knowing by whome they were murdered. There were ſome that killed themſelues with voluntarie hunger, ſome vſed halters, ſome drowned their bodies, ſome thruwe themſelues downe from the houſe toppe, ſome leapt into the fyre, ſome offered themſelues to the ſtrykers, ſome tarried when they were called, ſome hid and diſgraced themſelues vniſemelye, ſome reſiſted the euill, and thoughte to haue boughte it out: ſome beſyde the ſentence of the three men, of ignorance or deceit, were diſpatched (as it did appeare) by one that was ſlaine and not condemned, when the head was ſhewen.

The condemned perſons heads were brought befoze the ſeats in the common place, that they that had brought them, might receiue their goods.

On the other ſyde, there was as much care and vertue, bothe of women, children, brethzen and ſeruauntes, ſauing and ſhifting for many, and dying with them, if they could not bring to paſſe what they ment, and ſome killed that came to kill them. Of them that fledde, ſome were drowned in the Sea, ſome tyme being in all againſt them: ſome beyonde all hope, returned to offices in the Cittie, to be Capitaines in warre and triumphes. Suche demonſtration made that ſeaſon of things to be wondred at. And theſe were done, not in a priuate Cittie, nor in a weake and little kingdome, but in the moſte mightye, and the Ladye of ſo manye nations, bothe by lande and ſea. God himſelfe did ſtirre it, to bring it to that good order, that now it is in.

Contrarie effect  
to former calamities.

God would  
haue it ſo.

Sylla.  
Marine.

There were ſuche thinges done of Sylla, and befoze him, of Marius, the choſe of the which, I haue ſhelved in their liues, and then men laye vnburied. But theſe doings for the worthynelle of theſe three men, eſpeciallye for the vertue and fortune of one of them which brought the Empire to a ſure ſeate, and left a ſtacke and name to them that now remaine after him, a man  
Ph. ii. may

may worthily thinke to be far of more importance, which, as they were more or lesse notable, and be more fresh in memorie, and lately done, I wil declare, yet not al (for they be not worthy the telling, that touche the simple death & fleeing, of them that were pardoned of the three men, which after they returned, lived a life unknowne) but the moste marvellous, that may make a man afraide, and cause credite to that is spoken before. They be manye, and manye of the Romaines haue in many bookes, written these of themselves, of the which I wil shew briefly a fewe of the greatest in euery sort, for the reliefe of the same, and for the happynesse of the tyme that now is.

The euil began at the firste bunte, of them that were yet in office. And *salvius* the Tribune was the firste that was kyled, whose power was sacred and sure by lawe, exceeding the reste, so as the Tribunes haue committed some Consuls to prison.

This was the Tribune that firste forbade that *Antony* shoulde be declared an ennemye, after the which tyme he stucke altogether to *Cicero*.

Understanding the intelligence of the three men, and they approche to the Cittie, he made a feaste to his friends, as one that shoulde not ofte so doe againe. The Souldiours running into the house, they arose with feare and trouble. The Capitaine of the bande commaunded them to be quiet and still, but *salvius*, as he saie, he took by the heare, till he mighte dispatch hym, and vpon the table cutte off hys heade, and commaunded them within to make no busynesse, leasse if anye trouble were rased, they shoulde suffer the lyke, and they being astonished, remained after the Capitaine was gone, til midnight, with the Tribunes Corpe.

The seconde that was kyled, was *Minutius* a Pretor, setting in iudgement in the common place.

Understanding that the Souldiours were commyng, he leapte downe, and thinking where he mighte hide hymselfe, he chaunged hys garment, and ranne into a shoppe, sending away hys seruantes and hys shewes of office.

They for reuerence and pittie, taryng stil, agaynst their will, made

made the killers the easlier to finde their mayster.

*Annalis* an other Pretor (goynge about with his Sonne that labored to be a treasurer, to sew to them that gaue voyces) hys friends that were with hym, and they that bare the maces of his office, understanding he was condemned, forsoke hym. He fledde vnto a tenaunt of hys, which had a straight and a homely house in the Suburbs, for all purposes very fitte, and was hid safe, till hys Sonne, that thought he was fled thither, brought the strykers to the house, and was rewarded of the three men with his Fathers goods, and chosen a Chamberlayne of the Cittie, who, being after very dronke, and troubling the Souldiours, the same killed him, that dispatched his father.

*Choranius* not now a Pretor, but one that had bene, and father of a young man that was vnhystric, and myght doe much with *Antonie*, prayed the strykers to spare his kylling a while till he might sende hys sonne to speake to *Antony*, they laughed and sayd, his sonne had spoken, but it was to the contrarye. When the olde man heard that, he desired them to tarrie til he had seene his daughter, whome when he sawe, he commaunded to absteine from hys goodes, leasse hir brother shoulde seue for hir death also to *Antony*. But he, hauing consumed all his substance in euil life, was attached of felony, and saued himselfe by flying away.

*Cicero* who after *Caius Caesar*, did direct all like a ruler alone in a popular state, was proscribed, with his sonne, his brother, his nephew, his friends, familiars and adherents. Flying by bote, he could not abyde y sicknesse of the sea, but returned to a place of his owne: which I for the remembraunce of hys misfortune, did see aboute *Capua* a Cittie of Italy. When they that came to seeke hym were at hande (for, of all other, *Antonie* was moste desirous to haue hym, and all aboute *Antonie*, were ready to gette him) the Crows came vnto hys house, and made suche a noise, as they waked him out of his slepe, and drew out his garment frō his body, that lay vpon him, til his seruants perceyuing the thyng, and taking it to bee a token from God, put *Cicero* in a litter, and ledde him toward the Sea, through a thicke wood, and

Reuerence oute  
of tyme.  
*Annalis* kyled.

A wicked son  
kyled.

*Choranius* killed  
by the sute of  
hys sonne.

*Cicero* kyled:  
*Cicero* cannot  
bide the sea  
sicknesse and  
returneth.  
The Author  
goeth to see  
*Cicero* his house in  
the countrey.

*Cicero* warned  
by Crows.

*Salvius*,  
Authoritie of  
Tribunes.

*Salvius* the Tri-  
bune kyled.

*Minutius* killed,  
that was a Pre-  
tor.

rode secretly, and where as many did run on euery side, asking if they sawe *Cicero*, some for good will and pittie saide, he was gone and sailed ouer sea, but a shomaker tenaunt to *Clodie*, the sharpest enimie of *Cicero*, tolde *Lena* the Captayn where he went with a felwe. He ranne, and seing his seruants to be manye more than he had broughte with him, and readye to defende him, he cried very loude for a pollicie, make haste you bandeleaders that be behinde. When *Ciceroes* seruants thinking they should haue bin ouerlaide, forsooke their maister.

*Lena*, whiche by *Ciceroes* helpe had bin before saued, pulled hys heade out of the Litter, and cut it off, hauing thre strokes, and making thre woundes for lacke of cunning. He cut off also his hande, with the whiche he wrote the orations againste *Antony* as a *Trizanne*, in the whiche, he followed *Demosthenes*, that did the like against *Philippe*. Some rode, some sailed to carry *Antony* the newes, and *Lena*, as he late in the common place, toke the heabe and the hande, and shewed it a farre off. He was maruelous ioyful, and crowned the Capitaine, and gaue him honoure with great gifts, that is to say, two hundred and fiftie thousand drammes of *Athens*, bycause he had dispatched his greatest and busiest enimy.

*Cicero* his head and his hande was sette vppon for a tyme in the common place before the Tribunall, where he was wonte to make orations, and more came to see it, than before to heare him.

They say that *Antony* did sette *Ciceroes* head vppon his table at his meale, till he had his fill of the sighte of that euill. Thus *Cicero* a man made eloquent to this daye, hauing borne the office of a Consul, in greatest causes most profitable to his country, was thus destroyed, and after his death, despightful. \* Hys sonne was sent into *Greece* to *Brutus*.

\* *Quintus*, *Ciceroes* brother, and his son being taken, prated the

Strikers

A Shomaker he  
vrayeth *Cicero*

Ant, one saued  
by *Cicero*, kyl-  
lath hym.

The orations of  
*Cicero* called *Thi-  
lippica*

Doth haste made  
to carrie *Anto-  
ny* the newes of  
*Ciceroes* death.  
It more done to  
Antony kyllyng  
of *Cicero*.

After that *Anto-  
ny* had the rule  
of all, & founde  
one of hys Ne-  
theres, vvyth  
a booke in hys  
hande, whiche  
was of *Ciceroes*  
making the child  
was amide to  
shewe it, but he  
woulde needes  
see it & readen,  
and sayd: Child,  
this manne was  
learned, and a co-  
ner of hys coun-  
try. And not  
long after hee  
tooke *Cicero* hys  
sonne, he hys  
felow. In the  
Consulshipp, in  
whose tyme *Antonyes*  
Images were throwne  
downe, and a decree  
made that neuer  
any of hys house  
should be called  
*Marcus*. So in the  
ende, the reuenge-  
ment of *Antonyes*  
cruelle was ap-  
pointed by God,  
to the house of  
*Cicero*.

\* *Cicero* his sonne  
sent to *Brutus*.

\* *Quintus* *Cicero* and  
his sonne kylled,

Strikers, to kill him before his sonne: but hys sonne desired the contrary. Wherefore, the souldiours promised bothe they requestes, and taking them asunder, by a token killed them both at one instante. *Ignatius* the father and the sonne, fighting together, dyed of one wounde, and when their heades were stricken off, their bodies did yet embrace.

*Ignatius* father  
and the sonne.

*Balbus* sent his sonne to the sea, that they shoulde not be clyped going together, and shortly after he followed alose, and when one tolde him, either of malice, or of ignorance, that his sonne was taken, he went backe and sent for his killers, and it chaunced that his son was drowned in the Sea. Such like calamitie can fortune giue.

*Balbus* and hys  
sonne.

*Aruntius* coulde hardelpe perswade his sonne that he woulde not see without him, to saue himselfe, bycause he was but yong. His mother sent him afoze to the gates, and then returned to burge his husbande being killed, and when she hearde shortly after, that his sonne was deade on the sea, with hunger she killed herselfe.

*Aruntius* and his  
sonne.

His wife.

These be examples of good and euill children.

There were .ii. brethren condemned, called *Ligary*, which being hidde, fel asleepe, til one of them being found of hys seruants, was killed, and the other making escape, and hearing of hys brothers death, threw himselfe from the bridge into the riuer, whome, when fyshermen had saued, as one that fell by chance and not of purpose, he stroue a great while with them, that they shoulde not saue him, and threw himselfe vnder the water: but they being stronger than he, bringing him vppon safe, he saide, you haue not saued me, but put your selues in danger of death with me, that am a condemned man: yet they hauing pittie of him, saued hym, til the souldiours that kept the bridge saw it, and ran down to cut off his heade.

*Ligary* two  
brethren.

Of two other brethren, one threw himselfe into the riuer, his seruant seeking his body five dayes after, whiche when he had founde, and knewe it was he, he cut off his head for the reward: The other brother being hid in a iakes, an other seruante did bewraye him.

Two brethren.

Al.

The

The Souldiours refused to goe in, but with their weapons and speares, pulled by his body, and cutte off his head in such case as it was.

Two brethren. Another vnderstanding that his brother was proscribed, and not knowing that hymselfe was so to, ranne and cryed, kyll me before hym. The Captayne knowyng the truth of the condemnation, thou makest a resonable request (quoth he) for thou wast condemned before hym, and so in order kyllled them both.

And these be examples of brethren.

A good wyfe  
hath euill lucke.

Ligarius being hydd of his wyfe, made one onely mayde priuie to it, and being betrayed of hir, she followed him that bare away hir husbannes head, crying, I must haue the like punishment, because I haue hydde hym: and when none of the Souldiours woulde kyll hyr, nor accuse hir, she wente to be wyap hir selfe to the Princes, and because they did not regarde hyr for pitie, she destroyed hir selfe with hunger. And hyr haue I thoughte good to note in this place, because being willing to saue hir husbände and coulde not, she kyllled hyr selfe with hunger: but they that had good lucke for their good loue to thei husbannes, I wyll wrighte among them that saued thei husbannes.

An euill wyfe.

Other there were that wickedly dyd betray thei husbannes, and of them one that was married to *Septimius*, whyche was corrupted in loue of a friende of *Antonyes*, who being desirous, of his harlot, to be made his wife, caused hym to speake to *Antony* to haue hir, and forthwith was *Septimius* condemned, which thing he learning of his wife, and ignorant of his euill at home, fledde to hir, and she seeming to be carefull to keepe him, shutte the doores, and hydde hym tyll the strikers came, and in one daye he was kyllled, and she married.

Salassius.

Salassius fledde, and being wythout hope, in the nyghte returned to the Citie, to abyde tyll the sharpenesse of the time myghte cease. He came to his house that was solde, and onely his house-keeper, (who was sold with the house) knew him, who broughte hym to his lodge, and promised to keepe hym, and hidde him to his power. He badde him call his wife from the other part of the house,

house, she answering, she durst not come, fearing hir mayde myghte suspect somewhat by nyghte, sayde, she woulde be wyth hym in the morning. When day was come, she called the strikers. The Porter ranne to the house to call his mistresse, because he thought she tarried too long.

Salassius being afrayde of his Porters long absence, was in doubt of decepte, and wente by to the toppe of the house, from the whyche, when he sawe, not his Porter, but his wyfe bynging the strikers, he cast hymselfe to the grounde.

Euill wyfe.

Fulvius fledde to a woman seruante, whome fyrste he kepte, after made hir free, and gaue a dowrie to marrie hir: she hauing receyued these benefytes, for ielousie of another woman whome he had married, betrayed hym.

Fulvius betrayd.

These examples may be for euill wiues.

Statius the Samnite, that in the fellowes warre had done many things for the Samnites, and for the excellencie of his seates, bloud, and riches, being chosen into the Romaine Senate, and nowe foure score yeares of age, was condemned for his riches: he opened his house to the people, and suffered his seruantes to take what they woulde, and something he threwe out, till it was payde, then he set it on fyre, and shut it, and burned in it, and the fire did consume many other places of the Citie.

Statius.

Capito for the most part keeping his doores open, killed al them that forced to come in, one after another, at length oppressed with the multitude, he alone, hauing killed many, dyed.

Capito.

Vitellius gathered a greate number of men aboute Reggio, of such as were condemned, and other fledde with them, and from the eyghtene Citie that were giue in pray to the Souldiours, which were greuously offended. Vitellius hauing these, killed the ordinarie bands that were sent to seeke them, till a greater army was sent, and then he gaue not ouer, but went into Sicilie to Pompey, who held that Island, and receyued such as fledde vnto hym, where he did serue very valiantly, til after many fightes he was overcome: yet hauing sent his sonne, and all the condemned men with him to Messina: when he sawe the shippes to be arrived, he fell on his enemies, and was cut in peeces.

Vitellius  
Reggio in the  
ende of Italy,  
next Sicilie.

Messina, the  
chefe porte,  
Towne of  
Sicilie, next  
Italy.

Al. y.

N. afo

*Naso*, being betrayed of a seruant, whome he loued and hadde made free, tooke a sword from one of the souldiours, and onely killing the traitour, offered himselfe to the strikers. A seruante that loued his Master, kepte him safe in an hill, and went to the sea, to buye him a boate. After his retourne, perceiuing his Master to be killed, he cried aloude vnto him, hauing yet a little life, stape a while, & Master (quoth he) and sodainly stroke the Capitaine and killed hym: then comynge agayne to his Master, killed himselfe, saying: & Master thou haste receiued comfort,

*Lucius* gaue his golde to two of his moste faithfull seruants, whome he had made free, and went to the sea, where they fleeing from him, he returned, and not caring for his life, offered himselfe to the quellers.

*Labienus*, who in *Syllas* tyme had taken and killed manye that were then proscribed, mighte well be reprovied, if he had not suffered the like valiantly. He went out of his house, sate downe in his chaire, and tarried for the killers.

*Cestius* in the Countrey was hidde of his good seruantes: the souldiours euer running aboute in armoure with monies heades: he coulde not abide the continuance of the feare; but hadde his seruantes make a fyre, and if anye manne did aske them, saie *Cestius* was killed and there buried. When they hadde made the fyre readye, he leapt into it.

*Appianus* hysing himselfe surely coulde not abide the euill diet, but offered himselfe to the sword.

Another willing ye offered himselfe openly; and because the strikers tarried, he choked himself in the midst of them.

*Lucius* father in lawe to *Asinius*, then Consull, fledde vnto the sea, the tediousnesse wherof not able to abide, he leapt into the water.

*Sisinnius* fleeing awaye, and crying that he was not condemned, but followed of them, to be betrayed for his money, they brought him to the booke, and hadde hym reade his own name, whyche which they hadde done, they dispatched him.

*Aemilius* not knowing he was condemned, seeing the folloynge

another, asked the Captaine who was condemned: the Capitaine looking him in the face, sayde, Thou and he, and so killed them bothe.

*Cilo* and *Decius* coming out of the Senate house, and knowing they were condemned, and their names in the booke, no man folowynge them, they fledde vnseemly to the gates, and there runnyng, bewrayed themselves to the Captayned. *Tullius* that fauoured *Brutus* & *Cassius*, and *Octavius Caesar*, being present with his armie at the assemblie, and other giuing voyce secretly to their condemnation, onely he openly gatie to the absolution, and hidde himselfe with great minde and trust of libertie, and when he saw a dead body caried forth, he wente among them that bare the bere. The warders at the gate perceiuing there were more men than were wonte to beare a corpe, hauing no regarde of the bearers, searched the bere, thinking there had bene no dead man in it: wherfore the bearers being angry with *Tullius*, because he was none of their company, the strikers knew him and killed him.

*Parus* being betrayed of his free made man, fledde, and went from hill to hill till he came to the fenne of *Minturno*, in the whiche he toke his rest. The *Minturnians* searching for a theefe, the toppes of the reedes wauering bewrayed *Parus*, who being taken, he confessed he was a felon, vpon the whiche he was condemned and ledde away, and when he should haue bene racked with the other offenders, abhorring that vile manner, he sayde:

You of *Minturno*, I warne you, neither to racke me, nor kill me, hauing bene a Consull of *Rome*, and condemned now of the Princes, whiche is more to my honour: for if I can not see, it shal be better for me to suffer with mine equals. They not beleuing him, and distrusting his tale, the Captayne came, and cut of his head, leauing his bodie with them.

Certen that toke *Largus* in the countrey, not seeking him but in eether, hauing pittie to kill him whom they sought not, gaue him leaue to flee into the wodde, and he being folowed of other, came backe agayne to the first, to whom he sayde: kill

gan me, who may haue the rewarde, deseruyng it for hauing pitie of me. So dying, he requited them with lyke humanitie.

*Infia.*  
An house.

*Rufus* hauing a very fayre house nigh to *Fulvia Antonies* wife, which she woulde once haue bought, and he then denied hyr, now offering it in gifte, was yet condemned, whose head when it was brought to *Antonius*, he sayde it appertayned not to hym, but sente it to hys wyfe: she commaunded it to be hanged vp at the house, in steede of the common place.

A Vineyarde,

An other had a fayre shadowed Vineyarde, and a goodly caue in it, deepe and large, for the whiche peraduenture he was condemned. It was hys chaunce to refrefhe himselfe in the Caue. When the quellers came yet a farrre of, his seruant put hym in the secrete place of the denne, and put on hys masters garment, faying to be he, and in feare, and had lyke inough to haue bene kylled, if one of hys felowes had not betrayed hys craft. The Mayster beyng killed, the people toke it grieuouly befoze the Princes, and ceased not till the betraye was hanged, and he that woulde haue saued his Mayster, made free.

A good seruant  
rewarded, and  
an euill pu-  
nished.

*Arterius.*

*Arterius* beyng hid, hys seruant betrayed, and being made free, had all the substaunce from his masters chyldren, and besed them with despite. They with silence folowed hym in euery place weeping. The people detestynge this iniurie, caused that the thre men made him that was now so rich, to be bonde againe to the chyldren of the condemned father.

An euill seruant  
well serued.

And thus much touching men.

Orphanes.

The poore Orphanes also had diuerse fortune at thys time: of the whiche, one goyng to his schollemaster, was killed, with his leader that embraced the child and would not let him goe.

*Anilius.*

*Anilius*, hauing on now his robe of perfect yeares, wente (as the maner was) with a company of his friends to the temples to sacrifice: sodenly, being known to be condemned, his friends and his seruants forsoke him. He being alone, and left, of all the company, went to his mother, who durst not receyue him for feare: and he not intending to proue any other after his mother, fledde into an hill, where being distruen with hunger to

go

go into the playne, mette with a theefe, that vsed to robbe in the wayes, & of him by force was made to folow that worke: The childe brought vp in dayntinesse, and not able to abide that payne, ranne into the high way in his purple robe to the Souldiours, to betray himselfe, of whom he was killed.

A childe be-  
vrayeth hous  
selfe.

After these were done, *Lepidus* triumphed of *Iberia*, and propounded a decree after this maner:

The triumph of  
*Lepidus*,  
*Iberia*, *Spayne*,  
Decree of *Lepi-  
dus* at his tri-  
umpe.

For good fortune be it imputed to all men and women, that this present day do make holy and feastfull: He that shall not seme so to do, be he among the condemned men.

He made his triumphe to the Temples, all sortes folowing him with pleasant shewe and grieved minde.

The goodes of the attaynted men were set to sale to their neighbours, but there were fewe that would buy any of them. Some were ashamed to encrease their euill fortune, & thought it woulde not alwayes so continue, nor sure for them to lette their golde and siluer be scene, nor their possessions, now without daunger, by hauing moze to put all in peril. Onely some of a boldnesse came forth, and bicause they onely bought, they had it for little: but where the thre menne hoped this woulde haue sufficed, and had yet neede of much moze, they declared it openly, and condemned a thousand. liij. C. women, which were thought most riche, & these must needes be punished to beare the charge of their warre, euery one as much as shoulde please the thre men. A paine was appointed to them that hid any thing, or did vnderalue theselues: and to the declarers of the same, a reward propounded, both for free and bonde. The women sought to sue to the Princes by such women as were in most estimation with them. Of *Casars* sister, nor of *Antonies* mother, they were not resect. But *Fulvia*, *Antonies* wife, shut hir doores vpon them, which despight taking grieuouly, they came into the common place, and aprouching to the seate of the Princes, the people and the Souldiours standing about them, *Hortensia* beyng appoynted, spake thus: As it was seemely for vs silly women, we haue sued to your wluces, and hauing suffered of *Fulvia*, that was vnseemely, we be come from hir into the common place.

Goodes set to  
sale.

Women of  
Rome condemned.

*Fulvia* reiecteth  
the woman that  
sued to hir. She  
was *Antonies*  
wyfe and cause  
of much stryfe,  
and with so-  
rrow ended hir  
lyfe.  
Oration of *Hortensia*.

Then,

You haue taken from vs our Fathers, our Husbantes, our  
 Brethren and children, pretending that they haue done you in-  
 iurie, and after you haue spoyled them of all together, you doe  
 oppresse vs, to the rebuke and disgrace of the kinde and condi-  
 tion of womens nature. If we haue done you iniurie, as you  
 say our husbantes haue done, then proscribe vs as you did the.  
 But if we women, haue made none of you enimie, nor taken  
 none of your houses, nor corrupted none of your armies, nor  
 ledde against you any other, nor letted you to take what office  
 & honour you would, why be we partakers of the punishment,  
 that were no workers of the iniurie? why are we enforced,  
 that haue not dealt at all, neyther with office, honour, armie,  
 nor common wealth, whiche by you, is now brought to suche  
 calamitie? If you say, bycause of the warre: when had we no  
 warre? or when did women cause the warre, whome nature a-  
 mong al men hath released from the same? Our Mothers once  
 beyonde their nature, did further it, when the Citie and the  
 whole state was in extreme danger by the violence of them  
 of Carthage. And then willingly they did contribute: not of their  
 lande, their houses, their dowries, or possessions, without, the  
 whiche the free can not liue, but only of their Jewels and Or-  
 namentes, not for any punishment, neither by information nor  
 accusation, nor of force nor violence, but what they themselves  
 would. What feare haue any of you now, eyther of your rule,  
 of your countrie. If the warre of the French, or of the Parthians,  
 be at hande, you shall finde vs no worse, than our Mothers, for  
 or the safetie of our countrie. As for Ciuill war, neyther haue  
 we misued, neyther haue conferred with you, one agaynst an o-  
 ther. We haue not dealt neyther with Caesar nor Pompey: Ma-  
 rian nor Cornelia neuer compell vs, no not Sylla, that was a ty-  
 ranno to his countrie. You say you will restore the common  
 wealth.

When *Hortensius* had sayde thus muche, the three men were  
 grieved, that women (men being silent) shoulde be so bold to  
 make open Orations, and examine the doings of Princes, and  
 that they should not give their iudgement, bycause men went to  
 warre,

warre. Wherefore they commaunded the Sergeantes to putte  
 them from the barre, till a greate noyse being made without of  
 the people, the Sergeants ceased: and the Princes sayde, they  
 would deferre the matter till the morning.

The next day they condemned foure hundred women, in stead  
 of a thousande foure hundred, in the valuation of their goodes.  
 Then it was decreed, that euery man that had more than tenne  
 millions, as well Citizen, stranger, freemane man, religious, as  
 all sortes, sparing none, and that with the like feare of punish-  
 ment, and the like penalties, they should giue the fiftith parte of  
 their goodes, as an interest to them, and pay a yearely tribute for  
 the warre. And as these by commaundement were put vpon the  
 Romaines, so the armye with contempt did worse: for where the  
 Princes in these doings had their only trust in them, they craued  
 of them house, land, possession, and whole substance of the confis-  
 cated persons. Some required to be adopted children to those  
 men. Some deuised other wiftes: for they killed them that were  
 not condemned, and chalenged their houses that were not accu-  
 sed: in so muche, as the Princes commaunded one of the Consuls  
 to make correction of things done, otherwise than was com-  
 maunded. But he being afrayde to touch the Souldiours, least  
 he should prouoke them agaynst him, put to deathe a fewe Ser-  
 uantes, that wente abroade in Souldiours manner. And these  
 were the chiefe (to the ende) of the calamities of the condemned  
 men. Nowe, what (contrary to all hope,) hapned to some, to theyr  
 safetie of the suddayne, and to honoz at length, it shall delighte  
 me to wright, and be a pleasure for other to heare, that for no ad-  
 uersitie they should giue ouer hope.

They that could escape, fledde to Brutus and Cassius, and to Cor-  
 nificius in Libya, who toke the peoples part.

Many wente into Sicilie, an Ile high Italie, where Pompey re-  
 ceuyed them very gladly, for he shewed most notable care for  
 the afflicted sorte, sending cryers abroade to call all sortes to  
 him, and to them that coulde saue any, whyther they were free  
 or bonde, he propounded rewards double, so muche as the kil-  
 lers had. Boates and Shippes of burthen did meete them that

*Hortensius* put to  
 silence.

A Million is  
 heere some  
 thousand.  
 The Italian,  
 and P. Cornubus  
 text, is not  
 true heere.  
 A decree toge-  
 ching men.

Rage of Soul  
 diours.

Hope not to be  
 giuen ouer,

Brutus.  
 Cassius.  
 Cornificius.

Pompey.  
 Noblesse of  
 young Pompey.

sayled, and Valleys beeing full at euery shore, shewed tokens to them that went amisse, and saued all that they mette. He receyuing them that came, gaue them raymente and liuing forth wyth. The worthy sorte he vsed in hys army or his nauie: and when the thre men and he shoulde make a truce, he woulde neuer graunte to it, tyll they that were come to hym, shoulde be comprised in it. So was he mooste profitable to hys afflicted Countrey, and wanne greate glozy to hymselfe, not inferioure to that hee hadde of hys father. Others, beeing otherwise fledde or hydden tyll the truce, some in fieldes, some in graues, and some in the Citie, lyued with sharpe paynes. There were lones incredible shewed of Women to theyr Husbundes due, and of chyldren towarde theyr fathers, and of Seruauntes, against nature, to their maisters: the which as they be most notable, I will declare.

*Paulus*, brother to *Lepidus*, (the Captaynes hauyng reuerence vnto hym, as a brother of a Prince) with theyr leaue sayled to *Brutus*, and after to *Mileto*, at the whiche place, peace not yet beeing made, hee obteyned returne, and was called home, but woulde not.

*Lucius*, Uncle to *Antonie*, *Antonies* mother keppe hym not hydde, beeing hys brother, the Captaynes for the most parte honouryng hys as the mother of a chiefe ruler, but after, they vsing violence, she came forth into the common place, and to *Antony* that sat wyth the other Princes, she sayde:

I confesse (O Prince) that I haue receyued *Lucius*, that I haue hym yet, and will keepe hym, till thou kill vs both togyther, for the lyke payne is appoynted to the receyuers.

He repproued hir, as a good sister, but as an vnkynde mother, for that she ought not to saue *Lucius*, but shoulde haue stopped hym, when he iudged hys Sonne an enimie, neuer thelesse, he caused *Plancus* the Confull, to decree hys reuocation.

*Messala* a noble yong man, fledde to *Brutus*. The thre men fearing his wisdom, wrote thus:

Since

Since the friendes of *Messala* dothe asseyme vnto vs, that hee was not a medler when *Caius Caesar* was kyled, we put hym out of the proscribed number. But he dyd not accepte the pardon, but when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were kyled aboute *Thrace*, the armye whyche remainned greate, hauing Shyppes, money, and good hope, woulde haue hadde *Messala* to bee theyr Captayne, who refused it, and perswaded them to gyue place to aduerser fortune, and to ioyne wyth *Antony*. Wherefore hee was in greate credite with *Antonie*, and agreed wyth hym, tyll hee repproued hym for hys wanton dealing wyth *Cleopatra*, and then he wente to *Caesar*, who made hym Confull in *Antonyes* place, when hee was agayne declared an enimie, after he dydde fyghte agaynst *Antonie* in the battell by Sea at *Actio*.

*Caesar* sente hym agaynst the Frenche that reuolted, and graunted hym to triumph for the victorie.

*Bibulus* also was accepted to *Antony*, with *Messala*, and was an Admirall for *Antony*, and wente agaynst *Caesar* when they warred togyther, and beeing Presidente of *Syria* vnder *Antony*, there he dyed.

*Acilius* fledde from the Citie secretly, and beeing betrayed of hys Seruaunte to the Souldyours, hee perswaded them in hope of muche money, to sende some of them to his wyfe, wyth a token whyche he toke them. She broughte vnto them all hys stowe, saying, she dyd deliuer all vnto them, as though they woulde performe theyr promise: but yet shee knelue not whether they woulde or no, but she was not deceyued of thys good liking, for they hyred a shippe for *Acilius*, and sente him in to *Sicilie*.

*Lentulus*, beeing desired of hys wyfe to flée wyth hym, and diligently attendyng on hym, he, for that hee woulde not putte hys to the daunger, fledde secretly into *Sicilie*, where beeing made a Lieutenaunte of *Pompey*, hee sente hys wyde howe hee was escaped, and in office. She hearyng where hys Husbande was, secretly leste hys mother, who had good eye vpon

A letter of the three men.

Messala.

Actio, a seafight of Eprou.

Caesar sent.

Bibulus.

Acilius and his good wyfe.

Lentulus and his good wyfe.

upon hir, and wyth two Seruauntes wyth greate payne and wante, she as a slaue went, till she came to *Messina* from *Reggio* aboute nyghte, and easilie learning where the Lieutenantes Tente was, she founde *Lentulus*, not as a Lieutenant, but with a poze bedde layde vppon the grounde, and simple dyet, for desire of hir.

*Apuleius* and his  
good wyfe.

*Apuleius* wife threathned she woulde betray hym, if he fledde alone, wherefore againste his will he toke hir with him, and it was his happe in that fleeing, not to be suspect, going openly with his wife, his men, and his maides.

*Antius* and his  
good wyfes.

*Antius* his wife, wrapped hir husbände in a couering, and by that meane sent him with the Carriers to the Sea, from whence he fledde into *Sicilie*.

*Reginus* and his  
good wyfe.

*Reginus* wife, put hir husband in the night into a filthy sincke, into the which the Souldiours would not go in the day, for the sauoure.

The next night she cladde him like a Colper, and gaue him an Ass to carie his coles, and she folowed a little after in a litter: which when the warders sawe, suspecting some man to be in the litter, searched it: whereof *Reginus* being afraide, ranne backe, and as a straunger, prayed a souldioure to be good to the women. He angerly answering him as a Colier, knew him notwithstanding, (for he hadde serued vnder him once in *Syria*), and sayde, goe boldly (O Captayne) for so it becommeth me yet to call thee.

*Scoponius*.

*Scoponius* wife obteyned him of *Antony*, and beeyng till that tyme of good fame, did now heale one euill fortune with another.

*Geta* a good  
sonne.

*Geta* his sonne made a fire in the open parte of his house, to burie his father that seemed to be dead, whome he had hidde in a house in the Countrey newe made, where the olde man disguising hym selfe, layde a parchment befoze hys eyes, and after the agrement was made, he toke away the parchment, but founde his eye out for lacke of vse.

Eye lost for  
lacke of vse.

*Optus* a good  
sonne.

*Optus* sonne, minding to tarric with his olde feeble father, bare him on his backe, till he was past the gates, and the rest of the way, partly leading him, and partly bearing him, he broughte hym safe to *Cicilie*, no man suspecting, or troubling the manner of it.

it: As they wright that *Aeneas* was reuerenced of his enemies, when he bare his Father *Anchises*. The people of *Rome* commending the young manne, caused that afterwarde he was made Chamberlayne of the Citie. And bycause he coulde not beare the charges of his office, for that hys godes were confiscate, the artificers freely gaue hym to supply the same. And the people that behelde hys shewes, did euery man cast so muche money into the game place, as they made him riche.

*Aeneas*.  
*Anchises*.

Kindnesse of  
Commons.

*Arianus* caused to be grauen on his Sepulchre by hys Testament thus: Him, that lieth here, his sonne (that was not proscribed) did hide, being condemned, and sleyn with him, saued his life.

*Arianus* his  
good Sonne.  
An Epitaph.

*Metellus* the Father and the Sonne, the Father was a Captayne vnder *Antonie* at *Athio*, where he was taken prysoner, and vnknown: his Sonne serued *Cesar*, and was a Capitaine at the same fiede. When *Cesar* did gyue sentence vpon the captiues at *Samo*, the yong man was presente: The olde manne being brought forth all forlorne with long heare, miserie and wante, and all transformed by the same, when in order of the captiues, he was called of the crier, hys Sonne lepte from hys seate, and embraced his Father, (whome he scarcely knew) with teares, and when he had ceased from sorowe, he sayde to *Cesar*: This hath bene thine enimie O *Cesar*, and I thy friende, him thou muste punish, and me rewarde: I desire thee to saue my Father for mee, or let me die for hym. Euery man taking pittie, *Cesar* commaunded *Metellus* to be saued, though he were hys very enimie, and afoze despyling many gyftes, to be drawne from *Antonie*.

*Samo* an Ile o-  
uer agaynst *Athio*.  
A good Sonne.

The seruauntes of *Marcus* with good loue and fortune, all the tyme of the proscription, dyd keepe hym within hys house, till feare set aside, *Marcus* came out of his house, as from banishment.

*Marcus* and his  
good seruauntes.

*Hirtius* wyth hys menne slepyng the Cittie, wente aboute *Italie*, deliuered prysoners, and gathered them together that fledde, and toke to wnes, a feiw at the firste, after moe in number,

lik, iij,

ber,

ber till he had a sufficient armie, and ouercame a parte of the  
*Whitch in Calabria, Brutians,* from whence sendyng his army, he sayled with them al  
 to Pompey.

*Restio* and a  
 good seruante.  
*Restio*, that thoughte he fledde alone, a Seruaunte followed  
 hym secretelye, beeyng broughte vppe of hym, and a  
 forsetyme well vled, but after, for cuill conditions, bray  
 ded.

When *Restio* rested in a fenne, and did see this Seruaunte  
 so nigh to hym, he was afrayde: to whome the Seruaunte  
 sayde, that hee did not so much remember his present bzandes,  
 as hee dyd his former benefites: and so caused hym to repose in  
 a caue, and prouided meate for hym, as well as hee coulde:  
 and after that the Caue was suspected, and Souldiours  
 dyd come nigh to *Restio* where hee was, the Seruaunte per  
 ceuyng the matter, followed and killed an olde man that  
 passed by, and cutte off hys heade: the Souldiours beeyng  
 angrie, and comyng aboute to take the killer, hee sayde,  
 I haue kylled my Mayster *Restio*, that gaue mee these  
 bzandes. They toke the heade, to haue the rewarde, and ca  
 rryed it in bayne into the Citie. The Seruaunt comforted hys  
 Mayster and sayled with hym into *Sicilie*,

*Appion* and a  
 good seruante.  
*Appion* resting in a stable, the Souldiours sought hym: his  
 seruante put on his garment, and lay vppon his bedde and wil  
 lingly receyued death for hys Mayster, he sitting by him in the  
 forme of a seruante.

*Memmius* and a  
 good seruante.  
*Memmius* house was soughte of the Souldiours, one  
 of whose Seruauntes wente into a litter, hys fellowes bea  
 ryng hym as he hadde bene theyr Mayster, and beeyng taken,  
 he was contente to die for his Mayster, who fledde into *Sic  
 ilie*.

*Iunius* and a  
 good seruante.  
*Iunius* hadde a free made manne, *Philemon*, who hadde a  
 fayre house, where hee kepte hys Mayster in a baughte, in  
 whiche they are wonte to laye Harnesse, Money, or Armes  
 tinges, and fedde hym in the nyghte, tyll the Peace was  
 made.

And

An other free made man, keepyng the Sepulchre of hys Ma  
 ster, did also preserue his Maysters Sonne in the same graue, to  
 gither with his Father.

*Lucretius* wanderieng with two faythfull seruantes, for *Lucretius*  
 lacke of meate, returned to hys wyfe, beeyng bozne in a lit  
 ter of hys seruantes, into the Citie, as a sicke man: when  
 it happened that one of the seruantes had broken hys legge,  
 hee wente on with the other, tyll hee came to the gates,  
 where hys Father afoze beeyng proscribed of *Sylla*, was ta  
 ken. The Souldiours comyng aboute hym, hee was muche  
 afrayde for the lucke of the place, wherefoze hee fledde with  
 a seruante, and was hydde of hym in a graue, and chaun  
 sing that robbers of Sepulchers dyd searche graues, the ser  
 uaunt offered hymselfe to bee spoyled of the robbers, whyles  
 the maister fledde to the gates, and tarried tyll hys seruant  
 came to hym, whose garmentes hee put on, and wente to hys  
 wyfe, vnder whose care beeyng kepte, hee was hydde betwene  
 two beames, till hee was pardoned, by meanes made for hym  
 of some, to the thre menne. And after peace was made, he had  
 the office of a Consull.

*Sergius* was hydde of *Antonie* hymselfe, tyll hee hadde *Sergius*  
 perswaded *Plancus* the Consull to proclayne hys reuocation  
 agayne. In the dissention of *Cesar* and *Antonie*, when *Anto  
 nie* was declared enemye of the Senate, hee onely openly gaue  
 voyce for hys acquittall.

And thus these were saued.

*Pomponius* decked hymselfe lyke a Pretor, and hys seruants, *Pomponius*  
 lyke the Sergeauntes, and so went thorough the Citties wyth  
 his maces and Officers rounde aboute hym, that hee should not  
 bee knowne: and at the gates hee toke publyque coaches,  
 and wente thorough *Italie*, euery manne receyuyng hym, and  
 sendyng to hym as a Pretor appoynted of the thre menne, to  
 make truce wyth *Pompey*, to whome also hee came in a pu  
 blike Galley.

*Apuleius* and *Aruntius* counterfaiting themselves to be Ca  
 pitaynes, *Apuleius*  
*Aruntius*

pitaynes, and their seruantes Souldiours, ranne to the gates as Capitaynes, and pursued others, and by the way, they deliuered prysoners, and receyued suche as came to them; so as eyther of them had a sufficient bande, with Ensignes and armour, and shewe of an army. And chancing that by diuers wayes they went toward the Sea, they bothe camped in one hil, with great feare looking one to another.

In the moorning, not hauyng clere sight, and thinkyng that eyther of them had bene sente to destroy the other, they fought it out very fiercely, tyll they knewe the truthe. When repenting that deede, they threw away their weapōs, and wayled that fortune shoulde be so contrarie to them, and toke shippe, the one saylyng to Brutus, the other to Pompey. And he went on with Pompey: and the other vnder Brutus was president of Bythnia, and when Brutus was dead, deliuered it to Antonie, and was saued.

*Ventidius* good  
seruantes.

A seruant of *Ventidius*, when he was firste condemned, put him in fetters, as though he woulde haue deliuered hym to the killers: in the night he perswaded hys felowes, and cladde them lyke Souldiours, and his mayster lyke a Capitaine, and wente out lyke a bande appoynted, and brought his mayster out of the Citie, passing through Italy into Sicelie, many tymes meeting other Capitaynes that sought *Ventidius*.

Another hidde hys mayster in a Sepulchre, and when he coulde not abyde the fearfulness of fante in the Sepulchre, he hidde him in an homely house, nyghe the whiche a Souldiour dwellyng, he coulde not abyde that feare neyther: Wherefore turnyng from feare to extreme boldenesse, he shaued hys head, and played the scholmayster in Rome till the truce.

*Volutius* being *Aedile*, was condemned. He hauyng friendship with a Priest of *Isis*, borrowed a stole and a vesture downe to the fote, and put on a dogges heade, and in that maner of furious seruice, passed safe to Pompey.

The *Calenians* dyd keepe *Sittius* the Citizen, that had liberally spent of his substance vpon them, & with weapons warded him, rebuking his seruants, & keeping the souldiours fro the walles, till the

*Pollinus*.  
The priestes of  
*Isis* were clad  
with a garment  
that had a dogs  
head.  
*Caleni*, in *Cam-*  
*pania*.  
*Sittius*.

the surye beeyng passe, they sent to the thre men for hym, and ob-  
tayne that *Sittius* excluded from the rest of Italy, should remaine  
in his countrey. So *Sittius* is the firste and onely man, that as  
a straunger, was an outlawe in his owne countrey.

A banished man  
in his countrey.

*Varro* a Philosopher, and a writer of Histories, hauing done  
god seruice in the warres, and in place of a Lieutenaunt, and  
therefore peradventure as an enimie to the Monarchie, was  
condemned. His friends beeyng desirous to receiue him, and  
contending for hym, *Calenus* obtayned hym, and kept him at his  
vineyarde, whither *Antony* came sometyne to walke, and yet  
neuer a one within, did betwaxe *Varro*, neyther of hys owne ser-  
uants, or of *Calenus*.

It is false, that  
*Antony* pardo-  
ned *Varro* with  
these words,  
*Pinat Varro vir*  
*desilijsus*.

*Virginus* an eloquent man, taughte his seruantes, that if  
they kyled him for a little money, and that with danger, they  
shoulde get hate, and at length be in great feare: but if they sa-  
ued him, they shoulde win sure glozy, good hope, and hereafter mo-  
ney muche more abundant and certaine. Wherefore they fled  
with him, as with their fellowe seruants, and in the way bee-  
ing knowne, they fought with the souldiours: and he being taken  
of them, tolde them also, that they woulde not kill hym for anye  
malice, but for onely hope of money, which they shoulde haue  
more iustlye and plentifullye, if they would go with hym to the  
sea, where (quoth he) my wife hathe a shippe with mony. They  
being perswaded, brought hym to the sea: his wife, as shes  
was appointed, came to the sea, and bycause hir husbände tar-  
ryed, thinking he had bin gone to Pompey, she went hir way, lea-  
uing a seruāt on shore to shew him so. When *Virginus* was come,  
the seruāt ranne vnto him, and shewed him where his shippe  
layed, what his Maistresse said of the money, and that he was  
left behinde to tell him. The souldiours perceiuing al to be true,  
*Virginus* desired them to staye, til he might call his wife backe,  
or goe with him to hir for their mony. They toke a boate, and  
with great labour rowed him into Sicelie, where receiuing their  
promise, they woulde not goe from him, but tarryed with him  
till the ende.

A certaine Parriner receyued *Rebulus* into a shippe, to goe  
into

*Rebulus*.

into *Sicilie*, and required his mony, which if he had not, he would accuse him, that he didde, as *Themistocles* did, when he fledde, that is, threathed he would accuse him, for receyuing him for mony: wherefore, the *Pariner* was afrayde, and broughte him vnto *Pompey*.

*Murcus* being a Lieutenant vnder *Brutus*, was condemned, and when *Brutus* was overcome, he was taken, and made him selfe as a seruant, whome *Barbula* bought, and perceyuing him to be apte, made him chiefe of his fellows, and gaue him mony to bestowe: and when he saue him still more wise and diligent than the common nature of seruantes, he put him in hope, that if he were one of the proscribed men, he would saue him, if he would confesse it. He denyng it earnestly, and declaring his stocke, his name, and former masters, he caried him to *Rome*, thinking, if he had bene a condemned man, he would haue refused to goe. But he followed cherefully, and being at the gates of the Consuls house, a friend of *Barbula* that saw *Murcus* in seruile maner waiting vpon him, did secretly tell him in his eare. He (by *Agrippa*) obtained of *Cesar*, that *Murcus* was pardoned, and remained friende to *Cesar*. Not long after, it happened that he was a Captaine in the warre againste *Antonie*, at *Actio*, and *Barbula* was a Capitayne of *Antonies*, where fortune came about to bothe alike. For, when *Antonie* was overthrowen, he was taken, and counterfeited to be a seruant, whome *Murcus* bought as ignorant. But shewing all to *Cesar*, he obteyned hys pardon, and so requited his former benefit. So these fortune was like on both sides, and so continued: for they were officers together in one dignitie at *Rome*.

*Calpurnius* seeing, and retourning with *Pompey*, and being made Consull, it hapned that *Lepidus* of so great a *Prinee* being made a priuate man by *Cesar*, came to this necessitie, & when *Maecius* did accuse *Lepidus* his sonne of conspiracie againste *Cesar*, and also accused the mother, as consenting to hir sonne, and *Lepidus* him selfe, as a weake man, he despised: the sonne he sent to *Cesar*, to *Actio*: for the mother, bicause she was a woman, and not to be caried, he required suretie to be putte before the Consull. But

when no man would be hir suretie, *Lepidus* wayted many times at *Calpurnius* doores, and comming where he sate in Iudgemente, and being ofte repulsed of the officers, at length (with much ado) he spake thus:

The accusers do confesse mine innocencie, affirming, that I am neyther consenting to my wife nor my sonne. I didde not proscribe the, when I was one of the Proscribers. Haue respect vnto the chaunces of the worlde: and to me, that attende vpon the, giue this grace, that eyther my wife may goe to *Cesar* vpon my suretie, or I be bounde to goe with hyr.

Whiles *Lepidus* spake this, *Balbinus* considering the mutati- on, deliuered the wife of hir bonde.

Long *Cicero* was sent of his father into *Grecia*, foreseeing what would come. From *Greece* he went to *Brutus*, & after *Brutus* death, to *Pompey*, & with both was honoured with the place of a Lieutenant. And after them, *Cesar*, to cleere himself of *Ciceros* iniurie, made him straight the Bishop, and not long after, Consul, and President of *Syria*. And when *Cesar* overcame *Antony* at *Actio*, he was yet Consul, and *Cesar* wrote to him of it, which Letters he readde to the people of *Rome*, and sate in that seate of Justice, where his fathers head was put.

*Appius* diuided his substance among his seruants, and say- led with them into *Sicilie*. They watching for his mony, a storme ryng, put him into a boate, that they might sayle with the more safetie: but it chaunced, that he in the boate was saued beyonde all hope, and they drowned with theyr shippe.

*Publius*, a treasurer of *Brutus*, and of the familie of *Antony*, was requested to forsake *Brutus*, which bicause he would not do, he was proscribed: yet he returned, and was a friende to *Cesar*, and when *Cesar* came to him, he would shewe him *Brutus* picture, for the which he was payed of *Cesar*.

These things, beyonde hope, happening to the proscribed men, both in daunger and safetie, many more being omitted, I thought chiefe to be declared.

When matters had thus passed in *Rome*, all the places about, for these troubles, were full of enemies, & great warres fell out:

In *Libya* of *Cornificius* against *Sextius*: in *Syria* of *Cassius* against *Dolabella*: in *Sicilia* of *Pompey*, where great affliction was among the Citties for this captiuitie. I will ouerpasse the lesse: the greatest, that appeared moze worthie than the rest, in *Loadicea*, *Tharsus*, *Rhodes*, *Patarians*, and *Xanthians*, and euery of them, which from the beginning in order I haue gathered to write, were these. The *Romaines* call that parte yet olde *Libya*, which they wanne of the *Carthaginenses*: that, whiche King *Iuba* helde, and was after gotten by *Cesar*, they call *Neuwe Libya*, and may bee of *Nupidia*.

Olde Libya.

Neuwe Libya.  
Sextius.  
Cornificius.

*Sextius* being president of *Neuwe Libya* vnder *Cesar*, commaunded *Cornificius* to giue place in the olde, as though he all *Libya* was *Cesar's* by lot.

When the thre men made their diuision, he sayd, he knew no suche diuision made of the thre men among themselves, nor woulde deliuer the Province, which he had receiued of the Senate, but onely to them againe. And for this cause they made war one against another.

*Cornificius* had an armye well appointed and great in number: *Sextius* had lighte harnessed, and fewer, by the whiche conning abzoade, hee caused men to reuolte from *Cornificius*, and gaue repulse to *Ventidius*, a Captaine of *Cornificius*, comming vpon him lustily, and besieged him.

*Laelius* an other Captayne of *Cornificius*, went abzoade, and wanne *Cirta* and other places from *Sextius*, and they al sent to *Arabion* the king, and to them that were called *Sittians*, to take part with them in the warre, which were so called for thys cause. *Sittius* in *Rome*, not abiding sentence in his own quarrell, fled, and gathering an army, came fro *Italy* and *Spaine*, into *Libya*, and toke a part among the *Libyan* Kings that warred together, and with whom he toynded and gotte the victorie, he was called a *Sittian*, bycause his army did very valiantly.

When *Cassius* *Cesar* did persecute *Pompey's* friends, he did fighte for him in *Libya*, and ouerthrewe *Sabura*, *Iubas* Lieutenant, a famous man: for whiche cause *Sittius* was rewarded of *Cesar*, with King *Manasses* land, not al, but the best part of it. *Manasses* was

*Cirta* a Cittie of  
*Nupidia*, where  
*Iugurth* kyll'd  
*Adurbil*,  
*Arabion*,  
*Sittius*.

*Sittian*.

*Manasses*,  
*Manasses*.

was this *Arabions* father, and confederate with *Iuba*. His lande *Cesar* gaue to *Sittius* and to *Bocchus* king of the *Marusians*, one part whereof *Sittius* diuided for the people vnder him.

*Arabion* fledde into *Iberia* to *Pompey's* childe, and when *Cassius* *Cesar* was killed, he retourned againe to *Libya*, and euer sending some of his *Libyans* to the yonger *Pompey* into *Iberia*, and receyuing expert souldiours from thence, he toke hys lande from *Bocchus*, and dispatched *Sittius* by craft: and being still friend to the *Pompeyans*, and perceyuing their fortune to be full of infelicitie without hope, he agrede with *Sittius*, and sone by hym was reconciled to *Cesar*. The *Sittians* also for his fathers beneuolence wyth *Cesar*, toynded wyth hym.

*Sextius* being now emboldned, came from the siege to the fight, where *Ventidius* was slayne, and the army fledde without a gyde, whome he chased and killed, and toke many of them.

*Laelius* hearing of this, leuted the siege at *Cirta*, and wente to *Cornificius*.

*Sextius* being haughty with this feat, went to *Cornificius* at *Utica*, and encamped against him, hauing much people. And *Cornificius* sending *Laelius* with horsemen to take a view, *Sextius* sent *Arabion* with his horse against *Laelius*, at the face: & he with horse better appointed, came vpon him on the side, and disordred hym, so that *Laelius*, though he not inferior, yet fearing his retire shoulde haue bene shutte, toke an hill that was betwene both, where *Arabion*, as hee was directed, kyll'd manye, and compassed the reste.

*Cornificius* seeing this, came forth wyth hys whole power, to helpe *Laelius*. *Sextius* sette vpon him on the back, with sodayne charge, whome *Cornificius* endeouored to repell with great traualle. *Arabion* in the meane time creeping with his men through the stony places, came secretly ouer mountaines vpon *Cornificius's* campe.

*Roscius*, that was keeper of the campe, being distressed, offered hys throte to be cutte of a pade.

*Cornificius* wearie of the fyght, went to *Laelius* to the mountaine, not knowing what was done at his Campe, when *Arabions*

*Roscius* kyll'd.

*Cornificius* killed.

*Arabion*.

*Arabions*.

Lalins killeth  
him selfe.

rabious hozsemen came vpon him, and killed him. *Lalins* seeing al this vpon the hill, kyled himselfe. When the Captaines were deade, the armies fled seuerally, and suche of the proscribed men as were with *Cornificius*, some fledde into *Sicilie*, and some whither they could. *Sestius* rewarded *Arabion* and the *Sittians* with goodly gifts, and the Citties he pardoned, to obey *Caesar*.

This was the ende of the warre in *Libya*, betwixte *Cornificius* and *Lalins*, very shorthe, if a man consider the feates done wylth so great speede.

Brutus & Cassius.

With *Brutus* and *Cassius*, in comparisson to these, little was done, and that was this: when *Caicus Caesar* was killed, the murderers toke the Capitoll, and when obliuion of al thinges was decreed, they came down.

The people at the funerall of *Caesar*, being moued wylth pittie, ranne aboute to seeke the quellers, and they dzyuing them backe from the toppes of the houses, went to the pzoouinces that *Caesar* had appointed. *Cassius* and *Brutus* beyng yet Pretors in the Citie, were assigned also of *Caesar* to pzoouinces, *Cassius* to *Syria*, and *Brutus* to *Macedonia*. And bycause they coulde not goe to their pzoouinces befoze their tyme, nor abide the hate of the Citie, they wente away, being yet in office: and the Senate, in consideration of them, appointed them Purucioures for pzoouision, that in that meane tyme, they shoulde not be thought to flee away.

Brutus & Cassius.

They beyng gone, *Syria* & *Macedonia* were apointed by decree to *Antony* and *Dolobella*, being then Consuls. The Senate, being very muche grieved, gaue them in steade thereof *Creta* & *Cirene*, whiche they not regarding, in shorthe tyme gathered much money and men, and entred *Syria* and *Macedonia*. And thus they wroughte.

When *Dolobella* hadde kyled *Trebonius* in *Asia*, and *Antony* hadde ouercome *Decimus* in *Celtica*, the Senate being offended, did decree *Antony* and *Dolobella* to be enemies, and restored *Brutus* and *Cassius* to their former pzoouinces, and added to *Brutus* *Illyria*, commaunding al other that were rulers of the Romaine dominion, as well of pzoouinces as armies, to obey *Brutus* and

*Cassius*.

*Cassius*. After this, *Cassius* pzeuented *Dolobella* entring into *Syria*, & vied the tokens of that office, and gathered twelue legions, that for the moste parte, hadde serued, and bin trained vnder *Caicus Caesar*, one of the whiche, *Caesar* hadde lefte in *Syria*, to goe to the war against the *Parthians*. The charge of this, had *Secilius Bassus*, <sup>*Bassus i*</sup> but the dignitie, *Sextus Iulius* hadde, a yong man and *Caesars* kinsman, who being lasciuious, and suffering the legion to fall to riot, *Bassus* repzeoned him: wherefoze he fell out with *Bassus*, and called hym rascall, and after waxing moze disobedient, *Bassus* commaunded hym to be broughte of the Sergeants, whereof a tumulte growing, and *Bassus* beyng in daunger to be killed: the armye, not abiding that disorder, killed *Iulius*: of the whiche repenting them by and by, and fearing *Caesars* displeasure, they agreed together, that vnlesse they had forgiuenesse, they woulde fyght til death, and to this they compelled *Bassus*: & getting an other legion, they trained them, with the whiche they valiantly ouercame *Sextus Marcius*, sente againste them with thre legions from *Caesar*. To *Marcius*, came in aide *Minutius Crispus* from *By-* <sup>*Marcius*</sup> *thinia*, with thre other legions, and besieged *Bassus* with sixe legions. *Cassius* comming in reliefe of *Bassus*, receiued hys armye freely by and by, and after, *Minutius* and *Marcius*, deliuering to hym their legions for goodwill, they obeyed him in all thinges as the Senate comaunded. *Albinus* being sent of *Dolobella*, brought oute of *Aegypt* foure legions of the remnaunt of *Pompeius* and *Crassus* discomfiture, whiche of *Caesar* were left to *Cleopatra*. *Cassius* set vpon him in *Palestina* (knowing nothing of these chaunces) so sodainely, that he compelled him to deliuer his armye, being afrayde with foure legions to fyght againste eight. Thus *Cassius* (beyond al expectation) was Lord of twelue legions, and manye of the *Parthian* archers on horsebacke came to serue *Cassius*, he being known among them, when he was an officer in *Crassus* campe. *Dolobella* remained aboute *Ionia*, dispatching *Trebo-* <sup>*Trebonius*</sup> *nus*, and putting tributes vpon the Citties, and by *Lucius Figulus* <sup>*L. Figulus*</sup>, byring nauies of the *Rhodes*, the *Eycians*, *Pamphagonians*, and *Celicians*, whiche, whē they were ready, he determined to go into *Syria* himselfe by land with two legions, & *Figulus* by sea. And hearing

Illyria added to  
Brutus.

*Cherronesus*  
*Morea.*

ring of *Cassius* army, he tourned his iourney to *Laodicea*, a little friendly to hym, ioyning to *Cherronesus*, and fitte for al furniture, as well for passage by Sea, as defence by lande. In the which place, he mighte prouide all thinges plentifullye from the Sea, and when he would, without feare saile from the lande.

*Isthmus a narrow  
rovy land be-  
tweene two seas.*

Which *Cassius* seeing, and fearing that *Dolabella* should escape him, hauing gotten a place called *Isthmus*, almoste an Iland, not two furlongs ouer, he took all the stones and tymber of the cottages, boroughs and sepulchres, to make a pære for ships. He sent to *Phoenicia*, *Lycia* and the *Rhodes*, and being reiected of all, but the *Sidonians*, yet he went againsto *Dolabella*, and bothe of them hauing losse numbers of shypes, *Dolabella* tooke siue, with al the men. *Cassius* sent againe to them that had despised hym, and to *Cleopatra* Quene of *Aegypt*, and to *Serapion* Generall in *Cypres* for hir. The *Tyrians*, the *Aradians*, and *Serapion*, without any intelligence from *Cleopatra*, sent him as many ships as they hadde. The Quene made excuse to *Cassius*, by hunger & pestilence, where *Aegypt* was oppressed: and for the familiarity with the former *Cesar*, the fauoured *Dolabella*, and with this determination, he sente hym four legions by *Albinus*, and an other sufficient company, by sea (because of the winde) stayed.

*Aradim be of  
the Ile of An-  
dus, & it is one  
of the Cities of  
Phoenicia that  
maketh Iopolis,  
Tyre and Sidon  
be the other.  
Excuses of Cleo-  
patra.*

The *Rhodians* and the *Lycians* said, they would helpe neither *Brutus* nor *Cassius* in ciuill warres, and that they had giuen ships of passage to *Dolabella*, but not entred with him into any societie of warre. *Cassius* being prepared againe, with such as he had presently, encountred with *Dolabella* twice, and at the firste, they fought it oute with like force: but after *Dolabella* was too weake by Sea. Then *Cassius*, with a rampire, so beat the walles of the Citie, that they were lyke to fade, and when he coulde not corrupte *Marsus*, that was chiefe of the watch by night, he wanted the Captaines of the bands, that warded by the day. And *Marsus* rellying by daye, the gates were opened, and he entred in diuers parts with his army.

*Marsus.*  
*Laodicea yvon.*  
*Dolabella killed.*

The Citie being taken, *Dolabella* had one of his Guard cutte off his heade and carrie it to *Cassius*, to saue his owne, which he did, and after killed himselfe. *Marsus* also did ride his own life.

*Cassius*

*Cassius* hauing gotten the Citie, aware, the armie of *Dolabella* to himselfe. All the *Laodiceans* sacred and publike things he spoyled, the chief of the Citie punished, the other he oppressed with greiuous payments, and brought the Citie to extreme miserie. From *Laodicea* he wente towarde *Aegypt*, vnderstandyng that *Cleopatra* dyd saile with a greate nauie to *Cesar* and *Antonie*, thynkyng he myghte stoppe his voyage, and be reuenged of hym, vnderstandyng that *Aegypt* was in greate distresse for famine, hauing no greate army of straungers, the Souldiours beyng gone with *Albinus*. Beyng in this hope and determination, *Brutus* in haste aduertised hym, that *Cesar* & *Antonie* dyd passe the *Ionian* Sea, *Cassius* vnwillingly, leste the enterpryse of *Aegypt*, and sente away the *Parthian* Archers on horsebacke, with their rewardes, and messengers to theyr King for further ayde: which commyng when all was done, ranged *Syria*, and all the nigher nations to *Iopia*, and departed. *Cassius* leste his Nephewe in *Syria* with one legion: the horsemen he sente afoze to *Cappadocia*. They suddenly sette vpon *Ariobarzanes* the kyng, as one that before meante to deceyue *Cassius*, and brought all his money and riches to *Cassius*. The *Tharsians* beyng at debate, the one parte honoured, *Cassius* comyng firste, the other *Dolabella* after him: and both of them did it, by the shew of the Cities anthozitie: and embracing both, as the turne serued, either side (in such a changeable citie) vsed other extremely. When *Cassius* had ouercome *Dolabella*, he commaunded them to paye a thousand and siue hundred Talentes: they not knowing what to doe, and beyng with despyght requyred of the Souldiours thereunto, were compelled to sell all their pryncate Jewels, and holy things in common, and other whiche they had for their triumphes and sacrifices, whiche not suffising, the Magistrates solde their free people. The firste was the *Virgines* and their men children, after their women and olde men pitifully, and then theyr yongmen, whereof many killed themselves. Being in this case, *Cassius* came from *Syria*, and stayed it for pityes sake, & released them of the rest of the Tribute. Thus *Tharsus* and *Laodicea* were punished. *Cassius* and *Brutus* consultyng together

*Ariobarzanes dis-  
tressed.*

*Tharsus at diuillis*  
*A citie in Cilicia*  
*at the floudde*  
*Cydnus.*

The calamitie  
of *Tharsus*.

*Cassius sheweth*  
*some pittie.*

Counsell he  
to, & one Brutus  
and Cassius.

gither, it seemed best to Brutus to remoune the armie from thence into Macedonia for greater consideration. Bycause it was sayde, they enemies had fourty legions, and that eyght of them were past the Ionian sea. Cassius thought the multitude of the enimie not to be passed of, bycause in tyme their number shoulde be their destruction for wante: and therefore that they shoulde sette vpon the Rodians and Licians, friends to their enemies, and hauing nauies, least they shoulde come vpon their backs, when they had agreed, they deuised their armies. Brutus went against the Licians, & Cassius against the Rodians, for hee was brought by there, & learned the Greeke tongue. And bicause they were very strong vpon the Sea, he prepared & crested his owne ships at Gualdo. The wise men of the Rhodes were afrayd to come to fight with the Romanes, but the people was lusty, recounting their former feats against other maner of men than these. Their shippes also they gathered of the beste, of the whiche were. xxxij. When they had done so, they sente some to Minto to Cassius, requesting him he woulde not reiect the Rhodes, a Citie that euer did reuenge such as contemned them, nor the couentions betwene the Rhodians and the Romanes, that one shoulde not beare armes against the other: and if he did alleage any thyng for societie of warre, that they woulde vnderstande of the Senate of Rome, and they commaunding it, they sayde they would do it. Thus much they sayde. He answered, that for the rest, warre must iudge in steeve of wordes, & where the league commaunded they should not leaue armes one against another, the Rhodians did conspire with Dolobella, and ayded him against Cassius. But where it commaundeth that one should help another, and now that Cassius requirerth it, they vse a shifte by the Romane Senate, which is scatered, and at this present destroyed by the Tyrannes that be in the Citie, which should be punished, and so should the Rhodians, taking their partes, onlesse they did as he commaunded them. Thus sayde Cassius. When this was knowne at Rhodes, the aunient men were the more afrayd. The people were perswaded by one Alexander & Manasses, remembryng vnto them that Mithridates came against the in many moe shyps, & before him Demetrius. Therefore they made

Alexan-

Alexander their chief officer called Prytaneos, & Manasses their Admiral. Powerthelesse, they sent Archelamus embassadour to Cassius, who was his schoolmaster in the Greeke, to intreate him familiarly: and when he had taken him by the hande, he spake to him as to his acquayntance:

Prytaneos was  
in Athens the  
chiefe Clie of  
Antonie.

Thou that art a louer of the Greeke language, do not disturbe a Greeke citie, nor the Rhodes (being a louer of libertie) nor deface the Dorian dignitie, neuer yet blemished since it firste began: nor, forget I goodly histozie, which thou diddest learne at Rhodes and Rome. At Rhodes, holue muche the Citizens of the same haue euer, stode to their defence, against nations & kings, and such as were, thought inuincible, as Demetrius & Mithridates, for their libertie, for I whiche thou sayst thou trauaplest. In Rome what we haue, done for you, as wel against other as Antiochus the great: there, be pillars set vp of you as monumets of vs. And thus much may, he sayd to you, O Romanes, of our nation, of our weaknesse, of our state, neuer yet in seruitude, of our societie & choise of you. But, in the now (Cassius) a certaine great reuerence, I say, reuerence, toward this citie, thy nurse, thy scole, thy physician & house, wher thou didst dwell, & to my scole, & my self, & to other things wherein, I toke paynes. Now you well requite at this vpo my cuntrye, I, it be not forced to make warre with thee that was nourished & brought vp in it, nor put vs to I necessitie of one of two things, either that I Rhodians: that all be destroyed, or Cassius overcome. I, aduise thee further, beseech I haue prayed thee, that hast take in hand this feate, for I consider welth of Rome, I thou always make the Gods the guydes in so great a cause. You Romanes did call the Gods to witnesse, when by Caius Caesar, ye made solene league w vs, and by othe confirmed the same & gaue vs your right hands, which thinnies performe, & shal not friends and felowes do it: Kepe thine now for Gods cause, & for the gloze among men, seeing no thing is more barbarous than breach of league, which make the offendours to seeme unfaithfull both to friend & foe. When the old man had thus sayd, he did not let Cassius hand go, but he wept & wiped his eyes with it, that with that manner he might moue Cassius, who for reuerence was abashed, & in some passiō sayd thus:

Am. ij.

It

Minto. novve  
Capo Crio.

The Rhodes, an  
Island in the sea  
that is called  
Carpathio, the  
vehich in great  
scole, is next Iose  
ph and Cyprus.

Archelamus  
schoolmaster to  
Cassius.

*Cassius to As-  
chelous.*

‘ If thou diddest not perswade the *Rodians* to doe me any ini-  
 ‘ rie, then thy selfe hast done it: but if thou diddest exhort and ad-  
 ‘ uise them, & couldest not perswade them, then I do reuenge thee.  
 ‘ I haue bene iniured euidently: firste, bycause I asking helpe of  
 ‘ them, that nourished and taught me, am contemned and despi-  
 ‘ sed: then, bycause they preferred *Dolobella*, (whome they ney-  
 ‘ ther taught nor brought vp) before me: and that that is the more  
 ‘ haynous, not onely before me, but *Brutus* and other noble men,  
 ‘ whome you knowe well to be fledde from *Tirannie*, and to be  
 ‘ ready to fight for libertie of our countrie. You the *Rodians* lo-  
 ‘ uers of libertie, preferred *Dolobella* before vs, he seeking to take  
 ‘ the same from other: and vs (whome now you ought to fauour,)  
 ‘ you pretend, you will not deale with ciuill warre. It were ciuill,  
 ‘ if we did couet vnlawfull power: but now open warre is made of  
 ‘ peoples rule, against *Tirannes* state: and you that haue popular  
 ‘ gouernment, do forsake the same: and of them that do labour for  
 ‘ their lawes, and beare good will to the *Romanes*, and be condem-  
 ‘ ned to death without iudgement, that be proscribed & confiscate,  
 ‘ you haue no pitie at all. But you answer, you will vnderstand  
 ‘ the *Senates* minde, which is now destroyed and can not helpe it  
 ‘ self. For yeknew the *Senate* had decreed to *Brutus* and me, that  
 ‘ al the inhabitants betwene *Ionia* and the *East*, should obey our  
 ‘ commaundements. Thou makest a rehearsal what you haue done  
 ‘ for vs at our wats, for with good will you haue receyued reward  
 ‘ againe. But you forget, that you denie helpe to vs, that suffer in-  
 ‘ iurio, for the sauing of our liberty, whom you ought, if there had  
 ‘ bene no friendship betwixt vs, but would now haue begon it, to  
 ‘ haue ayded the comon cause of *Rome*, few beyng of the *Dorian* li-  
 ‘ bertie. You bring forth also leagues (lacking other matter) that  
 ‘ *Gaius Caesar* the first author of *Tirannie* did make with you, and  
 ‘ say, that the *Romanes* and *Rodians* should help one another in their  
 ‘ necessities. Helpe you then now the *Romanes* that in greatest  
 ‘ cause be in moste perill. *Cassius* a *Romane* borne, and a president  
 ‘ of the *Romanes*, dothe chalenge that league, accordyng to the  
 ‘ decrees of the *Senate*. in the whiche it did commaunde, that  
 ‘ all the dwellers beyonde *Ionia*, should obey vs. *Brutus* dothe

require

require the same, and *Pompey*, keeping the Sea for the *Se-  
 nates* safetie. No decrees, we toyne prayers, for all them,  
 that be fledde from the *Senate* to me, to *Brutus* and to *Pompey*. It  
 is the peoples publike decree, that the *Rhodians* shoulde help the  
*Romanes*, euery one as they haue neede. If we be neyther officers,  
 nor *Romanes*, but you take vs to be fugitiues, strangers, and  
 condemned (as they name vs that haue proscribed vs) and that  
 you haue nothing to do with vs, but with *Romanes* (and *Rhodians*),  
 and their leagues, then may we make warre with you as stran-  
 gers, and free from confederacie, excepte you obey vs in all that  
 we require. Thus *Cassius*, as it were dallying with *Archelaus*,  
 sent him away. *Alexander* and *Manasses*, Captaynes of the *Rho-  
 dianes*, with their three and thirtie Shippes, sayled against *Cassius*  
 to *Myndo*, to preuent him in the sea, hauing hope, lightly to ouer-  
 come him, bycause they made that voyage into *Guido* agaynst  
*Mithridates*, when they had happy ende of the warre: and vsing  
 rowing for a shew, they sayled the first day to *Guido*, and the next,  
 set vpon the *Cassians*, whereat they maruelling, did encounter  
 with them, shewing noble strength on both sydes. The *Rhodian*  
 Shippes were light, and gaue a suddayne onset on their enemies,  
 and retired againe, and fetched what course they woulde. The  
*Romaines* were heauie, and abode by it, and when they toynd  
 with them, ouerlayde them like a fight on fote. *Cassius* with the  
 multitude of his Shippes did so beset the enimie, that they could  
 not compasse, nor retire at their pleasure, but onely afoze hande  
 giue a charge, and retire againe: and that commoditie was ta-  
 ken away by the streightnesse of the place. For their coming  
 vpon the *Romanes* great Shippes with their sharpe stemmes, dyd  
 no good, bicause the *Romanes* stode vnmouable against their light  
 vessels. In the ende, three of the *Rhodians*, with all the men in  
 them, were taken, two were broken and sonke, the rest soze bea-  
 ten, fledde to the *Rhodes*.

The *Romaines* resorted to *Myndo*, and repaired their vessels  
 that were brysed.

This was the ende of the fight by Sea, betwene the *Romanes*  
 and the *Rhodians*, which *Cassius* behelde from a Mountayne.

¶m. iij.

¶then

*Guido* a Citie  
 like an Ilande  
 in *Caria*.

Battayle by  
 Sea betweene  
 the *Romanes* &  
 the *Rhodians*.

*Myndus*, a sea  
 coast towne of  
*Caria*.

*Paroma is  
in Caria*

When he had repayed his paye, he sayled to *Loreenna*, a Castell of the *Rhodians*, and his footemen he committed to *Phanias* and *Lentulus*, to be transported in greate Shippes. He sayled with fourescore vessels, whiche was a terrible sighte to the *Rhodians*. Being arriued at *Rhodes*, he stirred not, neyther with his paye nor his footemen, thinking they would haue yielded: but they came fiercely forth to the syghte, and hauing lost two Shippes, they shutte themselves within the Porte of the Citie, and toke armour, and resisted the footemen that *Phanias* hadde sette a shoze, and also *Cassius* that approched the walles next the Sea, not unfitte for that fight: which he foresceyng, had broughte Turrets with him, which he set vp, and assailed the Citie both by sea and land, which being vnproouided for so suddayne a matter, must needes eyther by force or famine be ouerthrowen. The wise men of the Citie, to auoide that danger, hadde some talke with *Phanias* and *Lentulus*. In the meane time, *Cassius* was gotte into the Citie with the choyce of his army, vsing no force at his entrie, whiche some thought to be by them that pitied the suffering of their Citie.

*Rhodes taken.*

*Cassius*, hauing the Citie in captiuitie, late downe in y<sup>e</sup> Iudgemente seate, and pitched his speare in it, in token it was thral, and badde them not to feare. He commanded his armye vppon paynte of death, not to make any spoyle. He called .50. *Rhodians* by name, whome he punished with death. Fiue and twenty y<sup>e</sup> would not appeare, he banished. He toke all the money that was golde or siluer, holy or publike, and appoynted a daye to euery man to bring in his priuate substance. He proclaymed death to them that hidde any thing. To the accuser, he proclaimed a third part, and to the bonde, libertie. Manye at the beginning hidde their things, hoping the spoyle would haue no suche ende: but when they sawe men were betrayed, they brought forth all for feare. Some was hidden in the ground, some in filthy pittes, and some in graues, out of the which more was brought, than at the first.

*Spoyle of the  
Rhodes.*

This was y<sup>e</sup> captiuitie of the *Rhodes*, to the rule of the which, *Lucius Varrus* was left.

*Cassius* being encouraged with the speedy taking of this Citie, and

and abundance of money, commaunded the other nations of *Asia* to pay the tenne yeares tribute, whiche they did accordingly.

It was then reported, that *Cleopatra*, with great preparation of army and paye, would sayle to *Octavian* and *Antony*, both for the friendship of the former *Cesar*, and for feare of *Cassius*, who sente *Marcus* with his best Legionarie men and archers, with fourescore armed Shippes, to *Peloponnesus*, and staying at *Tenaro*, meant by preuention, to get the spoyle of all *Peloponneso*.

*Morea.*  
*Tanarum*, a promontorie of *Iacónica*, vvhich *Hercules* tooke his way to *Hell*.

The things that *Brutus* did in *Licia*, were not great: but thus they beganne.

When he had the army of *Apuleius*, and gathered of the tributes of *Asia* sixtene thousand talentes, he sayled into *Breitia*, where he did receyue a decree from the Senate, that he shoulde be the same, and gouerne *Macedonia*: whiche beeyng knowen, he toke to hym thre Legions from *Illyria*, the whiche *Vatinus*, then Lieutenant of *Illyria*, deliuered vnto hym. Another Legion he had of *Antonyes* brother in *Macedonia*, to the whiche, joining foure more, he was Lord of eyght Legions, the greater parte of the whiche, hadde serued vnder *Caius Cesar*. He hadde also greate numbers of Horsemen, & archers, and other shotte. The *Macedonians* he armed after the Italian manner. In gathering thus his army and treasure, he had this good lucke from *Thracia*.

*Brutus.*  
*Lycia* a Countrey of little *Asia*, betwene *Pamphilia* and *Caria*.  
For a region in the ende of *Greece*.  
*Illyria* is a great Region of *Europe*, now called *Slauonia*.

*Polemocratia*, a Princes wife, and slayne of his foes, came to *Brutus* for the care of her sonne, and committed hym to *Brutus* handes with her Husbendes treasure. He deliuered the chyld to be trayned of the *Ciceronians*, till he shoulde be sette in his fathers Kingdome. He founde in the Treasure greate massies of golde and syluer, whiche he caused to be coyned, to make money.

Treasure, and a Princes childe deliuered to *Brutus*.

When *Cassius* was come vnto *Brutus*, they consulted vppon their businesse, and determined to beginne the warre vppon the *Licians* and *Xanthians*.

*Circus*, an Ile in *Propontis*, vvhich was a Citie of that name.

And to beginne with the *Zanthians*, they of the Citie cutte off their suburbs, that *Brutus* shoulde not be the, nor haue comodity of

The siege of *Zanthus* a Citie in *Lycia*, whiche sheued greate manlinesse before agaynst *Harpagus* Lieutenant to *Cyrus*.

of any thing there, they compassed their Citie with a ditch, and upon it made their defence. The ditch was fiftie foote deepe, and the breadth proportionate accordingly. Upon it they stood, and threw their darts & arrowes vpon the *Romanes*, diuided as with a flood impassable. *Brutus* got many *Pioners*, & couered the with leather, to ouerthrow the ditch. He parted the army for y<sup>e</sup> night and the dayes labour, neuer ceassing, but as in a matter of great speede, vsed the souldiours, to contend who should do fastest. And though at the beginning it seemed he went about a tedious and frutelesse worke, yet in the end, he brought it to passe very quickly, contrary to the *Zanthians* opinion, whiche thoughte it woulde haue bin many monethes in doing, or not done at all. But now they are shutte vp, and driuen within their gates, with a greate change. He gaue dayly assaultes at the gates, euer changing his men. They resisted, and put freshe and sounde men in the place of the weery and wounded, so long as their fortres helde: but when they were beaten downe, and all broken, *Brutus* thinking what woulde follow, commaunded his souldiours to retire from the gates.

*Brutus* beateth  
downe the  
Trench.

The *Zanthians*  
killed at theyr  
gates.

The *Romanes*  
in danger.

The *Zanthians* thinking that to bee done by negligence, issued out in the night with lightes to burne the *Romanes* engines, who being encountred of the *Romanes* that laye for them, retired to the gates, the keepers whereof, fearing the enimie should enter also, shutte them out, whereof did followe a greate slaughter befoze the gates. Not long after, the *Romanes* going backe againe, the Citizens came out, and fired the engines: and bycause of the former losse, the gates were opened to them, at whose going in, two thousand *Romanes* thrust in with them, and moze followed: at the which entrie, the gates fell downe, either suddaynely, or of purpose, the matter failing that held them vp. The *Romanes* were eyther killed, or shut in. The gates could not be opened, nor without some engine be removed. The *Zanthians* threw vpon them in the streets from aboue. They hauing neyther bowe nor arrowes, got into a straight place, called *Sarpedono*, that they should not vtterly be besette aboute. The *Romanes* that were withoute, were carefull for them within,

within, and *Brutus* ranne among them, to see that all help mighte be assayed. At the gates barred with yron, they could not get in, their scales and Towers being burned. Wherefoze some made scaling ladders presently, and wente vp vpon timber, as vpon ladders: some tyed forkes to ropes, and threwe them to fasten on the wall, and climbed vp by coardes. The *Oenandians* theyr neyghbours, and enimies, and confederate with *Brutus*, gate vponuer the rocky places, whiche when the *Romanes* saw, they followed with great laboure, whereby many fell, and some that got ouer, went to open the gates, and layd timber so thicke, that they mighte come ouer: whiche they did. And being not many, they brake the gate, not being very strong, both they within and without helping to it: and the souldiours entred in verie boldly, both at the broken gate, and ouer the wall, vpon the way made with timber, so as there was thrusting in on euery side. The *Zanthians* with greate shoutes set vpon the *Romanes* that were in *Sarpedono*. The *Romanes* at the gates, carefull for them both within and without, vsed all violence to make way, and as carried with a furie, they bare all downe afore them, making suche halfe and noyle, as they mighte know within it, God working a change for them. And this was at the setting of the Sunne.

*Oenandians* is a  
Citie of *Caria*,  
a little region  
of *Lica*.

The *Romanes*  
sawed in *Sarpe-*  
*dono* a holy  
place closed in  
the Citie.

The Citie being thus taken, the *Zanthians* wente into theyr houses, and burned their most precious things, and wilfully offered their throttes to be cutte. The lamentation was so greate, that *Brutus* fearing the spoyle, called his souldiours backe by a Trumpet: and when he knewe what was done, he pitied the state of them for their liberties sake, and sent a truce vnto them. They repelling them that brought it, and bringing all they had, to stacks that they hadde made in their houses, set the same on fire, and burned themselves therewith.

The taking  
of *Zanthus*.

*Brutus* saued all the sacred things, and only tooke the seruants of the *Xanthians*, and an hundred and fifty women free and without husband. Thus three times the *Zanthians* perished for their libertie, being besieged of *Arpalus*, Lieutenant of *Cyrus* the great. They killed themselves rather than they would be slaues, and the Citie was by him lefte to be their graue. And they say,

The offering  
of *Zanthus*.

An.

they

they suffered the like of *Alexander*, *Philips* sonne, and coulde not abyde to obey *Alexander*, though he were a Lord of so many landes.

*Brutus* wente from *Xantho* to *Patara*, a Citie (for assayes of the Sea) like vnto it: and bzinging his army about the citie, he commaunded them to be obediente, vnesse they woulde suffer as the *Xanthians* had done. Some of the *Xanthians* were come vnto them, bewayling theyr misfortune, and counselling them to see better to themselves. The *Pataraeans* aunswering nothing to the *Xanthians*, spent the rest of the day in consultation. Daye beeyng come, and *Brutus* appoachyng, they cryed frō the walles, that they woulde obey hym in anye thyng he woulde, and opened theyr gates. He entred, neyther killing nor spoyling any man: only theyr golde and siluer that was the Cities, he gathered togyther, commaundyng euery mā to bzyng in hys priuate goodes, vpon those payes that *Cassius* had sette vpon the *Rhodians*. And they dyd so.

A Seruaunt dyd accuse hys maister for hydyng of money, and shewed a Capitayne that was sente, where the golde was. All beeyng carryed away, the maister held his peace, but hys mother (wyllyng to saue hys sonne) cryed, that she hadde hydde the money. The Seruaunte (not required to speake), as affirmed she sayde not true, and that he hadde hidde it: whereat *Brutus* pityng the yong man in silence, and the mother in passion, sente them away unhurte, with the money they brought, and hanged the Seruaunte, that woulde haue betrayed hys maister.

*Lentulus* at this tyme being sent to *Andriaca*, a notable porte for the parties of the *Myreans*, brake the cheyne of the Port, and went into the Citie. They obeyed hys commaundementes, and deliuered him their money, whych he carryed to *Brutus*. The *Lycians* sente to *Brutus*, that they woulde obey hym, and abyde hym to theyr power. He putte a tribute vpon them, and gaue the freemen of the *Xanthians* to that Citie. He commaunded the partie of *Lycia*, to sayle wyth the rest to *Abido*, from whence he led his footemen, & abode *Cassius* coming frō *Ionia*, to goe together to

*Patara* a Citie in the Isthme where *Brutus* gaue audience the sixth Monethes of Winter.

to anye ended.

Justice of *Brutus*.

*Andriaca* the name of a Towne in diuers regions heere of *Licia*. *Myrica* Citie of *Lycia*.

*Abidaris* in *Asia*.

to *sestus*.

*Marcus* saylyng aboute *Peloponneso*, vnderstode that *Cleopatra* had a wyache by tempest aboute *Libya*, and that hir scattered paye was blowen to *Laconica*, and that she was so sicke, as vnneth she coulde gette home agayne. And that he shoulde not seme to bzyng out so greate a compaigny in wayne, he sayled towarde *Brunduse*, and toke the Ale nexte the Port, and kepte the rest of the enimies army, and theyr vituals, from *Macedonia*.

*Antonie* came agaynst hym with those selue long Schyppes that he hadde, and at the nygh places annoyed hym wyth the Towlers he hadde made. He sente hys armye by partes in greate Schyppes, obseruyng the wynde from the lande, that they shoulde not bee intercepte of *Marcus*: and beeyng in some doubt, he called for *Cesar*, that was in the coast of *Sicilie*, to matche with *Sextus Pompey*. Whych matters wente after this sorte:

*Pompey* was the yonger sonne of *Pompey* the greate, being not accompted of *Cesar* for hys youth like to atchieue any matter, and remayned in *spayne*. He, in compaigny wyth a fewe threues, rowed on the Sea, and was not knowen to be *Pompeys* sonne.

The number of the Rowers increasynge, and hauing a good bande, he confessed he was *Pompeys* chyld. Wherefore all the remnant of hys fathers and brothers armye resorted to hym, as to a familiar Captayne.

*Arabion* beeyng dispeopled in *Libya*, came vnto hym (as wee haue sayde) and hee hauynge thys multitude, hys actes were esteemed greater than as of a Pirate, and *Pompeys* name sounde ouer all *spayne*, full of people, so as the officers of *Cesar* durst not meddle wyth hym: whych when *Cesar* hearde, he sente *Carina* wyth a greater armye to ouerthrowe *Pompey*. But he beeyng armed for the lyghte attemptes, suddaynely sette vpon hym, and troubled hym, and toke Cities both small and greate, for the whych cause *Cesar* sente *Asinius Pollio* to succede *Carina*, and to warre with *Pompey*, whych at the

*Sestus* in *Europa*, diuided by the narrow Sea called *Hellestus*.

*Laconia*, a region of *Peloponnesus*, sometime called *Heccatompli*, for the C. cities that were conteyned in it.

*Antony* a yaim *Marcus*.

*Pompey* the yonger.

*Arabion* toyneth with *Pompey*.

fn. y.

time

time that *Caesar* was killed, did trie their power: after the which *Pompey* was reuoked of the Senate, and then he went to *Masilia*, to heare what was done, who being chosen Admirall as his father, he gathered all the Shippes he could get together, and kept the Seas, but would not come to *Rome*. And when the three mens power began, he sayled into *Sicilie*, and beseged the Captayne *Bythinicus*, that would not receyue him, till *Hirtius* and *Fannius* (condemned by prescription, and fledde from *Rome*), caused that place to be giuen to *Pompey*. Thus *Pompey* was Lord of *Sicilie*, hauing a Hauie and Island nigh to *Italy*, and a great army, both of them he had before, and also of them that fledde from *Rome*, both bond and free, and such as the Cities of *Italy* sent him, that were giuen in pray to the Souldiours: for these did detest in their hearts, the conquest of the three men, and as much as they could, secretly wrote against them. And as many as might get out of the Countrey, being nowe no more of their Countrey, fledde to *Pompey*, being at hande, and most accepted to the *Romaines* of that time. There came also to him Seamen from *Libya* and *Iberia*, skilfull in the water: in so muche, as *Pompey* was full of Capitaynes, Shippes, Souldiours, and money. Of the whyche when *Caesar* vnderstode, he sente *Saluidienus* with a Haue, thinking it to be an easie matter to put *Pompey* from the Sea: and he passed through *Italy* to help *Saluidienus* from *Reggio*.

*Pompey* came againste *Saluidienus* with a greate nauie, and making the fyghte hard at the shallowes of the Ile aboute *Scyleion*, *Pompeys* Shippes were lighter, and exceeded in the promptnesse and experience of the skilfull Seamen. The *Romaines* were heauyer and greater, and the more vnfitte, as the manner of the shallow Sea is to whirle aboute, that the billowes breake on epyther side the water. *Pompeys* were the lesse troubled, for custome to the surgies, but *Saluidienus* Shippes could neyther stand firme for lacke of that experience, nor able to vse their oares, nor hauing fitte sternes for to turne at will, were soze troubled. Wherefore towarde the Sunne sette, *Saluidienus* first withdrew, and *Pompey* also did the like. The losse of Shippes was equal. The other that were bzused and broken,

*Saluidienus*.

& *Tullius* passeth to helpe *Saluidienus*, *Scyleion* a Towne in the end of *Calabria*, *Scyle* and *Caribdis*.

The fight by Sea, betweene *Saluidienus* and *Pompey*.

*Saluidienus* repayed, lying at the port of that narrow sea *Balaron*. *Caesar* came and gaue greate sayth to the *Reggians* and *Ipponeans*, that they should be exempt from them that were giuen in victorie, for he feared them most, bycause they were so nigh that narrow cut. But when *Antony* sente for hym in haste, he sayled to him to *Brunduse*, hauing on his lefte hand *Sicilie*, entending then not to matche with *Pompey*. *Murcus* (when *Caesar* came,) that hee shoulde not be inclosed of *Antony* and him, wente a little from *Brunduse*, waytyng by the way the great Shippes that carried the armie to *Macedonia*, whiche were wayted of the Galleys, the winde being great, euen as they coulde wish. They sayled away cherefully without any neede of any Galleys, whereat *Murcus* was grieved, and wayted for their returne empty. But they (bothe then and after) caried ouer the army with full sayle, till all the army with *Caesar* and *Antony* were passed. *Murcus* being thus hindzed by fortune (as he thought,) taried for other passages, and preparations of new Souldiours from *Italy*, to hinder (as much as he coulde) the prouisions and the army leste: and to him *Domitius Oenobarbus*, one of *Caesars* Capitaynes, came, as to a seruice of great moment, with fifty Shippes, one other legion, and Archers, that *Caesars* army, not habile to be victualled otherwise sufficiently, but from *Italy*, it might as (he thought) be stopped from thence. Thus they with one hundzeth and twentie galleys, and more Shippes of burden, with a great army did scoure those seas.

*Ceditius* and *Norbanus*, whome *Caesar* and *Antony* sente with vij. legions into *Macedonia*, and from thence to *Thracia*, went aboue the hilles a hundred and xl. myles, tyll they came beyonde *Philip*, and toke the streights of *Torpedo* and *Salapian*, the beginning of *Rascopolinus* lande, and the onely knowen way betwene *Europe* and *Asia*, and that was a let to *Caesars* army goyng from *Cestius* to *Abydus*.

*Rascopolis* and *Rascus* were brethzen, of the bloud of the *Thracian* kings, and being Princes of one region, they differed in opinion, *Rascus* fauorvng *Antony*, and *Rascopolis* *Caesars*, epyther of them hauing three thousand horse. *Caesars* Capitaynes, askyng of the

*Balaron*.

*Reggio* is the furthest Citty in *Italy* nexte *Sicilie*. *Ippona* was a citie sometime called *Pibona*, and *Pibon* *Palentis*, nowe there is but a little towne called *Bibona*.

The army passed.

*Antony* & *Caesar*.

*Philippi* first called *Dathes*. *Torpedo* and *Salapia*, straights in *Thracia*.

*Rascopolis* and *Rascus* brethren diuided.

Myrmecole of  
Cicilians.  
Sclaudius, ouer  
Ioynd Auen.

Auo, where  
Poliderus vyas  
buried.  
Maronax, of Ci-  
com.  
Lysimachia, Ex-  
milt.  
Cardia, Citie.  
Mellane, the coit.

Iucitanians.

The murder of  
Brutus and Cas-  
sius army.

Liberalitie of  
Brutus and Cas-  
sius.

way *Rafopolis* sayde, The shozte and playne way goeth from hence to *Varona*, and leadeth to the streights of *Salamina*, beyng possessed by y<sup>e</sup> enimie, & is not to be passed. There is another way thize so muche aboute, and harde to passe, where the enimie can not goe for lacke of viaguall, from whence they might goe to *Thracia* and *Macedonia*. When they hearde thys, they wente by *Aeno* and *Maronaa* to *Lysimachia* and *Cardia*, that receyue the strayght of *Cherronesus* as two gates: and the nexte day, they came to the gulse of *Mellana*, where they mustered their men. They had ninetene legions of armed mē, *Brutus* tenne, and *Cassius* nine, none full, but with two thousande at the moste to be filled: so as they had about fourescore thousande. The hoysmen of *Brutus* were foure thousand *Celicians* and *Lucitanians*, two thousande *Parthenians*, *Thessalians*, *Thracians* and *Ilirians*; & *Cassius*, of *Iberians* and *Celicians*, had two thousande, of *Arabians*, *Medians* and *Parthians*, Archers on horsebacke, foure thousande. The Kings and Princes of the *Galatians* in *Asia* were their confederates, and folowed them with a greatesse of footemen, and hoysmen aboue fife thousande. This great armie of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, was set in order at the gulse of *Mellane*, with the whiche they proceeded to the warre, appoynting other menne for other necessities. They purged the army by sacrifice according to the manner, and fulfilled promises made for money, giuing liberally to winne mennes hartes, as they might well, hauing suche plenty of richesse, bycause there were many that had serued vnder *Caius Caesar*. And that none shoulde make any stirre at the sight or name of newe *Caesar*, it was thought meete to speake to the army. There was a greatesse seate, in the which sate none but *Senatours* and *Prætors*. The rest, as wel *Romanes* as *Strangers*, stode about below: glad they were to see one another, as they that were stronger than they supposed. Boldnesse and great hope grew at the sight of the army, whiche thing increaseth the good wil of *Souldiours* to their Captaine, & hope that is comon, getteth beneuolence. The noyse that hercof was made, did cease by the trumpets and criers: and *Cassius*, because he was elder than *Brutus*, came a little forth, and thus sayde to the army:

This

The Creation  
of *Cyprius*.

This contention, O *Souldiour* felowes, as it is common to vs all, and therfore causeth vs to trust one an other: so is it conuenient, that we do performe to you, all that we haue promised, the whiche is the greatest trust, that we will fulfill whatsoeuer we promise you hereafter. The hope consisteth in the vertue of you that be *Souldiours*, and in vs whom you see aboute this seate, so many, and so great men of the *Senate*: and also, in the plentyfull furniture of all thyngs whiche you see, of viaguall, of armure, of money, and of shippes, of confederates of Nations, and Kings, that of necessity, they by reason muste be ready, to be willyng and agree, whome the prouision and common cause hath ioyned together. Whereof the two men our enemies do calumniare vs, you know thoroughly, and for that do you serue with vs willyngly. Therefore now it is fitte to declare the cause, whiche shall chiefly shew, that we haue the beste, and moste iuste pretence of this warre. We, that haue made *Caesar*, great, by folowing hym and leading you in the warres, did continue bys friendes to the ende, so as it shall not appeare, that he was entrapte of vs for any enimity. In maters of peace, he is to be blamed, not of vs his friendes, in the whiche we haue bene honored, but by lawes, and order of the common wealth, whereof now no law, no rule of the best, nor peoples power remaineth: all the whiche our fathers framed, when they expelled the kings, and by othe confirmed, neuer after to receyue other: to the whiche othe, their posteritie, of the same minde, consenting, and putting from them the execrations thereof, they could not longer endure, to see one man, though he were a friende and beneficiall, that did conuert to himselfe the publique treasure, the armies, the elections of officers from the people, the governments of nations from the *Senate*. Yet he was a law in steede of lawes, and a Lord in steede of the people, and a Prince in all respectes in steede of the *Senate*. The whiche peraduenture you doe not perfectly know, but only consider his valiantnesse in the warre. But now you may easily learne it, by y<sup>e</sup> things only that touched your selues. You the people, in the warre, do obey your Generall as your Lords. The same condition you receyue of vs agayne in peace,

the

The authority  
of the people.

Scipio made  
Consul before  
his time.

the Senate prouiding, that you be not deceyued, your selues be-  
ing Judges and lawmakers, accordyng to your companies and  
societies, creatyng Consules, Tribunes and Pretors, and by  
your voyces iudging & greatest things, punishing or preferring  
them, as they thought you worthy punishment or preferment.  
This retribution (O Citizens,) hath brought your authoritie to  
highe felicitie: for you haue preferred the worthy, and they be-  
ing preferred, haue rendered like thanks to you. For this worthi-  
nesse you made *Scipio* Consull, when you testified for him in the  
matters of *Libya*, and made, whome you would, Tribunes of  
euery age, of your selues, as was fitte for your causes. What  
made I to rehearse many things that you already knowe,  
but that, since *Caesar* bare rule, you coulde create, neyther Con-  
sull, Pretor, Tribune or Officer, nor coulde testifie for any  
mans vertue, nor receyue mutuall testification for your selues.  
And to speake of the chief, no man gaue you thanks for any  
office, for authoritie, for iustice or correction. And that that  
was mooste to be lamented of all other, you could not helpe your  
Tribunes, when villanie was done them, that you shoulde not  
retayne your power continual, and make it sure and inuiolable:  
but your selfe see them, that ought to haue bene vntouched, and  
their authoritie inuiolate, and their ornaments sacred, to be co-  
demned without any iudgement, by the commaundement of one  
onely, bycause they seemed to be grieved with them that would  
haue declared him a kyng, the whiche the Senate toke mooste  
griuously for your sake. For, the Tribuneship is yours, not the  
Senates. Yet yee could not plainly accuse that man, or bring him  
to iudgement, bycause of hys mightie armies, whiche belonging  
to the publique state, he chalenged for hys priuate pleasure: the  
whiche entending to be reuenged of the reste of his Tyrannie,  
contured agaynst his body. The sentence did necessarily pro-  
cede from the beste, the seate was done of a selue. So soone as  
it was done, the Senate decreed it a common agreement, and  
that openly, that the rewardes for killyng Tyrannes might be  
put in vze. *Antony* saying that, vnder a pretence of tumulte,  
and we not thinkyng our selues worthy reward to the Citty,  
rather

rather than by it, to helpe our countrey, this was stayed, bycause,  
they would not any contumely shoulde be shewed to *Caesar*, but on-  
ly a releasement of his Tyrannie, euery man decreyng a forget-  
fulnesse, as a thing of mooste suretie, that no matter shoulde be  
made of the murder. *Antony* by litle and litle withdrawing the  
people from vs, the Senate gaue vs great offices of prouinces,  
and armies, commaunding all the lande betwene *Ionia* & *Syria* to  
obey vs: whether punishing as offendours, or honoring vs, with  
solemne purple, with mascs and Sergeants: by the whiche rea-  
son, they called *Pompey* from banishment, beyng a yong man, and  
not acquainted with the thing, but onely bicause he was donne  
to *Pompey* the great, who trauayled for the peoples rule: and by-  
cause he was secretly in *Spaine* to auoyde tyrannie, they restor-  
ed him to the value of his fathers goodes, by the common trea-  
sure, and made him ruler of the sea, that he mighte haue some  
authoritie, beyng of the peoples faction. What other acte or to-  
ken of the Senate do yee require, than that all this was done by  
their sentence: onlesse it be not enough to confesse it by worde,  
but to do it & say it, and together with their sayings to rewarde  
you with great gifts, bicause whē they say it, they can perforce  
it. Now you know how men be hadled: they be proscribed with-  
out iudgement, & their goodes be publicate, they be killed with-  
out sentence in their houses, in theyr porches, in the Temples:  
of Souldiours, of seruants, of their enemies: drawen from their  
priue houses, and pursued in euery place. Where & law permit-  
teth a man that will, to flee into the common place, where neuer  
no enemies head was brought, but only armour & shipp stems,  
now the heds of Consules, of Pretors, of Tribunes, of Questors,  
and of Gentlemen be brought, and a rewarde appointed for the  
euill. This is an insurrection moost cruell that euer was against  
all sortes, a sodaine slaughter of men, and a straunge hate of wo-  
men, children, freemad men, and seruants: so farre and so suche  
a change is surcitic turned. The authours of all this mischiefe,  
be the thre men, whiche afore other haue proscribed their bre-  
thren, their vncles, and swearyng one an other, our Citty (menne-  
ly) was taken of the wilde & barbarous. Yet the Celtes cut off no  
heads,

heads, nor vsed billany w<sup>th</sup> thē they toke, nor prohibited any man to hyde himself, or flee y<sup>e</sup> warre: neither did we euer vse any cittle so, which we haue takē by force, neither haue we perswaded o<sup>r</sup> ther to do, y<sup>e</sup> now, not a priuate citie, but the chief of al, doth suffer, of them that affirme they do reforme and direct the common wealth. What like thing did *Tarquinus*, whom, for y<sup>e</sup> iniurie done to one woman, & that proceeding of loue, & being a king, they banished, and for this only act, could neuer abide a kingdome. And whiles these thre (A citizens) do thus, they terme vs seditious, & say they wil reuēge *Cesar*. They do proscribē thē y<sup>e</sup> were not present whē he was killed, of y<sup>e</sup> which, here be many whō you see, being condēned for their riches or houses, or for fauoring y<sup>e</sup> peoples gouernmēt. By y<sup>e</sup> which reason, *Popey* also was proscribed w<sup>th</sup> vs, beyng far of, in *Iberia*, when we did y<sup>e</sup> dedde, because he is descended of a father y<sup>e</sup> loued the peoples state, & for y<sup>e</sup> he was called home of y<sup>e</sup> Senate, & made admirall of y<sup>e</sup> sea, he is of these thre men chōdēned to death. Did womē conspire against *Cesar*, whome they haue condēned in a paymēt: What did an. 100000. of the people, whō they haue condēned to pay, byō payne, & accusations, & proscribed thē onlesse they do it, whereof they ought to be frē: And they y<sup>e</sup> with al they haue done, cā not yet performe theyr promise to their Souldiours, we that haue done no w<sup>ro</sup>ng haue performed our promise to you, & reserue to do moze, when time should serue. Thus God hath shewed his helpe to vs doing iustly, and with God, you haue now to consider men, whō you see here your Citizens, whō you haue sene your Pretors, your Cōsuls many times with prayse, now you see thē slepyng to you, as to well doers, & louers of the people, taking our part, & wishing wel to the rest y<sup>e</sup> we shal take in hand. Moze iust rewards be propounded of vs to y<sup>e</sup> preseruers of thē, than theirs y<sup>e</sup> would destroy thē. They care not for vs that killed *C. Cesar*, y<sup>e</sup> would haue ruled alone, & others, that were with vs, which remain in despite of his tirātie, & take not the rule to thēselues, but leaue it to y<sup>e</sup> people according to the country lawes. This war is not takē of like cause. They make it for polwer & tirannie, whiche they haue shewed in their proclamatiō: we make it for no such matter, but only y<sup>e</sup> our cōfretre

tre being set frē: we may liue priuately vnder y<sup>e</sup> lawes in order, al god men, & the Goddes chiefly do iudge our cause. The best hope to him y<sup>e</sup> maketh warre, is his iust cause. Let it not trouble vs, though we haue serued vnder *Cesar*, for we serued not vnder him, but vnder our cōtrie. The gifts that were giuen, were not *Casars*, but y<sup>e</sup> cōtries & publique, neither is this y<sup>e</sup> armie of *Brutus*, or *Cassius*, but y<sup>e</sup> *Romanes*, we being your fellow souldiours & *Romane* captaynes. Whiche if they y<sup>e</sup> make warre against vs would vnderstand, euery mā might safely lay downe his armure, & reder all the armies to y<sup>e</sup> citie, & make choysē of such as might be profitable to it, which we only desire. But seeing they wil not chose this, for y<sup>e</sup> wicked tyrātie they haue shewed, let vs, (A warre felows) go to it with sure hope, to serue, as frē, the *Romane* Senate & people for their libertie. Then euery mā cried, let vs go, let vs go, & we desire to marche out of hande. *Cassius* being glad of this forwardnesse, caused silence to be made againe, & thus sayd: All the Gods y<sup>e</sup> be Lords of warre, requite (A war felows) your faith & p<sup>ro</sup>p<sup>ro</sup>ptnesse. Now then vnderstand what promissō we that be your Captaines haue made, as men y<sup>e</sup> be fauoured of the Gods, & how farre we excede our enimies in number & goodnesse. We haue armed legions equall with them: we haue fortified our places with good garde, as wel as they: in horsmen & nauies, we do passe them: in aliance of kings & princes, & nations from *Asia*, we surmount thē. They come vpo vs only on y<sup>e</sup> face, we go vpon them, on the backe also. For we haue *Pompey* in *Sicilie*, & *Mureus* in *Ionie*. *Norbanus* also lieth w<sup>th</sup> a great nauie & two legions, to stoppe their passage by sea: all places behinde vs be boyde of enimies both by land & sea. As for mony, whiche some call y<sup>e</sup> strength of warre, they want, neither can performe their promise to their old souldiours, nor exact so much of y<sup>e</sup> condēned men as they supposed, by cause none of their frends is willing to buy y<sup>e</sup> places, which they haue put to sale: otherwise they can get nothing: for *Italy* is wasted with seditiō, tributes & condēnations. We with great care haue got present plēty, wherewith we may gratifie you agayne, and muche moze collected of the nations behynde vs, to be brought vnto vs. And viduall, the greatest wante to mighty

Do. if. armies,

Money the  
strength of  
warre.

armies, they haue none, but onely from *Macedonia* a mountaine cuntry, and *Theffalia* a straight region, whiche with great toyle, they muste conuey by lande. For if any thyng be brought them from *Affrica*, *Lucania*, or *Iapigia*, *Pompeius*, *Murcus* and *Domitius* shall shutte them vp. We bothe haue and shall haue from the Sea, the Ilandes and all places of the continent, euery day without any difficultie, betwene *Thracia* and the floudde *Euphrates*, and that without daunger, no enemy being at our backe: wherefore, it is in our power to doe our feate w<sup>th</sup> speede, or to doe at leysure, to consume our enemies with hunger. Whys haue you, (O felow Souldiours) by mans prouision, the rest shall answere in order, thorough you and the Gods. We haue giuen you for former matter, all that we promysed you, requityng your fayth with multitude of gyfts, the greater labour we will worthily recompence accordyng to the determination of the Goddesses. And now, to them that shall cherefully goe to this feate, for thys assembly & exhortation sake, we wil giue now euen from thys feate, to a Souldiour a thousande fine hundred Drammes of *Italie*, to a Capitayne, of a bande five tymes so muche, and to a Tribune, accordyng to the proportion. When hee had sayde thus, and encamped his army, with worke, worde, and gyfts, hee dismissed the multitude. They remayned praysing *Brutus* and hym very muche, and promysed to doe for them all that shoulde bee conuenient. They gaue then the gyfts out of hande, and other beside these, to the beste sort, for many considerations. And as they receyued, they sente them forth in bandes, to *Dorisco*, and they folowed, not long after. At thys tyme two Eagles late vpon the two siluer Eagles in the skawderde, beating at them, or as some say, couerpyng them, and tarried still, and were fedde with publique prouision appoynted from the Generalles, and the night before the day of the battell, they flew away.

In two dayes cōmyng to the gulfe of *Melana*, they went to *Oeno*, and from *Oeno* to *Dorisco*, and other places, to the mounte *Serrio*, which stretchyng to the sea, they kepte still by lande. They commaunded *Tullius Cymbrus* with a nauie and one legion, and

*Lucania*, parte of  
*Abruzzo*,  
by 2000. *Apulia*.

*Dorisco*, a playne  
in *Thracia* by the  
which *Nerxes*  
did number his  
greate army.  
A flock of two  
Eagles.

*Serrio* hyll at the  
forelande.

*Tullius Cymbrus*.

certaine Archers, to goe by that coast, which before had bin deserte, although the land was good, the *Thracians* neyther vsing the Sea, nor for feare receyuing them that came from the contrary coast. The *Grecians* and the *Calcidonians* keeping that shore, and vsing the Sea, flourished in Merchandise and tyllage, the *Thracians* agreeyng with them for the receypt of their Mountaynes, till *Philip*, *Amintas* sonne, did ouercome the *Chaldeans* and others, so as nothing is to be scene of the passengers, but onely a little Chappell.

This desert place *Tullius* quickly passed ouer, so as for *Brutus* company, he espyed a fitte place, and measured it for the Campe, keeping that same course with his Shippes, in so much as *Norbanus* leste the streight of the *Saporians*, as vnprofitable to bee kept, which things happened as they desired: for at the sight of these Shippes, *Norbanus* was troubled of *Saporis*, and called *Ceditius* from *Turpilio* to come to hym in hast, and he did so. The streightes of *Turpilio* being left, *Brutus* men wente on: the decepte appearing, *Norbanus* and *Ceditius* toke *Saporis* manfully, so as *Brutus* people could not passe: wherefore they were afrayde, least they must now goe aboute, as they shoulde haue done at the begynning, and to passe euery place besette, not hauing time conuenient for it, bycause of the Mountaines, and the season of the yeare.

Standing in this stay, *Rascopolis* sayde vnto them, there was a way by a compasse to the Mountayne of the *Sapeorans* of thys dayes iourney, neuer gone of men before, for the sharp Rockes, want of water, and thickeesse of wodde: therefore if they woulde goe it, they must carrie water, and passe a streight way, yet passable: and this iourney for the solitarinesse, the very birdes could not discover. The fourth day they shoulde haue the floud *Arpesso*, running into the floud *Ermon*, from whence in one day going to *Philip*, they mighte sette on their enemies of the suddayne, whome they might so ouercome, bycause they had none other shift. The Souldiours being taughte thys way for lacke of other, and in hope to take their enemies at the aduantage, a part was sente with *Lucius Bibulus*, appoynting *Rascopolis* to guide the waye. With greate payne and labour they wente on, and made it

*Saporis*, a citie  
at the floud  
*Nestus*.

*Turpilio*.

*Saporis*.

*Rascopolis*,  
*Saporis* people at  
the floud  
*Nestus*.

Solitary way.

*Arpesso*,  
*Ermon*,  
flouds in *Thracia*.

yet with courage and good hearte the rather, bycause some that were sent afoze, returned, and sayde, they sawe a floude a farre off.

The fourth daye, being tyred wyth the sharpenesse of the iourney, and troubled wyth thyrst, their water being spent, whiche they broughte for thre dayes, bycause it was sayde there was no water, they beganne to feare, least they were deceyued, not that they dyd not belaeue them that sayde they sawe the floude, but bycause they thoughte they were ledde a wrong way, and therfore beganne to exclaime and crye: and when *Rascopolis* came to them to encourage them, they reuiled him, and threwn stones at hym. *Bibulus* humbly besought them, that they woulde patiently abyde the rest of the iourney.

A little befoze nyghte, the floude was seene of the foremost, and streyght an eskrie was made as reason was, with greate gladnesse, whyche being receyued of them that followed, it came to the hyndermost.

*Brutus* and *Cassius* vnderstandyng this, ledde the rest of theyr armie thys harde way, but the crie was so greate, as it was hearde of the enimies, whereby they coulde not preuente them, for *Rasus*, brother to *Rascopolis*, hearyng the crie, suspected it was the enimie, and maruelled so greate an armie coulde passe so harde a iourney, boyde of water, whyche scarcely was passable to the wyld beasts, for the hygheesse of the wooddes: and he streyghte tolde *Nurbanus* of it, who fledde from the streyghtes to *Amphipoli*.

Thus both these *Thracian* brethren holpe theyr armyes, the one in leadyng an vknownen way, the other in descripyng what was done. So *Brutus* shoulde pour with maruellous boldnesse, came to *Philippi*, whyther also arriued *Tullius*, so as all the army mette.

This Citie *Philippi* was called befoze *Dato*, and fyrste *Crenida*, bycause many fountaynes which in Greeke bee called *Creni*, do flosse from the Mountaynes.

This place very fytte for the *Thracians*, *Philip* walled aboute, and called it of hys name *Philippi*.

This Citie is builded vpo an hygh hyll, the greatnesse whereof comprised the breadth of the same.

On the North side it hathe wooddes and hylls, by the whyche *Rascopolis* brought *Brutus* and *Cassius* army.

On the South side is a fenne, and beyonde that, a Sea, where from the East, the streyghtes of *Sapeon* and *Torpius* bee seene, from the West a large fielde, as farre as *Murcina* and *Drabisco*, and the floud *Scramena*, thre hundred and fifty furlongs about, very plentifull and fayre (where they saye) it chanced a mayde was rauished as she gathered floures. There is the floud *Zygaster*, in the whych (as they report) a God brake his Chariot as he passed ouer, whereof the floud had the name. The playne bendeth downeward, so as it is a receppte to them that marche from aboue from *Philippi*, againste them that sette from *Amphipoli*.

There is another hyll at *Philippi*, not greate, whome they call *Dionisio*, in the which be mynes of golde, called vntouchable. And goyng from *Philippi* a myle and moze, there be two other hylls, standing two mile from *Philippi*, and moze asunder. In these dyd they encampe, *Cassius* towarde the South, and *Brutus* towarde the North, not myndyng to followe *Nurbanus*, bycause they hearde that *Antony* was at hand, *Cesar* remaining at *Epidamnum* for sicknesse.

The fielde was knowen to bee fayre for a battayle, and the hylls for a Campe, and aboute it on the one syde fennes and waters to *Strymo*, and on the other side, streyghtes, desertes, and vnpassed pathes. In the middest of the hylls a myle ouer was the way betweene *Asia* and *Europe*, as a gate. Thys place they fortifyed with trenche to trench, leauing a gate in the middest, that it seemed but one lumpe. There was a floude nygh, whyche some call *Ganga*, and some *Gangites*. And behynde that, the Sea, by the whyche they hadde theyr prouision, with passage and entrie.

They had made *Thasus* the storehouse of their prouision, being xij. mile off, & wyth their Gallies, had passage to *Nea*, a Citie sixe

miles

The hard passage of the Romaines.

The discouragement of the Romaines. The rage of them.

Asophall's eye discourgeth the enimie.

Amphipolis a Citie, that is betwene Thracia and Macedonia.

Tullius Cynter, Philippi. Date. Crenida. Xpluac. King Philip builded, and named this Citie.

Sapeon, an streights Murcina and Drabisco. Strimonea floud diuiding Macesdonia from Thracia. Preserpinus was the wayde. Zygaster. The God was Pluto.

Dionisio. ὁσουλὰ, places holy and inuolable. The place of their Campes. Epidamnum, Durrazzo. Cesarlicke.

Gangitar. Thasus, an Ile nygh Thracia. Nea, an Ilande and a Citie, vwhere they say Philoctetus was bitten of a Serpent, and dyed.

This

myle from them, and they ioyning in this place, trayned theyr Army.

Antony.

Antony came on with great hast, intending to get *Amphipole* for the stay of the warre, which finding possessed of *Norbanus*, he was glad, and there he leste the furniture for the warre, wyth one Legion, which *Pinarus* ledde. He wente on boldly, and Camped in the fielde, but a myle from his enimies, and streighte was seene the want and abundance of both armies. The one was a boue in frutefull ground, the other beneath in a bottome. They had wodde from the Mountaynes, these from the fenne. They had their water from the Riuer, these from the pooles and pities which they digged for the time. They hadde their victuals from *Thaso*, a fewe furlongs from them, these from *Amphipole*, aboute fiftie myles off. It seemed that Antony was driuen thus to do, bycause there was no more good ground, and the playne being hollowe, in the whych, by reason of the ouerflowyng of the floud sometime, he found the water both swete and sufficiente, by making welles and pities.

*Thaso*, an Ile and a Citie, ouer against the floud *Nessus*.  
Antonyes Camp.

Thys boldnesse, although it proceeded of necessitie, yet it astonished his enimies, that so nygh and so sone he was encamped with suche a contempte: wherefoze they made manye Trenches, and fortifyed euery place with walles and rampyres.

*Cassius* seying *Antonyes* furie so greate, entrenched that was left to the fenne, being omitted for the streightenesse, so that no parte was undefenced, but a syde of *Brutus*, whyche was hyllie.

*Cassius* hadde the fenne and the Sea, all the rest beeyng taken in with Trenches, ditches, and gates. Thus they both were placed. Onely wyth their Hozemen sometime they skirmished.

When all things were prouided, and *Cesar* come, yet not able to fighte, for he came in a litter to hys armye, hys Captaynes sette themselves in order to fyghte, and *Brutus* byd the lyke from the higher place, easie to be seene, and yet intended not to come downe, but to wasse theyr Enimie wyth waite, cyther

either of them had ninetene legions of armed footemen. But they that were with *Brutus*, were the fewer in number, & they that were with *Cesar* were the more. Of *Thracia* hozmen, there were with *Cesar* and *Antonie* aboute thirtene thousand: with *Brutus* and *Cassius* twenty thousand: so as for multitude of men, for boldnesse and vertue of Captaynes, for armoure and furniture of Souldiours, there was most goodly shew on both sides. Yet they did nothing many daies, bycause *Brutus* woulde not strike the battell, but consume them with stopping of victuall from their enimies. They hadde al *Asia* to serue them, and the nigh places to bring them all thing by the sea: but the enimie hadde little, neither sufficient nor certain. For from *Aegypt* they could receiue nothing, bicause of the dearth that had wasted the countrey: nor fro *spaine* nor *Affrica*, bycause of *Pompey*: nor fro *Italy*, bycause of *Marcus* & *Domitius*; and *Macedonia* & *Thesulia*, could not by a greate deale supplie their want, whiche places, they onely had for their succor. And that was the cause why *Brutus* refused battaile. *Antonie* fearing this, determined in any wise to glue the battel, & if it were possible, to make the fenne passable, that he might come vpon the backe of the enemy, and take their victuall that came from chafe.

The number of both armies.

V Vante at *Antonie* and *Cassius* campe.

Therefore on a tyme, bringing his men forth in order of battaile, with banner displayde, he appointed a parte of his armye bothe by night and daye, to make a straighte pathe in the same, cutting downe the reedes, and laying tymber and stones of eyther side, so as they shoulde not shyinke. The foundation whereof he pyled and made strong with marvellous silence. The thicknesse of the reedes toke away the sight of the woork. And when they had wrought tenne dayes, he sent certayne bandes the direct way, and the space leste betwene, he toke and made many Towers. *Cassius* maruelling at the deuise and pollicie, and intending to defeate the Castells made of *Antony*, entrenched all the residue of the fenne, beginning from the campe to the sea, pauiing and making bridges and ditches vpon the sure ground, taking in also the waye that *Antony* hadde made, that neyther they that were there could go abrood, nor he helpe them though

*Antonyes* pollicie & painefulnesse.

*Antony* maketh a way in the fenne.

he woulde. *Antony* perceyuing this about midde day, in a rage and furie, brought his whole army, being otherwise appointed, and turned them vpon the fortification of *Cassius*, betwene the Campe and the *Fenne*, bringing engins and scales, as though he woulde charge vpon his Campe. In doing this betwene both armies with great boldnesse, *Brutus* Souldiours were grieved, thinking it a shame for them to let them so escape, and wythoute commandement, sauing of one Capitaine, they sette vpon theyr flacke. *Brutus* menne hauing thus begonne the matter, gaue a charge vpon *Cassius* army, that was in a readinesse, and putte them from their place, and tooke their Campe, whiche was common to *Cesar* and *Antony*. *Cesar* hymselfe was absent, shifting off that day, for a dreame he hadde, as he writeth in his booke of Remembraunces. *Antony* seeing the fight to be begunne, was gladde he had brought the enimie to it, yet he thoughte not good to turne into the playne, leasse he shoulde disturbe his battaille. Therefore to doe the rest wyth that fiercenesse he beganne, in running manner he marched and mounted vp, for all the resistauce that was made, and by very beehement force, beat backe the battaille of *Cassius*, keeping the order that was appointed them, they being astonished at this feate done beyonde all reason. When *Antony* hadde thus broken them, he brake downe the ouerthwart trench with violence, filling the ditche, and slinging downe the rampires, and all the rest to the gate, where he distressed the warders, and entred for all the weapons that were throwne vpon him. Some passed ouer the broken walles, some ouer the dead bodyes, and al was done so fiercely and so sodainely, as they that came oute of the *Fenne* to helpe them, were dyuen backe againe, of them that had gotte the wall, wyth the lyke beehementie: and they only that were with *Antony*, entred into *Cassius* Campe, the other stil fighting without. The campe was thought to be strong, therefore fewe kept it, whiche was the cause why it was the more easily taken. The soldiors of *Cassius* being thus put to the worse, and knowing that their campe was taken, fled verie cowardly: the matter was equal on both sides: for *Brutus* overcame *Cassius*.

*Cassius* absent occasioned the battell.

*Cassius* absent for a dreame.

The taile of *Antony*.

The fight at *Philippi*.

*Antony* taketh the Campe of *Cassius*.

*Cassius* battell, and lodged in his campe. *Antony* ouerthrew *Cassius*, with a maruellous boldnesse and spoyle his campe. The slaughter was confused, for by the greatnesse of the playne, & rasing of the duste, one knewe not another, till sometimes they asked, and then called them to their due places. Some returned laden with gere, like Carriers rather than soldiors, which some threw away & tooke from them. There was no reioycing one with another, because it was not wel knowne what was done: so there was much confusion. On *Cassius* side, numbring slaues & al sorts, was slaine, viij. M. of *Cassius*, twice so many. When *Cassius* was put from his campe, & could no more get to it, he wente to the hill of *Phillippi*, and behelde what was done. But he neyther coulde well see nor heare, for the duste and noyse: one lyke he sawe his owne Campe spoyle. Wherefore he commaunded *Pindarus* his page, to kyl hym with his owne sworde. *Pindarus* stayde at the matter, and in the meane tyme a messenger came and tolde, that *Brutus* had overcome *Cesar*, and possessed his Campe. To the whiche *Cassius* saide, tell him we are ouerthrowne, and all the victorie is his. When he turned to *Pindarus*, and sayde: why doste not thou ride me of this dishonour: and so offering his throate, *Pindarus* cutte it.

Thus they saye *Cassius* died. Some tel after this sort, that a bande of *Brutus* horsemen, came to bring him the good newes. He thought they had bene his enemies, and sente *Titinius* to knowe the truth. The horsemen receiuing him with great ioy as a friend made a loude noyse. *Cassius* fearing he had fallen in his enemies hands, said thus: we haue suffered to see our friend taken of oure enemies, and wēt in with *Pindarus*, and that he was neuer seen after, so as some thinke that *Pindarus* did it not. This was the ende of *Cassius* life, it chauncing so, that the day of this foughten battell was the daye of his birth. *Titinius* killed him selfe for his long fauour.

*Brutus* bewaiping the death of *Cassius*, as a rare Romaine, & such a one as the like was not to be founde for vertue & valiantnesse, called him happye, that hee was ridde of cares and troubles, the which would bring him to the like ende. He committed his bo-

*Cassius* Campe taken by *Antony*.

The slaughter.

*Cassius* commaunded *Pindarus* to kyl hym.

Some thinke *Cassius* kylled himselfe vnder the dagger wher he kylled *Cesar*.

*Cassius* is kylled on his birth day.

*Brutus* bewaileth the death of *Cassius*.

by secretly to be buried, that the army shoulde not be discouraged at the sight of it, and without meate or sleepe remaine all that night in setting *Cassius* men in frame. Day being come, the enimies were in order againe to fight, that they should not seeme to haue the worse. *Brutus* perceyued their intente, and sayde: Lette vs arme also and make a shewe likewise, that we are not inferiour. Which when he had done, the enimie retired. Then he sayde pleasantly to his friendes: They seemed to prouoke vs, as the weaker, but they wil not putte the matter to tryall.

*Brutus and Antony  
had a battle  
by sea, the same  
daye that the  
Romans were at  
Philippi.  
A fight on the  
sea.  
Antony & Caesar.*

The same day that the field was fought at *Philippi*, an other very great feate was done in *Ionio*, *Domitius Calpurnius* did leade in great ships, iij. legions to *Caesar*, that had the name of *Partial*, being so called for the honoz of their valiantnesse. He led also a band for his guard, of two thousande men, and foure troupes of horse, & other numbers gathered together, with a fewe Galleyes.

*Marcus* and *Osnobarbus* mette them, with one hundred and thirtie long Shippes. A fewe of the former hulkes fledde by good sayling. The other, by the sodayne ceassing of the winde, in a sea calme and still, were caught, being by very fortune giuen to the enimies, who without feare botoged and brake them, not hauing any helpe of their fewe Galleyes, being compassed of so many.

Great and diuers was the trauaile of them that were in perill, linking themselves together with their Cables, and with weapons & courage putting themselves in order, & the enimies should not vse them, though they ouercame them. *Marcus* threw darts offire, which did quickly burne the byndings, & the ships seuered asunder, to auoid the fyre. The galleyes were ready to hinder them euery way, wherewith the souldiours being grieued, and especially the *Partials*, that being better in valiantnesse, shoulde perishe for lacke of fyghting, some kyled themselves with the fire, some leapt into the enimies galleyes, and kyled some, and were killed themselves: the shippes halfe burned, wet their way, carping men, some consumed with fyre, some with wat & thirst. Some with the Cables or planks were carried

*Loss by sea to  
Antony & Caesar.*

to the rockes, or desert shoars: & some were saued, beyond all reason: some continuing fve dayes, by eating pitche off the cables and sayles, held out, till they were giuen to lande by the bylows. There were many that gaue themselves to their enimies being overcome with calamitie. Evi. of their Galleyes yeldeoed, whose souldiers *Marcus* toke to him. *Calpurnius* the General came fve dayes after to *Brunduse*, with one shippe, being thoughte to haue bene lost.

*Calpurnius.*

This happe was in *Ionio*, the same day that the fiede was at *Philippi*, whether you wil call it a shipwrack, or a shipfight. The which euils cōcurring together, being after known, caused the greater feare. *Brutus* called his army together, & sayd thus: There is nothing (O fellowe souldiers) in yesterdaies fight, but that maketh you superiour to your enimies. You gaue the charge cheerfully, when no warning was giuen you: the fourth legion, so renoumed to them, in whome their battaile had their confidence, you ouerthrew vtterly: their army you giue to their campe: their campe you first toke, and after spoyled, in so much as you haue farre overcome the losse you had in the last bataile. And where you might haue made an ende of all your trauaile, you chose rather to fall to spoyle, than to followe your enimies that were overcome: for many of you running before them, set upon their spoile. And in this one, they haue but the one of our campes, but we haue all that they had, so as the recompence of the losse is double. And hauing this aduantage in the fight, how much otherwise we do excede, you may learne of the captiues: for their want of victual: for the striving for it: for the difficult bying of it: and for the euident getting of so little. For from *Sicilie*, *Sardinia*, *Libya*, and *Iberia*, they can haue none for *Pompeius*, *Marcus*, and *Osnobarbus*, they keeping those Seas with two hundred and thre score shippes. *Macedonia* they haue consumed: now only they haue from *Thessalia*, which how long can it serue them: Wherefore when you see them offer to fight, then thinke they chiefly be forced by hunger, and doe chose death rather by their handes. Let vs contrariwise foresee, that hunger may fight for vs, that we may take them the feebler and more consumed.

*Ep. iij.*

*med.*

men, when it shal be fit. Let not vs be carried with affliction be-  
 fore due tyme, nor thinke slownesse, or quicknesse to be expe-  
 rience, nor haue cure ere vpon the sea backward, which mini-  
 streth to vs suche food and seruice, when we see that victorie is  
 ours without daunger, if you will abide, and not distrust: that  
 though they come forth and prouoke vs, not stronger than we,  
 as the worke yesterday shewed, but for auoyding further feare,  
 that all the courage, which I desire you to keepe, you may shew  
 forth, when I shal require you at once, and the perfect rewards  
 of victorie, when the gods shal haue giuen their sentence of vs,  
 by our perfect order, I will giue vnto you. And now for yester-  
 daies vertue, I giue to euery souldiour, a thousand drammes,  
 and to your Capitaines, as the proportion requirerh.

Thus he said, & straight diuided the giste to euery legion, &  
 some say, he promised to giue the *Macedonia* & *Thessalia* in spoile.

*Caesar* and *Antony* seeing that *Brutus* would unwillingly come  
 to the fight, called their people, and *Antony* said thus: Yester-  
 daies worke, (O Men) I perceiue our enemies in words do di-  
 uide, as they that chased some of vs, and spoiled a campe, where  
 indeede they confesse al was yours, for I affirme vnto you, that  
 neither y next day, nor yet, willingly wil they come to y fight,  
 which is a most certain surety of yesterdaies feare & losse, as in y  
 manner of contentions, of force, they that are the weaker, go out  
 of the place. They dydoe not gather so greate an armye  
 that they mighte inhabite the Deserte of *Thracia*, by mak-  
 ing of their walles, but they made all that defence, for feare  
 of your comming vpon them: and now minding to keepe in, for  
 yesterdaies ouerthrow, when the elder, and the more expert of  
 the Capitaines for very desperation, kylled himselfe, whiche is  
 the greatest declaration of their miserie. Therefore when you  
 shall prouoke them, and they not aunswere, nor come from their  
 hills, but truste in their holdes, in stede of their handes, then  
 you (O Romaine men) enforce them againe, as ye forced them  
 yesterday, thinking it shame to giue place as fearefull, and pro-  
 uoked to refraine, and to be holden the worse men for their he-  
 ping in. For we come not hither to liue in the playne, nor if we  
 tarried,

tarried, it woulde suffice vs, but the speedy attemptes are to be,  
 giuen in warre of the wise, that we may the longer continue in,  
 peace. The tymes and the trouble we muste foresee, of whom,  
 you cannot complayne, for yesterdaies assaulte and attempte.  
 When you are required, then shewe your vertue to your capi-  
 taines, be not grieued with yesterdaies spoile, for riches is not,  
 in that we haue, but in that we got by conquest, for that we lost  
 yesterday. For it remaineth safe with our enemye, the which and,  
 their own, they must yeld vs, when we ouercome them: & if we  
 wil go forth to get that, then must we set forth to the fight. Yes-  
 terday we toke againe of theirs sufficiently, & happily more suffi-  
 cient of our owne, for they haue brought together all that they  
 haue by violence spoiled oute of *Asia*, and you comming as,  
 from your Countrey, haue lefte at home the moste precious  
 things, and onelye broughte necessaries. And if you hadde a-  
 ny thyng of estimation, you compted it your Generalls, all  
 the whyche, we be ready to giue you, for thys victorie, and  
 for the recompence of this losse. For your sake we will giue re-  
 wards of victorie, to euerye Souldioure fyue thousand drams,  
 to a Capitaine of a bande fyue tymes so muche, and to a Tri-  
 bune double so muche as a Capitaine.

When *Antony* had thus sayde, he sette them in order to  
 fight, but the enemye woulde not come forward. *Antony* be-  
 ing grieued, stil set them in battaile ray.

*Brutus* hadde his army in good order, and needed not come to  
 the fight, for he had taken al the wayes for prouision of things  
 needefull.

There was an hill very nigh to *Caesars* Campe, harde for the  
 enemye to take, by cause the nighnesse made it in danger of the  
 archers. *Caesar* had entrenched it, that no man shoulde from that  
 place giue any bold attempt vnto it: which beinge abando-  
 ned of *Brutus*, *Caesars* souldiours in the night w. lxxx. legions toke it,  
 carrying with them many hurdes & hides to resist y shot. When  
 they had the hill, they led other x. legions halfe a myle and more  
 toward the sea, and to the firste four, they added two legions  
 more, to take by that deuise all things euen to the sea: & if there  
 were

*Caesars* men take  
 an hill.

Famine in the  
campe of Caesar  
and Antonie.

Achaia thenorth  
region of Pelopo-  
niso.

Antonie prouo-  
keth Brutus to  
fight.

Curtellie in a  
Captaine's hin-  
drance.

were any way beside the seas, as by the Fennes, or other mean, they might distresse it, and take the victual from their enimie. Brutus made deuises against them, setting vp other forts against their Camps. Caesars souldiours also set vp a new worke. Nowe was y famine euident, & increased euery day in greatnesse & feare, for they could no longer haue sufficient brought the fro Theffalia, & fro y sea there was no hope, y enimies being lords of y ships: and the late losse in Ionio beyng tolde to them bothe, they were the more afraide, the winter being at hande, and they lying in a fenny plaine. Deliberation had for these things, they sent a legion armed into Achaia, to prouide them necessarye victuals, and to sende it them with all speede: but not able to auoide the present perill, nor make any other deuice, nor in the reste of the campe, to doe anye more to offend the enimie, they came forth with sholts, and called Brutus to the fight, scoffing and rayling at him, and doubting whither this refraining from fight, were like a man besieged, rather than a man beraught his wit. This was knowne to him from the beginning, and he belaued it the rather, bycause of their want, and their losse in Ionio, perceyuing his enimies had one mischiefe of another. And he determined, as a man besieged, or any other way, to auoide the battell, rather than to come to hands with men dyuyn by hunger and desperation of all things, hauing their onely hope in their hands. But his army, for lacke of consideration, did not thinke so, but were grieved, that as women within, they were shut vp with pde nesse and feare. Their captaine also were not content, and blamed Brutus opinion, thinking with that courage of the souldiours, the sooner to ouerthrowe their enimie. The cause herof proceeded, that Brutus was so courteous and milde to al me, and onlyke to Cassus, that was seuer and imperious in all thynges, so as his commaundements were kept without any resistance of the souldiours, not asking questions, nor reasoning what he woulde haue done: but Brutus woulde doe nothing withoute the opinion of the Captaine, thowhe his gentle nature. At length his armye by companies and rowtes beganne openly to aske: What meaneth oure Generals: wherein haue we offended

of late when we did ouercome, when we did chace, when we distressed our enimies, or when we toke their Campe.

Brutus suffered this of purpose, and dyd not call them to anye assemblie, least he shoulde be forced vnseemly of the rude multitude, chiefly of the byzed sort, whose manner euer is lyke vnto vnsstable seruauntes, to hope in the change of maisters, and to set their safetie in the contrary faction. The Captaynes also being angrie, and wishing him now not to doubt, the armye being in this forwardnesse, woulde do some notable feate, and if any thing hapt amisse in the fight, they myghte returne to theyr Campe, and defende themselves with theyr wall.

Brutus was muche grieved wyth the Captaynes, and fearyng they woulde putte hym to the daunger, by lyghte dealing wyth the army, whereas he wythoute doubte or sharpe fortune, was sure of victorie not daungerous, he consented to hys and al their destruction, thus reprouing them:

Like Pompey the greates we forced to fyghte, not commaunding as a Captayne, but rather obeying as a souldioure.

And I thynke he spake no more, to hyde that he most feared, least the armye that sometyne serued Caesar, woulde take occasion to reuolte, whyche at the beginning, both Cassius and he feared, so as they gaue none occasion to them of any offence.

This Brutus was brought vniwillingly to sette hys men in order before the Trench, wylling them not to marche farre from the hill, that they myghte haue theyr retyre (if neede were) nigh, and bee the surer, and the more easie to marche agaynste their enimies agayne.

Of both sides there was greates preparation of all thynges, and a greates desire of the feate, with a boldnesse of necessitie, the one for feare of hunger, the other of iust reuerence, compellyng the Captayne to come forth, that they shoulde not be worse than theyr promise, nor weaker than theyr wordes, and bee thoughte rather guilty of payne for theyr rashnesse, than worthy of prayse for theyr god counsell. Brutus goyng among them on horsebacke, shewed a seuer countenance, and exhorted them in fewe wordes as the tyme woulde serue.

Brutus beareth  
of purpose.

Brutus overru-  
led like Pompey.

The Chardon  
of the war.

' You would needes fight, you would needes force me, other wise  
' hauing the victorie, do not deceiue, neyther me, nor your selues  
' of this hope. You haue an hyl to fyghte with you, and at youre  
' backe all is yours. Your enemies be in doubtfull ease, being  
' betwene you and famine.

Hauiug sayde thus, he rode aboute, and encouraged all the  
bandes, and with crye they receyuing hym, to his greate  
praise.

Cesar and Antony goyng aboute theyrs, offered theyr ryghte  
handes to them that were nexte, and seuerally exhorted them,  
and dyd not hyde theyr hunger, that they myghte stirre them to  
the more presente boldnesse.

Cesar and Antony  
say to their  
people.

' We haue founde (O men) our enemies. We haue them as  
' we desired out of theyr Trenches. Lette none of you be afrayd  
' to geue the charge, nor geue place when you be sette vpon, nor  
' lette hym rather chose, famine and dolorous destruction, that  
' can not be auoyded, than our enemies death and bodies,  
' whiche to youre boldnesse, weapons, and traunple, they will  
' ally geue. The presente case requirerh speedinesse. You maye  
' deferre nothyng till to morowe, but this daye must determine  
' all thynges, eyther with perfitte victorie, or valiant death. If  
' you haue victorie, you shall winne in one daye victuall and mo-  
' ney, Shyppes, and Campes, and rewardes of victorie of vs.  
' This we must remember, that when we geue the charge vpon  
' them, we doe fynde purpose in the myddest of theyr force and  
' forwardnesse, to shutte them from theyr Campe, and to dreyue  
' them to the playne from the hylles, that the warre be not to be  
' begonne agayne, nor that our enemies dreyue vs not to idle-  
' nesse agayne, whiche for theyr sayntenesse haue no hope in  
' fighte, but put all theyr trust in refraining from battell.

Cesar and Antonius after this sorte exhorted theyr Souldy-  
oures, and euery man hadde a respect to appeare woth his Soul-  
dours for suche Captaynes: and they were the more styred  
to auoyde the wante, for the suddaine losse in the Ionian Sea,  
and chose rather with payne and hope (if neede were) to abyde

the uttermost, than to be consumed with an euill, that can not  
be auoyded.

The matter standyng thus, and euery one moued agaynst  
hym that was next, the anger of both sides increased very much,  
and they were filled with boldnesse incessable. And now they  
dyd not remember that they were Citizens together, but as e-  
nemies by nature and bloud, they threated one another: so  
suddaynely hadde rage and furie in them quenched nature and  
reason. They prophesied alke of both sides, that that daye in  
that seate, should iudge all the Romaine causes. And the iudge-  
mente was gyuen in dede. The day being spent in prepara-  
tion till the ninth houre, two Eagles falling betwene both  
Campes, foughte together, at the which was great silence: that  
Eagle flying that was toward Brutus, whereat a shrill crye was  
made of the enemies. Both broughte forth theyr standerdes.  
The marche was fierce and beheimel. They little needed  
arrowes, stones, or dartes, after the manner of warre, for they  
used none other comming on, than the order of battell, wherein  
they were broughte vp: and they buckled with naked swordes,  
and layde on of eyther syde, to put one another from theyr ray,  
the one for theyr safetie, rather than for victorie, the other, for  
victory and comforte of theyr Captayne, whome they had pro-  
uoked to fighte.

Nature and  
Country  
forgotte.

Two Eagles.  
A token before  
the fight.

The vehemencie  
of Souldiours,

The slaughter and the fightes were great.

The bodies were hozne away, and other were put in theyr  
places to serue the former ranks.

The Captaynes riding aboute, and beholding euery where,  
encouraged them to be valiante. They comforted them that  
toke payne, to continue still their labour. Those that shynke  
they changed, that their boldnesse that were in the fronte, myght  
be continued. At length the Souldiours of Cesar, eyther for  
feare of famine, or for Casars felicitie (for Brutus men were not  
to be blamed) overcame the battell of their enemies, and  
putte them backe, as an heape of an heauie masse, yet they  
turned agayne into theyr place slowly and with order:

Ag. 15.

but

Brutus men  
afflicted.

but when their ray was broken, they went away faster, and the second and third bande turned wyth them, and disorderedly thynking one vpon another, were broken of themselves, and of theyr enimies, that withoute stay pursued them, tyll they fledde euidently. And *Casars* Souldyours then remembryng theyr promise chiefly, fiercely followyng them, gaue an assaulte vpon theyr Campe very daungerously, and on euery side so sette vpon them, that they compelled them to flee, whereof some wente towarde the Sea, and the hylls by the floude *Zygato*.

This alteration beeyng made, the Generalles diuided the rest of the labour. *Cesar*, to keepe them that fledde from theyr Campe, and to holde the Campe hymselfe: *Antony*, to followe the fliers, and to ouerthrowe the remainers, to assaulte their other Campes, and wyth euident violence, to putte all to ruine. And fearing that the Captaynes myghte escape hym, and gather another armie, he sente his Hozsemen to the wayes and issues of the fiede, to stoppe them that fledde. Some wente from hyll to hyll (*Rasus* the Captayne beeyng theyr guyde, by cause of his experience in the way) and passed by the trenches and rocky places, chacing them that fledde, and keeping other from sleeyng. Some followed *Brutus* hymselfe. When *Lucinius* sawe them so fast running after hym, he stayde, and as though he had bin *Brutus*, prayed them he myghte be ledde to *Antonie*, and not to *Cesar*, by the whiche he was the rather thoughte to be *Brutus*, in auoydyng his vnplacable enimie.

*Lucinius* was for  
to saue *Brutus*.

*Antony* vnderstandyng hee was broughte to hym, wente towarde hym in good order, considering the fortune, the worthynesse and vertue of the man, and howe he myght vse hym. Beeyng at hande, *Lucinius* meetyng wyth hym verpe boldly, sayde: *Brutus* is not taken, neyther shall vertue euer be taken of vice. I deceyuing these men, thus am befoze thee.

Boldnesse of  
*Lucinius*.

At the whiche worde the Hozsemen beeyng ashamed, *Antony* to comfort them sayde:

You haue hunted none euill game, but better than you thinke, so muche is a Friends better than an Enimie, and

and committed *Lucinius* to wayte vpon one of his friends, and after vsed hym as his assured. *Brutus* fledde to the mountaynes with a conuenient multitude, that in the night he might retorne to his campe or take his way by the sea. But when he hearde all passages were kepte, hee continued with all his people in armes. And they say hee looked vp to the Starres, sayng:

♄ *Iupiter* thou knowest who is the cause of these euils, meaning *Antonie*, which (they say) *Antonie* after in his priuate perils did confesse, sayng: That where he might haue ruled with *Brutus* & *Cassius*, he was now a slaue to *Octauio*. That night *Antonie* continued in armes, that he might haue *Brutus*, makyng a trench of dead bodie and of the baggage brought togyther. *Cesar* labouring till midnight, withdrew himselfe for sicknesse, committynge the charge of the army to *Norbanus*.

*Brutus* vvorde,  
meanynge by  
*Antonie*, vvhom  
he sayde should  
once be puni-  
shed for it.  
*Antonie*s repen-  
tance.  
A trench of  
dead bodie.

*Brutus* perceiuing what wayte his enimies made for him, and hauing no more but foure legions, wherewith he was wel warred, desired the chiefe of his host, whiche now were ashamed and repented of their act, to sende to see, how they might make way to passe the traynes, and to recouer their owne that was kept in the abandoned tentes. They being vnwilling, and now considering more than they did, and that God was agaynst them, tolde their Generall they had giuen him euill counsell, and they hauing tried fortune so oft, woulde not now put any more hope in their matter. When *Brutus* sayde to his friendes: I am no longer profitable to my Countrey. Hee called one of his moste trusty friendes, named *Strato* of *Epiro*, and wylled hym to kylle hym out of hande, who entreatyng hym to take better aduice, called one of his seruauntes, and sayde: ♄ *Brutus*, in thy laste commaundement thou shalte not wante, neyther thy friende nor thy seruaunt. And hauyng thus sayde, hee thruste his sword into *Brutus* side, neyther resistyng nor helpyng.

*Brutus* men gy-  
ueth ouer.

Thus *Cassius* and *Brutus* died, moste noble and worthy Romaines, and but for one facte, euer folowed vertue. Whome *Cassius* *Cesar* of enimies takyng *Pompeyus* part, hath made frændes, and of friendes, vsed them as his chyldren: and the Senate had them euer in greate regarde, and pittied their chaunce, and for

Dq. liij.

these

*Strato*,  
*Brutus* beeyng  
persuaded to  
flee, sayde: yea,  
but with hands  
not with feere.  
The death of  
*Brutus*, vvhether  
it was seene  
that vertue was  
ouercome of  
fortune, he say-  
ing, Ouercome  
vnhappy, in  
vvorde, and  
vvhile, &  
One of the  
of *Brutus* and  
*Cassius*.

The estimation  
of Brutus and  
Cassius.

The estimation  
of Brutus and  
Cassius brought  
calamitation.

The payer of  
Brutus and Cas-  
sius.

The pardone in  
the use of bar-  
barous princes.

The Souldiours  
trayned vnder  
Cassius, were  
trusty to Brutus.

The Souldiours  
more trusty to  
Brutus and Cas-  
sius than to An-  
tony.

their two syles, decreed an acte of oblivion of all thyngs: and when they sedit, sente them to prouinces, that they shoulde not leaue to see: Not omitting yet the honour of *Cassius*, nor forgettyng his feates, of whose vertue and fortune they maruelled, beyng alive, and when he was dead, buried him with publike expence, and proclaymed his workes to be immortal, & appointed offices & prouinces for y<sup>e</sup> most part by his assignement, not finding any thyng better than *Cassius* had determined. But the care and regard for these men, brought them into a suspicion of false accusation: they were so honored of all men. And of the best of the banished men they were thought most honorable, though *Pompey* were at hande, whose cause was not unpardonable, and they farre off, and boyde of reconciliation, needing many thyngs, scarcely hauing two legions. They gathered after twentie legions, and as many thousand horsemen, and about two hundred long shippes, with other sufficient furniture, and money mosse plentiful, of the wyllyng and vnwyllyng nations and Cities that they ouercame, and their enemies of the contrary faction. They hadde the rule of all the Realmes from *Macedonia* to *Euphrates*, and whome soeuer they ouercame, they brought them to their societie, and hadde them mosse trusty: they blessed Kings and Princes, and the *Parthians*, although their enemies, in matters of small accompt: but when they came to greates thyngs, they coulde not abide them, because they woulde not accustome a barbarous and hostile nation among the *Romanes*. And mosse maruell of all it is, that their army beyng the mosse parte of *Cassius* *Cassars*, and desirous of his felicitie, for god will and affection, they coulde turne to the contrary parte to him, being killers of him, and wento with them agaynst *Cassius* *Sonne*, and more saythfull to them than to *Antony*, fellow in rule and enterpryse with *Octavian*. For none of them lefte *Brutus* or *Cassius* when they were ouercome. But *Antonie*, at *Brundise* they forsooke befoze the triall. The pretence of paynes bothe vnder *Pompey* and nowe, was not for themselves, but for the name of the peoples gouernment, or uer glorious, but not commodious. For bothe of them when they

they saue they coulde be no longer profitable to their countrey, dispatched themselves alike. In their seuerall confiderations *Cassius* was immutable, as they that in the combattles will neuer gyue ouer, onely hauing regarde to the daunger. But *Brutus* in euery place was full of affabilitie and gentleness, and not ignoraunt of Philosophy. Yet by these men, the acte agaynst *Cassius* was done, contrary in all thyng, beyng no simple worke, nor in no small matter, for it was agaynst their frende, contrary to reason, and agaynst their well doer, vnthankfully, whome he had saued in the warre; and agaynst the chiefe ruler, iniustly in the Senate house, and agaynst an holy man, hauing on an holy vesture: and suche an officer, as neuer was the lyke, so profitable to his countrey and to his countrey and Empire. The whiche God did punishe in them, and many times gaue tokens of it. For when *Cassius* was purging his hoste, the Sergeant put on the crowne the wrong way, and his golden consecrate vesture of victory fell to the ground, many greathydes sitting vpon the campe, made no noise, and swarmes of Bees were continually aboute him.

*Brutus* (they say) celebrating his birthe day in *Sardinia* vpon the sea, beyng nothing mery aboute it, without occasion did caste forth this verse.

But me cruel destenie, and *Lachrym* *Sonne* doth destroy.  
Goyng with his army betwene *Asia* and *Europa*, and watching in the night when lighte fayled, a fearefull shape appeared to hym. Whom he boldly asking what man or God hee was, the vision answered: I am *Brutus*, thyne euill lacke, and at *Philippi* I will appeare agayne vnto thee. And they say he saue hym there befoze the laste fight, and when the armie wente out of the campe, and *Chrethian* mette them, whome as an euill token, they killed.

In these thyngs also was a diuine worke. That *Cassius* in victory yet indifferent, gaue ouer all hope without any cause: and *Brutus*, dyuen from his good determination of restraining fight, falling into the handes of them that were forced by fortune, hymselfe, hauing plentyfull foode, and shippes at commandement,

Maners of *Cassius*.

Maners of *Brutus*.

Their faulte agaynst *Cassius*.

The vvorthy-  
nesse of *Cassius*.  
God punished  
the death of  
*Cassius* in *Brutus*  
and *Cassius*.  
Tokens to *Cassius*.

Tokens to *Brutus*.

The vvorde  
of *Patroclus* v-  
sed by *Brutus*.

The bad Angel  
of *Brutus*.

VVork of god.  
*Cassius* despay-  
reth to none.

*Brutus* is over-  
ruled.

maundement, and was rather overcome of his familiers, than of his enemies: and where they had fought many fieldes, they neuer had no hurte. Bothe of them were killers of themselves, as they were of *Cesar*.

The body of  
*Brutus*,  
*Servilia* mother  
of *Brutus*.

*Brutus* tentes &  
fortes gyuen to  
spoyle.

*L. Cassius*,  
*Cato* his sonne.

*Labeo*.

A tente for a  
grauic.

Pollicie of bre-  
thren.

*Portia* *Brutus*  
wyfe.

Thus *Cassius* and *Brutus* were punished. *Brutus* body beyng founde, *Antonie* cladde it with a purple pall, and when he had used it with fire, he sente the relikes to his mother *Servilia*, *Brutus* army when they boarde hee was dead, sente messengers to *Cesar* and *Antony*, who were pardoned, and diuided into their armies, beyng aboute. xliij. M. They yelded also that kepte the fortes and Tenters, all the whiche were gyuen to *Cesars* & *Antonies* Souldiours to be spoyled.

Of the Noble men that were with *Brutus*, some were slayne in the battayle, some offered themselves freely to the Generals: some of purpose continued the fighte to be kylled: as *Lucius Cassius* a brothers Sonne of *Cassius*, and *Cato* his Sonne, who falling many times among their enemies, and being forsaken, toke of his headpiece, that he mighte be knowne, or notably kylled, or bothe.

*Labeo* knowne for his wisdom, father of that *Labeo* that now is renowned for his knowledg in the lawes, made a graue in his tente, bigge inough for his body, & taking order for al things with his seruants, he signified to his wife and childezen what he would haue done, and toke the letters to his seruants to carry, and taking him by the right hande whom he loued best, and traynyng him as the *Romane* manner was, made him free, and beyng turned he toke him his sword & offered his throte, & so to him, his Tent was his graue. *Rasus* the *Thracian* that brought many throught the mountaynes, desired a reward, and had it, to saue his brother *Rasopolis*: whereby it may be perceyued, that at the beginning these *Thracians* were not at variance. But because two great armies at debate shoulde passe their countries, they diuided the certentie of fortune, that he that wanted, might saue hym that lost. *Portia*, *Brutus* his wife, & sister to *Cato* the yonger, when she heard that they both were dead, being diligently kept of his seruants, toke the fire from the hearth, and swallowed the coles.

The

The other noble men fledde to *Thaso*: some sayled awaye, some gaue themselves with the rest of the army, to *Messala*, *Cornificio*, *Messala*, *Cornificio* and *Lucio Bibulo*, men of like authoritie, that they mighte take counsell for themselves to doe for all the rest. Many gaue themselves to *Antony* as he sayled toward *Thaso*, and all the mony, armour and plenty of victual, and any other preparation whiche was great.

Thus *Cesar* and *Antony*, by singular boldenesse, gotte suche a foine y at two fighte a foote, as none had done before them for no suche, nor so great an army of *Romaines*, euer came to handes before: not gathered of common Citizens, but of the beste Gentlemen: not ignorant of fighting, but long practised of themselves, not of strange or barbarous nation, but of all one language, and one arte of war, of one strength and exercise, hard to be matched therefore among themselves: none cuer used more boldenesse or fiercenesse in fight, a token of that, the number of deade men, being equall in bothe fights, and no fewer of theirs that did overcome. *Cesars* and *Antonies* souldiours did fulfill their Captaines will, in one day and one worke, chaunging extreme danger of famine, and feare of death, into victuall abundant, into safety stable, & into victory notable. It followed of that fight, that the wise *Romaines* did prophesie. For the common wealth was chieflie iudged by that feate, and was lyke to haue come to the populare state agayne. And there was no acte of anye suche troubles among themselves, but in the variance betweene *Cesar* and *Antony*, whiche was the laste among the *Romains*. The things that in the meane tyme were done vnder *Pompey*, after *Brutus*, by them that of *Cassius* and *Brutus* friends fledde hither and thither, reteining the remnaunt of so great preparation, neither were they done with such boldnesse, nor with such forces of men, of Cities, or of Captaynes in their promices, for they had no nobilitie, no Senate, nor no glory, as *Brutus* and *Cassius* had.

The fight she-  
ued what  
would become  
of Rome.

The end of the fourth booke  
of Ciuill Dissentions.

Ar.

The fift Booke of *Appian of Alex-*  
*andria*, of the Ciuill Dissentions of  
the Romaines.



Antony in loue  
with Cleopatra.

After the deathe of *Brutus* and *Cassius*,  
*Octavian* went into *Italy*, and *Antonie*  
into *Aegipt*, where *Cleopatra* meetyng  
with him, ouercame him at the firste  
sight. The which loue, brought them  
to destruction, and *Aegipt* to utter ru-  
ine. Wherof *Egyp*t also shal be a part  
of this volume, but not so great, as it  
can giue it y<sup>e</sup> title, because many of the

ciuill battailes are intermedled with it. For after *Cassius* and  
*Brutus*, there were lyke Ciuil Dissentions, but wythoute a  
Generall, that commaunded all as they did, but some leading  
armies here, and some there, till *Sextus Pompey*, the seconde son  
of *Pompey* the Greate, being lesse of that faction, was sette vp  
of *Brutus* friends. *Lepidus* being nowe putte from his dignitie, al  
the authoritie rested in *Antony* and *Octavian*, the whiche things  
fell out after this sorte.

*Sextus Pompey*.

*Lepidus* deprived

*Cassius* of *Parma*.

*Cassius* surnamed of *Parma*, when *Brutus* and *Cassius* wente to  
battaile, was lesse of them in *Asia*, with an army and a na-  
uy, to gather mony. When *Cassius* was deade, he hauing no such  
hope in *Brutus*, toke thirtie of the *Rhodian* ships, which he thought  
to be sufficient, and burned the rest (the holy ones only excepted)  
that they shoulde not rebel: and with these and his own shippes,  
he departed.

*Clodius*.

*Varulus*.

*Clodius* being sent thither of *Brutus* with thirtene shippes, and  
fyniding the *Rhodians* reuolted (for now *Brutus* was also deade)  
toke a way the garrison of thre thousande souldiours, and sayled  
to this *Cassius*. *Torulus* did toyne with them, hauing many o-  
ther shippes and mony, which he had gathered at *Rhodes* before  
they reuolted. To this nauy, as to a thing of power, resorted, all  
they that had offices in *Asia*, and made legions and souldiours  
for

the sea, as wel as they could of seruants and people, of the coun-  
tries & Islands. There came to them *Cicero*, that was son to *Tul.* *Cicero* the yon-  
*lius Cicero*, and diuerse noble Citizens, that were fled from *Thaso*, <sup>ger.</sup> *Thasus* an Island  
and by and by there was a great army, with a sufficiēt nauy of <sup>in the Aegean</sup>  
god Captaines, taking with them *Lepidus* also, with an other <sup>Marcus</sup>  
band, whiche he kept for *Brutus* at *Creta*. And with these forces <sup>Oenobarbus.</sup>  
they sailed to *Murcus* and *Oenobarbus* into the gulse of *Ionis*,  
where diuiding themselues, part went into *Sicilie* to *Sextus Pom-*  
*pey*, and part remained with *Oenobarbus*, for priuate faction: and  
thus of the remnants of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a newe armye was  
made.

*Octavian* and *Antonie* sacrificed for the victorie at *Philippi*,  
and gaue thanks to their souldiours. And to perfoyme their pro-  
mise, *Octavian* went into *Italy*, to distribute lande to the souldi-  
ours, which he did chose for his health. And *Antony* wēt among <sup>Octavian goeth</sup>  
the nations beyond the seas, and gathered mony for his souldi- <sup>into Italy.</sup>  
ours, and diuided betwene them, the lands by *Lepidus* had. <sup>Antony goeth</sup>  
Forre beyond the *Alpes*, *Octavian* woulde haue frae, according to the <sup>beyond the sea.</sup>  
determination of the decree of his vncle *Caesar*.

*Lepidus* was accused to fauour *Pompeys* part, which if it were <sup>Lepidus accused,</sup>  
founde false, *Octavian*, determined to giue hym other Provinces.  
They licenced the old souldiours except eight thousand, which de-  
siring to serue still, they diuided betwene the, & of them apoin-  
ted bandes for their bodies. To these there were added eleuen  
legions that wente from *Brutus*, and .xiiij. thousande horse, of <sup>Ephesus, now</sup>  
the whiche *Antony* toke for his toyney sixe legions and tenne <sup>Epheso, a cittie</sup>  
thousande horse. *Octavian* had foure thousande horse, and five le- <sup>of Ionia, vvhich</sup>  
gions, and for those that *Antony* had, he shoulde receiue of *An-* <sup>vvas the goodly</sup>  
*tonies* out of *Calenn*, whiche he lesse in *Italy*, and so sayled to the <sup>Temple buyt</sup>  
*Ionian* sea. When *Antony* was come to *Ephesus*, he made sollemne <sup>ded of Amazo.</sup>  
sacrifices to the Gods, and forgane the souldiours of *Cassius*, that <sup>Antony pardo-</sup>  
were in Sanctuarie, and asked pardon, *Petronius* being except, & <sup>neth.</sup>  
as many as had conspired *Caesars* death, & *Quintus* that betrayed <sup>Pergamo a cittie</sup>  
*Delabella* to *Cassius* at *Ladicea*: & to the Grecians and other nations <sup>in Asia, not far</sup>  
that inhabit about *Pergamo* in *Asia*, in a great assembly of *Am-* <sup>from the floude</sup>  
bassadors that came for peace, he spake in this wise: <sup>Carie.</sup>  
  
He. y. You

*Troy* vvas called  
by this name.  
*Ladicea*, a citie  
in *Asia*, vvhose  
citizen *Zeno*, *An-*  
*tonie* and *Augu-*  
*stus* made a king.

Antony to the  
Grecians.

Caesar bene-  
fices to the  
Grecians.

You men of *Grecia*, your kynge *Attalus*, by testament bequea-  
thed you vnto vs, whome you founde moze beneficiall vnto you,  
than *Attalus* was, for we forgaue you the Tributes that you  
payd to *Attalus*, tyll we had neede of Tributes, bycause of them  
that troubled our peace. Then we sette Tributes vpon you, not  
accorpyng to euery mans value, that we myghte exact it wyth-  
out perill, but required you to pay a portion yearly, that we  
myghte bee partakers of youre yearly frutes, and feele youre  
losse in harde times. And when the Wayliffes (requiring moze  
than they ought) dyd you iniurie, *C. Caesar* forgaue you the thirde  
parte of youre Tributes, and forbade that iniurie to be done  
to you hereafter, for he committed to you the gathering of the  
Tributes of youre Countrey people. And our good Citizens call  
such a man as he was, a Tyrant: and you haue giuen them much  
money that were kylers of the man, that most deserved of you,  
and that against vs, that reuenged hys quarrell. But forasmuch  
as fortune, fauouring the iust cause, hath decreed, not as you  
woulde, but as ryght was, if you had continued in armes as their  
fellows, you had bin punishable, but bycause we doe easily be-  
leeue, that you did it by compulsion, we forgiue you the greater  
punishment: only we haue neede of your money, your land, & Ci-  
ties, to pay our armyes, whiche be eyghte and twenty Legions,  
whiche w<sup>th</sup> their appertenances maketh 170. thousand, beside horse-  
men, & other remnant of the common sort. Of this multitude you  
may wel coniecture, what charge we be at. *Octavian* is gone into  
*Italy*, to diuide lands and Cities vnto them, and as I myght say,  
to bid *Italy* be packing. But y<sup>e</sup> you should not leaue your Cities &  
Countrey houses, your temples and religions, and youre aunce-  
sters monuments, we onely require your money, and not all, for  
y<sup>e</sup> you could not beare, but a meane part, which when you heare,  
I thinke you wil goe contented away. As much as you gaue our  
enemies in two yeares (whiche was ten yeares tribute) so much  
wil we require, sauing y<sup>e</sup> it must be paid in one yeare, bycause ne-  
cessitie so exacteth. You may acknowledge thakes, & confesse that  
you are not punished as you haue deserved. Thus he spake to  
please y<sup>e</sup> souldiours, to whom they promised rewards at their mei-  
ting at *Modena*, & then they were xl. legions, so many of the were  
conliu-

absolued. He had not fully ended his tale, whē y<sup>e</sup> *Grecians*, late vpo  
y<sup>e</sup> ground, w<sup>th</sup> many demonstrations accusing y<sup>e</sup> crueltie of *Brutus* &  
*Cassius*, shewing they wer rather worthy part o<sup>r</sup> the punishment.

Tributes put  
vpon the *Greci-  
ans* by *Antony*.

They would gladlye giue to their friends, but they were be-  
rest all of their enemies, to whom they had giuen not only theyr  
monies, but when that fayled, their iewels and ornaments, whi-  
ch they copped of themselves. At length, with much ado, they ob-  
tained to paye nine yeares Tribute in two yeares.

As he went about the prouinces, *Lucius* brother to *Cassius*, and  
other fearing themselves, when they hadde harde of his mercede  
shewed at *Ephesus*, they came and submitted themselves to him,  
and he pardoned them, except such as were priue to the conspi-  
racte, for to them he was inextorable. He did comfort the cities y<sup>e</sup>  
were grieuoussly oppressed, and gaue priuileges to the *Lycians*,  
and exhorted the *Xanthians* to restore their Citie. He gaue to the  
*Rodians*, *Andrus*, *Tenus*, *Naxos* and *Mindus*, which shortly after he  
toke from them, bycause of their sharpe gouernement.

*Lucius Cassius* is  
pardoned of  
*Antony*.

Priuileges giue  
to the *Lycians*, &  
*Xanthians* ex-  
horted to res-  
tore their citie.  
Lands giuen  
to the *Rhodians*,  
called *Clader*  
nigh to *Euboea*.  
Lands giuen to  
the *Athionises*.  
*Argina*, sometime  
Acnone v where  
children vvel  
brought vp pro-  
ued cuill.

He graunted the *Tarsentans* and *Laodiceans* libertie, and made  
fre al the Citizens of *Tarsus*, that had bin taken with priuiledges:  
he receiued the *Athenienses* very gently, & gaue the *Tenus*, *Aegi-  
na*, *Icon*, *Seam*, *Sciathus* & *Reparetis*. When going through *Phrygia*,  
*Mysia*, *Gallagrecia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Calosiria*, *Palestia*, *Ituraa*, and  
other prouinces of *Syria*, he put gret Tributes vpon the. He toke  
vp matters of controuersie of princes and Cities, euen as hee  
wold himself. And wher the controuersie for *Cappadocia*, was be-  
twene *Sisinnia* and *Ariarathes*, he preferred *Sisinnia* for *Glaphyra*  
his sayre mothers sake. In *Syria* he deliuered the townes of *Tri-  
rannes*. In *Cilicia* he accused *Cleopatra*, bycause she did not helpe  
*Caesar* in his wars. She did not so much excuse hir selfe, as boaste  
that she had sent foure legions to *Dolobella*, at the beginning of y<sup>e</sup>  
war, & hauing prepared a flauy, was letted by tempestes, and by  
the chaunce of *Dolobella* that was sooner ouercome than she looked  
for: and that notwithstanding, *Cassius* twice threating hyr,  
she contemned him, and *Murcus* also, and with a riche flauy, say-  
led into the *Ionian* sea, & there beside other losses, fel sicke. Wher-  
fore she returned no moze to the sea, after the victorie was won.

*Gallagrecia* is in  
*Asia* the lesse the  
people be called  
*Gallace*.  
*Calesina*, that  
part of *Syria*  
that is next  
*Arabia*.  
*Ituraa*, is the  
playne of the  
countrey.  
*Antony* partiall.  
*Sinna* preferred  
of affection.  
*Cleopatra* accused  
*Cleopatra* excu-  
seth hir selfe.

Br. iiij.

Then

When *Antonie* being caughte in minde with the sight of hir, he began to loue hir, like a yong man, though he were forty yeres of age, his nature (as it seemeth) euer being pliant to that thing: and befoze, he hadde a minde to hir, when he was a Captaine of horsemen at *Alexandria*, vnder *Gabinus*.

Now leauing his wonted diligence, hee did all things as *Cleopatra* woulde haue him, without respecte of God or mannes laue. In so much, as he sente *Souldiours* to kill *Arfinoe* hir siller, that was fledde into the Temple of *Diana*, crying for mercy: and commaunded the *Tyrians* to deliuer *Serapion*, Captaine of *Cypres*, to *Cleopatra*, being fledde for safetie to *Tyrus*. Likewise he commaunded the *Arcadians* to doe with an other fugitiue, because he toke vpon him the person of *Ptolomeus*, *Cleopatras* brother, being ouercome in *Nilus* of *Cesar*, and neuer scene after. He also commaunded *Megabytus* a Prieste of *Diana* of *Ephesus*, to be deliuered, because he receyued *Arfinoe* as a Queene: but when the *Ephesians* made sute to *Cleopatra* for him, he let him goe: so sone was he changed. This affection was the beginning of his troubles, and ende of his life. When *Cleopatra* was gone home, he sent his horsemen to spoyle the *Palmirians*, a Cittie not farre from *Euphrates*, a lighte offence being obiect to them, for a fashion, because dwelling in the confines of the *Romanes*, and the *Parthians*, they seemed to bee of doubtful faith, for they were merchants, and brought and fetched the wares of *India* and *Persia*, to the *Romanes*: but in very deede it was to enrich his horsemen. And when the *Palmirians* had vnderstanding of it, they conueyed away their goods, and garded them with Archers, wherein they excelled. The horsemen finding the Cittie voyde, went away emptie and unhurtfull. Of thys occasion the warres of *Parthia* seemed to ryse, many of the tyrannies of the countrey of *Syria* resorting to them. For this countrey (till *Antiochus* the god, and his sonne) was vnder Kings, successours of *Selencus*: but being brought into the forme of a prouince, they had *Scaurus* their President, to whome the Senate sent other successours, and among them, *Gabinus*, which made warre vpon the *Alexandrians*. *Craßus* succeeded *Gabinus*, which was after slayne of the *Parthians*.

*Antony in loue.*

*Antony made cruel by Cleopatra. Tyus, sometime an Ilarde after ioyned to the land by Alexander.*  
The king of Egypt deade & neuer founde.

The lightnesse of Antony.

The fate of Syria.

*Scaurus, Gabinus, Craßus.*

*Parthians*. But after the death of *Cesar*, and sedition rysing, euery City was holden by an vsurper, the *Parthians* helping them. And now hadde they entred *Syria*, (*Craßus* being deade) one alluring another: from whence *Antonie* droue them away, and made them flee to the *Parthians*. Which being done, he put tributes vpon the people, and did not pacifie the prouince after the commotion of the *Palmirians*, but diuided his armie into wintering places. He went to *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, of whome being princely receyued, he taried the Winter with hir, lyke a priuate man in an other mans kingdome, eyther to shewe, that the rule perteyned not to him: or to be the more fitte to frequent the feastful dayes of the Winter. And leauing all cares of a Captaine, he put on a Greekes robe, and such a garment, as the *Atheniens* and *Egyptians* Priestes do vse. And he resorted onely to temples, scholes, and assemblies of Philosophers, keeping company with the *Grecians* that obeyed *Cleopatra*, for whose cause hee had (as hee sayde) made that voyage.

*Antony priuate.*

*Cesar Octavian* in the meane time fell sicke in his iourney to *Rome*, and verie dangerously at *Brundisio*, where it was sayd; he was deade. Being recouered, he entred the Citie, and deliuered *Antonies* letters to his Captaines, who straght commaunded *Calenus* to deliuer two legions to *Octavian*, and wrote into *Africa* to *Sextus*, to deliuer that prouince: both the which were done. Then dyscharging *Lepidus* of his suspicion, he committed *Africa* to his gouernement, and solde such goods of the condemned men, as were not yet bought. Going about to place his Souldiours in their dwellings, and to diuide their landes, he founde greate troubles: For, the Souldiours required euery best Citie in *Italy*, as they were chosen befoze the warre. Contrary, those Cities required, that all *Italy* might be contributarie to this diuision, or the places of dwelling might be appointed by lot. The Souldiours also required the valewe of the landes, bycause there was no common pay. Both olde and yong women, and children, assembled together in the Temples, and publique places, lamenting and complaining, that they being natieue of *Italy*, should be putte from theyr houses and landes, as prisoners in the warre. The people

*Octavian sicke.*

*Diuision of Italy to the souldiours.*

people wepte for these miseries, and moſte of all, when they remembred that it was not done for the common wealth, but for the priuate luſt of a fewe, the whiche had overthrowne the common weale, and now gaue their Souldiours rewardes, that they by that giſte, ſhould be ready to ſerue their turnes, and ſtil keepe downe the common ſtate. *Caſar* appealed the Cities, and ſhewed the cauſe of neceſſitie, and that all was not ſufficient. And he ſayth truth, for the neyghbours were oppreſſed of the ſouldiours, going beyond their boundes, & catching more than was giuen them, & taking euer the beſt. Neyther were they frayed by *Caſar*'s rebukes, nor contented with new giſts, for they did now little ſoroe of the princes, who had neede of their helpe, to hold vp their ambition. For now the ende of the ſiue yeares approached, & euery one had neede of ſeuerall helpe to maintayne his Lordſhip. The Souldiours had neede of them, to keepe ſtil that which was giuen them: they had neede of the Souldiours fauour, to confirme their rule. *Caſar* alſo comforted the needy Souldiours with other giſts, by ſowynge money of Temples, wherby he wonne their hartes, they being thankfull to him, as of whome they had receyued their landes and goodes, and they that were ſpoyled, crying out vpon him, whiche he ſuffred for the Souldiours ſakes.

*Lucius* brother to *Antonie* being Conſull, and his wife *Fulvia*, and *Manius* that had the ouerſight of his things in his abſence, that this benefite might not ſeeme to be onely of *Oſtavian*, nor he haue only the thanke, and the other generall be defrauded of the fauour of the Souldiours, vſed ſubtil meanes, that the placing of the inhabitantes might be deferred till *Antonies* commynge. Whiche when it ſeemed vnpoſſible, for the haſte of the Souldiours, they deſired of *Oſtavian*, that they mighte place *Antonies* Souldiours, although by agreement it was graunted to *Caſar*. *Oſtavian* by *Antonie*, whiche they denied to be true. Therefore byngynge *Fulvia* with *Antonie*'s little childzen to the campe, they beſought them inſtantly, not to ſuffer *Antonie* to be defrauded of his thankes, and renoune that he had gotten. *Antonies* name was then very glorious among the Souldiours and others, for the victory at *Philippi* was attributed to *Antonie* onely, by cauſe

Miferie of Italy.

Inſatiableneſſe  
of Souldiours*Oſtavian* exclaim-  
ed vpon.*Antonies* Souldi-  
ers placed by  
his friendes.*Antonie* renou-  
med.

of *Caſar*'s ſickneſſe. Though *Oſtavian* ſawe that couenaunt was broken, yette for *Antonies* ſake, he was content to geue place. So *Antonies* legions were placed wyth very much licence, that they ſhoulde not ſeeme to be inferior to the benefite of *Caſar*. There were other Cities neare to theſe, whoſe landes were deu-ided to the Souldiours, whiche ſuffered many iniuries of the Souldiours, the Citizens crying to *Oſtavian*, that diuiſion of landes was nowe more cruell, than proſcriptions of lyfe. For then enemies were puniſhed, now innocents are plagued. *Caſar* did well perceyue the iniurie, but coulde not remedie it. For neyther had hee money wherewith to pay the poſſeſſours of the lande, neyther coulde the rewardes of victory be deferred, for the warres that myght enſue, *Pompey* being Lord of the Sea, who cauſed famine in the Cittie, all victuall being kepte alway: *Scenobarbus* and *Marcus*, hauynge an other army, and gatherynge an other nauie: and the Souldiours the more vniwilling, excepte they haue promyſe kepte: and the ſpace of ſiue yeares was almoſte come, ſo as they muſte haue neede of Souldiours, and therefore bare with their inſolencie: In ſo muche, as in the Theatre, a common Souldiour wantynge a proper ſeate, wente and ſatte in the place of a Gentleman. The people noted it, and *Caſar* rayſed hym. The Souldiours were angry at it, and when *Caſar* came from the paſſe tyme, they compaſſed him, and requyzed their ſelow Souldiour, whome they thought to be deſtroyed. But when hee came, they ſayde he came out of pryſon, whiche by cauſe hee denied, they ſayde hee was hyred ſo to ſay, and was a Traytour to hys company. This rudeneſſe was vſed in the Theatre.

Being called to the diuiſion into the campe of *Mars*, and commynge to it by night, they were angry that *Caſar* tarried ſo long. *Nonius* a Capitayne rebuked them, and tolde them their dutie, and put the cauſe vpon *Caſar*'s ſickneſſe. They called him ſcatterer, and threwe ſtones vpon him, and droue him to take a water, out of the whiche they toke hym by dead, and layde hym in the waye where *Caſar* ſhoulde paſſe, who was miſ-ſiſhed by hys ſcendes, not to truſte theys rage: but hee to auoyde

Oppreſſion of  
Cities.*Pompey*, *Scnos*  
*barbus* and *Mur-*  
*cus* Lordes of  
the ſea.Inſolencie of  
Souldiours.Theatre the  
place vwhere  
they behelde  
paſſyng.Inſolencie of  
Souldiours.*Nonius* kyled  
of the Souldiers.

¶

ſurder.

Vproue of Sol-  
dours.

Sufferance and  
liberalitie of  
Othman.

Cause of disor-  
der among the  
Soldours.

Discipline cor-  
rupted.

Penurie and  
troubles in  
Rome.

furder inconuenience by hys absence, wente on, and when he sawe the dead body of *Nonius*, he went aside. And when the fault was layde vpon a fewe, he willed them herafter one to spare another, and so gaue them giftes and distribution of lands, and rewarded some beyonde their owne expectation. Which constancie of hym they so lyked, as they requyred that the kylers of *Nonius* myghte bee punished. He sayde, hee knelwe them well enough, and was satisfied wyth their confession and conscience: and the reste hee forgaue. By the whyche mercy and liberalitie, beyng prouoked, they made greateshout of hys selfe. These two contemptes of the Souldours among many other, may suffice to be shewed.

The cause of thys, were they, that without lawfull authoritie, (as happeth in ciuill warres) takyng vpon them to be Capitaynes, led these Souldours, not to serue their countrey, but themselves: not agaynst enimies, but agaynst Citizens. This destroyed the discipline of the *Romanes* warre. The Souldour, rather desirous to serue for pryuate affection, and the Capitaynes to abuse them for pryuate commoditie. Not onely a Souldour, but whole armiees were to bee bought for money. And it was offence to fauour the good, and prayse to aduaunce the euill. So as for lighte causes, whole armiees would go from a good and lawfull leader, to a lewde and vsurpyng Captayne: (lyke agrepyng with lyke) the Souldours toke them for enimies, were they neuer so honest, that their Capitaynes hated. And the Capitaynes, to haue Souldours at hande, suffered them to committe things abhominable, without al reuerence of lawe and iustice. So nowe all discipline beyng corrupted, they were corrupted best, that could rayse moste sedition.

The Citie in the meane tyme, was in great penurie, their prouision of corne beyng stopped by *Pompey*. In *Italie*, tillage beyng almost leste for the continuance of warre, and that that there was, being consumed of the Souldours: and in the Citie, theues and murderers by night, were unpunished, for what fouer was done, was imputed to the Souldour. The commons shutte by theyr shoppes, and were withoute officers, whiche would not serue

serue where theste was suffered.

But *Lucius*, beyng well affected to the common wealthe, and greued with the power of the three Rinces, continuing longer than the tyme appoynted, contended with *Caesar*: for he onely promised helpe to the olde possessioners, making supplication to all the officers, & they promised their seruice to him. Whereby, bothe *Antonies* Souldours, and *Caesar* himself, accused him as an enemy to him, and *Fulvia* also, as stirrer of warre out of tyme. But a deuile of *Manius* prouayled, which perswaded *Fulvia*, that if *Italie* were in quiet, *Antony* would remayne with *Cleopatra* in *Aegypt*, but if warres were styred, hee would come quickly.

Then *Fulvia*, of a womannishe passion, incensed *Lucius*, & when *Caesar* wente to place the newe inhabitancies, *Antonies* chyldren, and *Lucius* wente with them, that *Caesar* shoulde not haue the whole thanks, by goyng alone. *Caesar*'s horsemenne scoured the coaste toward *Sicilie*, that *Pompey* shoulde not spoyle it. *Lucius* eyther afrayde in dede, or sayning to bee afrayde, that these horsemen were sente agaynst him and *Antonies* chyldren, wente in haste to the inhabitancies of *Antonie*, to gette a garde about him, accusing *Caesar*, as vnfaithfull to *Antony*. But he answered, that he kept faith & friendship with *Antonie*, & that *Lucius* sought to moue warre, for y he was offended with the rule of the three, by the which the newe inhabitants might take full possession, & that the horsemen were yet in the coast, & did their duties. Where *Antonies* Souldours vnderstode this, they made a meeting with him at *Theano*, and were reconciled to him with these conditions. That he shuld deuide no lads but to such as serued at *Philippi*. That the money of the condemned men, & their landes, shoulde be equally diuided among *Antonies* Souldours.

That hereafter one alone should not leuy men.

That two legions of *Antonies* should serue *Caesar* agaynst *Popey*.

That the *Alpes* toward *spaine* shoulde be open to them that *Caesar* sent, and not be shutte by *Asinius*.

That *Lucius* should put away his garde, and exercise his office with quietnesse.

These were the covenants, whereof onely the two last were kept.

*Lucius* taketh  
parts vwith the  
old husbände-  
men.

*Manius* counsel.

*Fulvia* *Antonies*  
vyse stirreth  
vwarre.

Beginnyng of  
suspition.

*Theano*, a citie in  
*Via Appia*.  
An other in  
*Apulia*.  
Conditions be-  
twene *Caesar* &  
*Antonies* soldi-  
ours.

Preneſſe novve  
Pileſtrina a Citie  
in Latio.

Fuluia fleeth to  
Lepidus.

Great reſorte to  
Lucius.

Manius anſwer  
ſharpe.

kept. And *Salvidienus* paſſed the *Alpes* ſpyte of them that kepte them, the reſt were defeated. Wherefore *Lucius* went to *Preneſſe*, affirming he was aſrayde of *Caſar* hauing a garde aboute him, and he none. *Fuluia* alſo went to *Lepidus*, ſaying ſhe was aſrayde of hir childzen, for ſhe truſted him better than *Caſar*. And they bothe wrote to *Antonie*, certaine friends carping their letters, that might certiſie him of all thyngs, the copies whereof I haue long ſought, and can not finde. When the chiefe of the armies, agreed to take vp this matter, and affirmed they would compell hym that were unwilling. They ſente for *Lucius* friends to come to them, whiche they denying to doe, *Caſar* accuſed them, as well to the chiefe of the armies, as to the officers of the Cities.

When great reſorte was made to *Lucius* out of the Citie, beſeeching him to haue compaſſion of afflicted *Italie*, and take ſome man, that eyther with him, or with the Capitaynes might make an ende of the matter. And where as *Lucius* had regarde both of them that ſpake, and alſo of the thyngs ſpoken, *Manius* anſwared ſharpe. That *Antonie* onely gathered money of ſtrange nations, but *Caſar* did gette mens loue by preuention of the armies and fitte places of *Italy*. For by fraude he had gotten *Fraunce*, which was *Antonies* prouince, and for xliij. cities, that ſhould be giuen to the Souldiours, he ranſacked almoſte all *Italy*. And alſo gaue money to foure and thirty legions, not onely to eight and twentie that fought in his quarrell: and that he had ſpoiled Temples in pretence of warre agaynſt *Pompey*, whiche was not yet begon, for all the greate dearth in the Citie, but in diſſe to winne the fauour of the Souldiours agaynſt *Antonie*, in ſo muche as the goddes of the attaynted, are not ſolde before they be giuen to the: but if he ſeeketh peace, in good ſayth, he muſt make account of things he hath done, and hereafter do nothing but by conſent of bothe. This was the bolde anſweare of *Manius*, that neyther *Caſar* ſhould doe any thing alone, nor the ronaunts betwene him and *Antonie* remaine firme, that is, that either of them ſhould haue full authoritie in their prouinces, and each confirme others actes.

Caſar

*Caſar* ſeeing that they ſoughte warre, prepared hymſelfe for it, but the two legions that wer placed about of *Ancona*, and firſt ſerued his father, and after *Antony*, for the loue they bare to them both, ſente Ambaſſadozs to *Rome*, to pray them to haue reſpect to peace. And when *Caſar* anſwared that he ſwerued not with *Antony*, but *Lucius* wyth hym, the Embaſſadozs confering with the officers of *Antonies* Souldiours, ſente a common Embaſſage to *Lucius*, requiring hym to be contente to committe his difference wyth *Caſar*, to arbitrement, affirming they would take vpon them, excepte he would conſcende. Hauing obteyned their requeſt, *Gabij* was appoynted the place of meeting, in the midde way betwene *Rome* and *Preneſſe*. Where was prepared a ſeate for the Iudges, and two chayres to ſhewe the cauſe. *Caſar* came firſte, and ſente Hoſemen that way that *Lucius* ſhould come, eyther to ſee what *Lucius* dyd, or whether there were any traynes layde. They lyghted vpon *Antonies* Hoſemen, whiche came as ſorerunners of *Lucius*, or to ſee if all were clere: they fell to fight, and ſome were kyled. Wherefore *Lucius* wente backe for feare of treaſon (as he ſayde) and being called of the chiefe of the army, promiſing hym to conſulte him laſe, he reſuſed. Thus the paciſers beeing deceyued, warre was threatned wyth bitter wordes betwene them. *Lucius* hadde ſire legions, of the leuie whiche he toke when he was created Conſull, beſyde eleuen of *Antonies*, vnder Captayne *Caleno*, and all thoſe in *Italy*.

*Caſar* hadde foure Legions at *Capua*, and certayne bandes for his perſon. *Salvidienus* broughte other ſyre Legions out of *Spainne*. *Lucius* had money of the prouinces that *Antony* had pacified. *Caſar* hadde of all them that came vnto hym by lotte, excepte *Sardinia*, whiche was then in warre.

He gotte much of Temples, promiſing to render it with intereſt, that is, of *Capitolio*, *Antio*, *Iannuio*, *Nemore*, *Tibure*, in the whiche Cities be treasures at this day of holy money.

Out of *Italy* all things were not quiet, for *Pompey*, by reſorte of condemned Citizens, and auntient poſſeſſioners, was greatly

ſc. iij.

increa

Souldiours of  
*Ancona* labour  
for peace.

*Gabij* a people,  
deſtroyed by  
*Tarquinius Sulpicius*.  
Meeting at  
*Gabij*.  
A fight by  
chance.

The daye  
frustrate.

The warre  
breaketh.  
*Lucius* poorer.

*Caſars* poorer.  
*Antium* was a  
Citie in *Latium*,  
very good vpon  
the Sea.

*Iannunium*, novv  
*Indovina*.  
Treasure hou-  
ſes of holy  
money.

*Tibure* novv  
*Tivoli*.  
*Nemore*, not  
farre from

*Ardea*.  
*Pompey* increa-  
ſeth.

increased, both in mighte, and estimation: for they that feared their life, or were spoiled of their goods, or lyked not the present state, fledde all to hym. And this disagreement of *Lucius*, augmented his credite: beside a repayze of yong men, desirous of gayne and seruice, not caring vnder whome they went, because they were all *Romanes*, fought vnto him. And among other, his cause seemed most iust. He was waxed riche by booties of the Sea, and he hadde good stoe of Shyppes, with their furniture. *Murcus* also brought him two legions, and five hundred archers, much money, and fourescore Shippes: and he had another army from *Cephalenia*. Wherefore me thynke, that if he had then inuaded *Italy*, he might easily haue gotte it, which being afflicted with famine and discord, looked for him. But *Pompey* of ignorance had rather defend his owne, than inuade others, till so he was overcome also. In *Affrica* *Sextius* the Lieutenant to *Antony*, being lately commaunded to deliuer his charge to *Fagion* *Casars* Lieutenant, and sent againe to take it from *Fagion*, who would not deliuer it, but made warre, hauing a bande of discharged Souldyours, and a number of *Africanes*, and the helpe of the Princes there. And when *Fagion* was overcome in both wings of his battell, and also lost his Campe, thinking it had come by treason, killed himselfe, and so *Sextius* once agayne was Lord of both prouinces of *Affrica*. *Bocchus* King of the *Mauritians*, at the perswasion of *Lucius*, made warre vpon *Carinas*, Gouvernour of *Spayne* for *Cesar*. And *Aenobarbus* with Ixx Shippes, and two legions, and a band of archers and venturers, scouring the sea of *Ionia*, destroyed the regions that accepted the rule of the thre men. And being come to *Brunduse*, he partly toke the Gallies of *Cesar*, and partly burned them, and dviuing the *Brundusians* within their wall, spoiled the lands. *Cesar* sent a legion thither, and willed *Saluidienus* to come out of *Spayne*. And throughout *Italy* men were mustered in hast, as well of *Casars* Captaynes, as of *Antonyes*, for *Lucius*. By uers fightes there was betwene them both, in iust battell, and in ambushmentes. The fauoure of *Italy* was moze enclined to *Lucius*, because he fought for them against the new inhabitants. Not onely the Cities that were giuen in pray, but also all *Italy* was

Refort to  
*Pompey*.

*Cephalenia*, an  
Islande in the  
Ionian Sea.  
*Pompey* loseth  
his occasion.  
Honor of  
*Pompey*.  
*Sextius*.

*Fagion*.

*Fagion* killeth  
himselfe.  
*Bocchus*.  
*Carinas*.

*Italy* troubled  
all ouer.

was stirred, fearing the lyke calamitie, and seeking *Casars* souldiours that borrowed holy money, and partly kylling them, they gave aide to *Lucius*, keeping their Cities for him. Contrarywise the new inhabitants stucke to *Cesar*, as though epyther laboured for their owne. In this state, *Cesar* called the Senatoures and the Gentlemen, and thus spake vnto them: I know I am contemned of *Lucius* faction as a coward, and afrayde of myne owne weakenesse: and that contempt is increased by your assembly. I haue a valiant army, both that which he iniureth by hyndering their possession, and also that which afozetime haue serued vnder my banner, the rest be as sure, except one meaning. I delighte not in ciuill warres that be not necessary, nor do thinke to abuse the Citizens that be left, to destroy one another, chiefly in thys ciuill motion, the miserie whereof shall not be tolde from *Macedonia* or *Thracia*, but shall be scene in *Italy*. The which if it be the felde of this warre, what incommodities shall it suffer. This is the cause why I pzetyme to beginne first. And now I pzetest, that I neyther quarrell with *Antony*, nor do any thing why he should quarrell with me. It is your part, that for your selues you do reproue *Lucius*, with his alietors, whome I praye you to reconcile vnto me: but if they continue in their obstinacie, I shall make it knowen, that I am not slowe for feare, but for consideration. You shall be witnesses not onely to me, but also to *Antony*, that I am dviuen to this necessitie, by the insolencie of *Lucius*. When *Cesar* had thus said, they returned in hast to *Preeste*. *Lucius* answered only this, that the matter would come to tryall on both sides shortly, and that *Cesar* dissembled, who had sente a legion to *Brunduse*, to stoppe *Antonyes* passage from *Italy*. *Manius* also thewed *Antonyes* Epistle, false or true I can not tell, whych willed his estimation to be mainteyned, though it were by warre. And when the Embassadors of the Senate did demaunde, if any mā did blemish his estimation, & if they did, they should cōplaine to y Judges. *Manius* vsed many threatnings againe, till they wēt alway without conclusiō. Yet y Embassadors dyd not shew y answer to *Cesar*, either because he knew it particularly, or because they wer abashed, or for some other cause. Then present war appeared, *Cesar* made prouisiō, & left *Lepidus* Gouvernour of y citie w a garrison

*Octavian* to the  
Senate.

A letter of  
*Antonyes* shew-  
ved.

No conclusiō  
of peace.

*Lepidus* Go-  
uernour of  
the Citie.



der, so as they serued for bothe turnes, as well to resiste them that came to the Citie, as to keepe them in, that woulde come out of it. In the whych tymes there were manye sallies made out of the city, *Casars* men being the better a far off with shot, & *Lucius* more bolde at hand strokes. But whē the work was finished, famine took the city, & encreased daily. For neither y<sup>e</sup> citie nor *Lucius*, had made any prouision of victuals. Which, when *Caesar* vnderstood, he kept the straighter. The night before the Calends of January, *Lucius* thinking y<sup>e</sup> feastful time would haue wrought negligēce among the enemies, he gaue an assaulte to his camp, thinking he might haue put in some companions, whiche he had many in diuerse places: but one legion being quickly called of the watch, & *Casars* comming with his bands, after a sharp fight, *Lucius* was repulsed. At this time in Rome, corn being kept for the vse of the soldiors, the people with tumult & contention, ran into priuate houses, & took what corne they could. *Pompey* & *Clodius* soldiors thinking it a shame, not to helpe *Lucius*, marched forth, and ouerthrew *Casars* garisons in euery place: But when *Agrippa* and *Saluidienus* were come with more mē, they turned to *Fulginio*, a castle not far off frō *Perugia*, where being besieged of *Agrippa*, they signified by night to *Lucius*, w<sup>ch</sup> many fiers, where they were. When it was thought best to try it out by fight. But *Plancius* thought it best to stay, & not to hazard thēselues betwene *Casars* and *Agrippa*, which sentence preuailed. They that were besieged at *Perugia*, when they saw the fiers, they were glad, and thought there was some impediment y<sup>e</sup> they came not forthward: and when the fire ceased, they thought they had bin destroyed. When *Lucius* oppressed with famine, made issues out of the city, from the first watch until break of day, on euery side: but being repulsed in euery place, he retired, & perusing the victuals, commanded, that the bondmen shold haue none, & yet to be kept, that they shold not get out to shew the need to y<sup>e</sup> enemy. They ran about in orchards & gardens, & ate grasse & leaues where they could find any: & whē they were pined, *Lucius* put thē into ditches, that the enemy shold not perceiue any burials, nor the Citty be infected with the sauiors. But no end being of hunger nor death,

Sallies out of  
the citie.

Famine in *Perugia*.  
Calendes be the  
firste daye of the  
moneth.  
January is the  
firste moneth of  
the yeare.  
*Lucius* assaileth  
the campe.

Tumulte in  
Rome for corne.  
*P. Clodius*.

*Fulginio*.

*Plancius* counsel.

Extremities of  
famine.

Misery of slaves

the soldiors being weary, desired *Lucius* to sallie out again, & they would break the contrary trench. Whose seruientnesse when *Lucius* saw, he said: Of late we did not fight so valiauntly as we might haue done, now therfore yelde, or fight to death. Euerie man consented. Therfore that the night shoulde giue none occasion to cowardnesse, they desired they might go to it in the daye: and so *Lucius* led them forth, at break of day, with many scales and engins of yron and other, to fill the ditches and climbe the trenches, and wyth all kind of weapons to throw. Thus they issued with great violence, and filled the ditches withoute stoppe, and casting their engins to the wall, some did beate downe the trench: some set by their scales, and some assaulted the toures, and without all respect of death fought it out, notwithstanding the great resistance that was made with the shotte on the contrary parte. This fight was in diuers places, so as the defence was the weaker. The fight was fierce vpon the bridge which they passed, and also scaled the rampire, and were like to haue done some desperate feate, except the most valiant of *Casars* host, had with like courage come to the resistance, euer being relieved with fresh men: & the other at length being tyred, were thrown from the trench, and their engins broke, and yet they stucke to it without shrinking, though strength and voice fayled them. Yet not being able to resist, and ashamed to giue place, they abode it, til *Lucius* did blow the retreat, at the which, when *Casars* souldiours did make great token of gladnesse, *Lucius* men stricken with shame, took their scales again, and approached the wal: but not able to do any good, *Lucius* againe did call them backe, y<sup>e</sup> they shoulde not cast away their liues in vaine. Then with heauye hearts and against their wills they retired.

This was the end of this sharpe assaulte. *Casars* then appointed souldiours to warde at the trench, and at a token, to leape vpon the wall, whiche they dydde, though they hadde none occasion, exercising themselves, and discouraging their foes. *Lucius* souldiours remained sadde, and the wards were negligently kepte, so as diuers fledde into the Campe not onely of the common sorte, but also some Capitaynes. *Lucius* was

*Lucius* to hye  
founde.

Assaulte of the  
Trenche.

The fiercenesse  
of the fight.

*Lucius* repulsed.

was inclined to peace, pitying the multitude that perished, one thing bindeed it, that *Caesars* enemies were afraid of themselves, but when it was heard that he used the fugitives gently, and that he was desirous of no mans death, the *Lucius* thought it expedient, without any further respect, to seek peace. And least the people would deliver him for all, he thought he would prove their minds, and thus saide:

My desire and intent was (O souldiour fellowes) to haue reduced the common wealth, to that state y<sup>e</sup> our ancestors left it, bycause I sawe the office of the thre men toured into Tyrannye, and not amended after the death of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, by whome they made their pretence of warre. For *Lepidus* being remoued from their Collegeship, & *Antony* occupied in far parts, this man alone dothe here what he listeth: the lawes be onely pretences, and shades. I seeking remedye for these incommodities and minding to haue restored the common wealth, I required that the souldiours, hauing their due rewardes, the power of one might haue bin abolished, which because I coulde not do, I wente aboute to doe it by force and power. When this man accused me to the army, as one that pitied the antient inhabitanes: of the which accusation being ignorant, & not beloning it when I hearde of it, bycause I was sure you receyued landes by my diuision: yet many belueues that false accusation, and followed with him to make warre against vs, which one day they shal find to be done against themselves. For I am witnesse, that you following the better part, haue labored for the aboue your strength. Yet we be overcome, not of the enimye, but of hunger, and as it were forsaken of our Captains. It should haue bin come me to haue abiden the bittermost for my country: & thereby in the ende haue had the prayse of my good wil: but I can not for you, whose safetie I preferre before my glory. Therefore I will send Ambassadors to the viceroy, and I will require him to punish me onely, and let you go, & that he would giue you y<sup>e</sup> forgiveness, which I do not aske for my selfe. You being Citizens as he is, & sometime his souldiours, not nowe offending, but hauing a iuste cause of war, be overcome, not with fight, but with

famine,

famine. When he had thus said, he sent by & by thre of the officers that were chiefe. The rest of the multitude lamented, either their owne case, or the Generalls, which meant wel as they did, and seemed to be a friende of the common wealth, and sayne to giue place to extreame necessitie. The Ambassadors that were sent to *Caesar*, remembred to him their common country, their common souldiourfare passed, the friendships of the noble men of both sides, the custome of their ancestors abhorring from such deadly Dissentions, and other things to thys purpose. *Caesar*, knowing that his enemies hope consisted in olde and young souldiours, used arte, and saide, he pardoned all *Antonies* souldiours, the other he required to submitte to his discretion. Thus he spake openly, but secretly to *Furnius*, he signified he would pardon all, except his priuate enemies: which priuate talk with *Furnius*, they had in suspicion, and saide, that war was not made for displeasure, but for common cause, and required *Lucius* either to haue general peace, or martial war. *Lucius* hauing pitie of those noble men that were equall in dignitie with the other, praised them, and saide he would sende other Ambassadors to him: and bycause he thought none so fit as hym selfe, he would go alone without an Herald. When it was tolde *Caesar* that *Lucius* was coming to him, he went straight to meete him, and they bothe came in sight, accompanied with their friends, in the habite of a General. Then *Lucius* sending aside all hys friends, wente on with two Sergeants, signifying what he meant: and *Caesar* following that beneuolence, shewed the lyke token of modestie. And when he saw *Lucius* come within his trench, that so he might shew himselfe to be in his power, he firste wente oute of the Trench, that *Lucius* might be free to saue hym selfe. Thys they dyd outwardly by tokens of courtely, and when they were come to the ditch, and had saluted eche other, *Lucius* thus bega.

If I had made this warre with straungers, I would haue bin ashamed (O *Caesar*) to haue bin overcome, and more ashamed to yeelde my selfe: from the whiche ignominie, I would easly haue deliuered my life: But because I haue dealt with a Citizen of lyke authoritie, and that for my country, I thinke it no

It is.

Shame,

Ambassadors to  
Caesar.

Caesar and were

Private talk.

Lucius goeth to  
Caesar.Caesar meeteth  
with Lucius.

Lucius to Caesar.

shame for such a cause to be overcome of such a manne, which I speake, not that I refuse to suffer any thyng that thou wilt put vpon mee, being come to this campe, without an Herauld, but to aske pardon for other, iuste and commodious for thyne estate. Whych, that thou mayste vnderstande the more playnly, I wyll separate the cause from mine, that after thou shalt vnderstand that I am the onely cause, thou mayste exercise thine anger vpon me. Thinke not that I will inuey against thee licentiously, which now were out of tyme, but wyll openly tell the truth, which I cannot dissemble.

I toke this warre agaynst thee, not that I would be a Prince, if I hadde dispatched thee: but that I myght haue brought the Common wealth to the rule of the Senate, whiche is now taken awaye by the power of thee, as thou thy selfe canste not deny.

For when you beganne it, confessyng it vnlawfull, you sayde it was necessarye for a tyme, *Cassius* and *Brutus* being alyne, who coulde not be reconciled vnto you. They being taken awaye, the reste, (if any rest there be) being afrayde of you, and takyng armes, not agaynst the Common wealth, and youre tyme being ended, I requyred that the oppressed Senate myght be restored, not regardyng my brother before my Countrey. For I hoped to haue perswaded him at his retourne, and I made haste to doe it in the tyme of myne offyce. If thou wouldest haue done so, thou shouldest haue hadde the glorie alone, but bycause I could not perswade thee, I wente to the Cittie, and thought to gette it by strength and force, being a Senatoure, and a Consul.

These were the onely causes of this warre, not my brother, not *Manius*, not *Fulvia*, nor the landes diuided to the Souldyours, that wanne the feldes at *Philippi*: not the pittie of the olde possessioners cast out of the landes: for by myne authoritie, some were appoynted to landes for my brothers Legions,

Legions, the olde owners spoyled. But this calumniation thou dost deuise, that thou myghtest putte the faulte of the warre from thy selfe, to me, and the newe inhabiteurs. And by this arte, wyunnyng the heartes of the olde Souldyours, thou hast wonne also the victory: for it was perswaded them, that I would putte them out by violence. These deuices were to be used, when thou madest warre agaynst me. Nowe being Conqueroure, if thou be an ennemie of thy Countrey, make mee an ennemie also, that coulde not remedie it, being lette by sanyne. And this I speake freely, gyuing my selfe (as I sayde) into thy handes, shewyng what I thought of thee before, and now also, being with thee alone. Thus much, of my selfe.

Now, as concernyng my friendes, and the whole army: if thou wilt beleue me, I wyll gyue thee most profitable counsell. Doe not vse them hardly for my cause, and matter: and sayng thou arte a man, and subiect to vnsustaineable fortune, make not thy friendes the slower to venture, for thee, if they shall see examples gyuen of thee, nothyng to be hoped, but to the Conqueroures. And if thou reiect all my counsell, as of thyne ennemie, I maye not be ashamed to craue pardon of thee, that thou wouldest not exact punishment of my friendes for my faulte or misfortune, but rather turne all vpon mee, whiche am the cause of all these troubles: for I haue lette them behynde me of purpose, least if I shoulde speake these things in theyr hearyng, I shoulde seeme to seeke myne owne cause. To this *Cesar* answered.

When I sawe thee come to mee withoute an Heraulde, I came apace out of my campe, that thou myghtest freely doe that myght be for thy good. And sayng thee acknowledged thy faulte, thou comytttest thy selfe to my power, I neede not confute the thyngs whiche thou hast ob-

ted a.

ered againste me firmly, but falsely, hurting mee now as then  
 as it befoze. For if thou haddest come to make confederacyon,  
 thou shouldest haue come to an angrie Conquerour not with-  
 out a cause. But now, seeing without any condition, thou giuest  
 thy selfe, thy friends and army to vs: al anger is taken awaye,  
 al necessitie of truce is quite off. For nowe I muste con-  
 sider, not so much what you haue deserued, as what is seemly for  
 mee to doe, whyche I hadde rather doe, eyther for Gods  
 cause, for my cause, or for thy sake (*Lucius*): neither will I de-  
 ceive the expectation that thou hadde broughte with thee.

Thus much do I find in the dayly notes of the Chronicles of  
 that time, in this matter. *Caesar* marvelled at the noble & stout  
 courage of *Lucius*, ioynd with prudence: and *Lucius* marvelled at  
 the clemencie and quicke briefenesse of *Caesar*: the other gathered  
 coniecture of their talke, by the countenance of them bothe.  
 Then *Lucius* sent to the chiefe Captaynes, that they shoulde re-  
 ceive the watche worde of *Caesar*. They brought a booke of the  
 number, for so was the manner, as it is now, that when the cap-  
 taine asketh the watche word, he offereth to the Prince a booke  
 of hys number every day. Receyving the watch worde, they did  
 not leaue the wonted watches, for so *Caesar* commaunded that  
 they should keepe watche severally. The nexte day *Caesar* sacrific-  
 ed, and *Lucius* sent the hoste to *Caesar*, carrying their harnesse, but  
 going in their common apparel, and a farre off they saluted *Caesar*,  
 as Generall, and stayde legion by legion, as *Caesar* hadde ap-  
 pointed: for he deuided the olde legions from the young. When  
 he hadde sacrificed, he sate in the Generals seate, and commaun-  
 ded every one to lay down their armour, which being done, he  
 commaunded the old souldiours to drape nighe, that he mighte  
 reproue their unkinnesse, and make them afraide, yet his mean-  
 ing was knowne well ynough. Then whither it was of pur-  
 pose, or of affection, *Caesar*'s souldiours came cote of theyr pla-  
 ces, and embraced *Lucius* souldiours, and wept, and sued to *Caesar*  
 for them, and they woulde not leaue, but stil cryed vpon *Caesar*,  
 so as there was muche mourning. But *Caesar* chaunging hys  
 minde, and appeasing the multitude, said thus:

You my (fellowe Souldyers) haue alwayes so well serued,  
 me, as I can not deny you anything. The young Souldyers, whiche  
 I thinke haue serued iustly vnder *Lucius* standeth, I remitte:  
 but those that haue heretofore bin ioynd wpth you in warre,  
 and now be saued by your meane, I woulde aske, what iniurie I  
 haue done them, or what grace denyed them, that they shoulde  
 serue another, and beare armour against me and you, and thei-  
 selues? for I suffered all the paynes for diuision of the landes, of  
 the which these were partakers, whose leudenesse now, if you  
 will suffer me, I will punish. But they denying that, and contin-  
 ally calling for pardon, I graunt (quoth he) that you demaunde,  
 let them goe free, so as hereafter they agree with you: whyche,  
 being promised on both partes, thanks were cryed to *Caesar*, who  
 was contente that some shoulde be lodged in houses. The com-  
 mon sorte he wylled to lye in theyr Campe, where they slyste  
 were placed, tyll he sente them to wintering. When sitting in the  
 hygh seate, he called *Lucius*, and the chiefe out of *Perugia*, among  
 whome, were many Senatoures and Gentlemen, all in heauie  
 shape, who being out of the Towne, a garrison entred. When  
 they were come, *Caesar* toke *Lucius* to hym, the other were com-  
 mitted to hys friendes and officers, being warned to keepe  
 them in honest and secrete custody. The *Perugians* crying for  
 pardon ouer the wall, he commaunded to come without the Se-  
 nate only, whyche being done, he pardoned them.

The Senatoures were putte in prison, and after kylled, ex-  
 cept *Lucius Aemilius*, who being in *Rome*, when the killers of *Caesar*  
 were cryed, he thoughte good they shoulde be punished, and the  
 Citie purged. He mynded to haue gyuen the Citie in spoyle to  
 the Souldiours, but one *Sextius*, a madde fellowe, surnamed  
*Macedonian*, bycause he hadde serued in *Macedonia*, sette hys  
 olone house on fyre, and thyselwe himselfe into it, and the wynde  
 being great, blew the fyre ouer all the Citie, and burned it, the  
 temple of *Vulcane* only excepted. Thys was the ende of *Peru-  
 gia*, an auncient and godly Citie, for (they say) it was one of the  
 twelue

*Caesar* pardoneth  
 the young Sould-  
 dyours.

Souldyers still  
 crye for pardon.

Pardon.

Romans appea-  
 red, and were  
 vvellyd for a  
 time.

*Perugians* par-  
 doned.

Captaynes of  
*Perugia* killed.

*Sextius* setteth  
 the Citie on  
 fire.  
*Perugia* set on  
 fire.

Antiquitie of  
*Perugia*.

It was first called *Pibia Colonia*, of *Pibius* a Captayne of the *Acheans* that first came thither: but the *Cris-  
 tians* of *Armenia* did build it, and of a Griffon which they bare in their standerd, called in their lan-  
 guage *Perugio*, they called the Citie *Perugia*. *Caesar* repayed the Citie, and it was called *Perugia Augustus*,  
 with this inscription, *Augusto Sacro Perugia restituta*.

*Caesar* pardoneth

The counsel of  
 both Generalls.

*Lucius* tendereth

A booke of the  
 number of sould-  
 iours.  
*Lucius* souldiours  
 receiue watche  
 word of *Caesar*.

Souldiours em-  
 bracing.

twelve Cities, which the *Etrurians* buylded after their first coming into *Italy*. Wherefore, after the *Tuscan* fashion, they honoꝝ *Iuno*. And after that, they that followed, chose *Vulcane* in stead of *Iuno* for their patrone.

The next day, *Cesar* made truce with all the armies, yet some tumultes continued betwene them, til, *Canutius*, and *Flavius*, *Clodius*, *Bithynicus*, and diuers other were slayne, who were deadly enimies of *Cesar*.

This ende had the siege of *Perugia*, and the warre that *Lucius* made, which certaynely was very dangerous, and like to haue continued long. For *Asinius*, *Plancus*, *Ventidius*, *Crassus*, *Attius*, and others of this faction, hadde an army diuided into thirtene partes, with sixe thousande horsemen, and aboue. All the which, scattered, some to *Brundisio*, some to *Rauenna*, and some to *Tarento*. Some wente to *Murco*, some to *Aenobarbo*, and some to *Antony* himselfe. *Cesar*s bandes chased them by land, and *Agrippa* gotte two legions from *Plancus*, which were left at *Camerina*. *Fulvia* with hir children fledde to *Putzolo*, and from thence to *Brundisio*, with thre thousand horse, which the Captaynes appoynted for hir conduit. At *Brundisio* she tooke Shippe with fise Gallies that were sente from *Macedonia*, and *Plancus* went with hir, who for cowardise, had forsaken the rest of his army which serued *Ventidius*. *Asinius* entised *Aenobarbus* to *Antonys* side, whereof they both wrote letters vnto him, and prepared for him agaynst his coming into *Italy*. There were other bandes of *Antony* vnder the *Alpes*, wherof *Calenus* was Captayne. *Cesar* intended to winne them to him, bycause he had *Antony* now in suspition, that if he were his friend, he would keepe them for him, if he proued his enimie, he would serue himselfe: and whylest he soughte a good occasion, *Calenus* dyed. *Cesar* toke the advantage, and had the army, for *Fusius*, *Calenus* sonne, deliuered all for feare. Thus *Cesar* without any businessse, gotte eleuen legions, and most ample prouinces, from the whiche he remoued the old officers, and placod his owne, and went to *Rome*. *Antony* kepte the messengers that were sent from the inhabitancies, eyther bycause of y willer, or bycause he would not haue them report his doings.

At the beginning of the Spring, he wente from *Alexandria*, came

came to *Thrace*, and from thence by *Byzantium* and *Rhodes* into *Asia*, where he heard of the siege of *Perugia*, for the whiche he blamed his brother and his wife, and most of all *Antony*. He founde his wife at *Athens*, that was fledde from *Brundisio*. His mother *Lulia*, *Pompey* had sente out of *Sicilie*, whither she fledde in company of *Libon*, his father in law, *Saturninus*, and others of the best sorte that he had, the which assayed to allure *Antony* to *Pompey*s parte agaynst *Cesar*. *Antony* thanked *Pompey* for sending him his mother, the which he would requite in time conueniente, and if he did make warre agaynst *Cesar*, he would vse his societie, but if *Cesar* and he continued in agreement, he would reconcile him to *Cesar*. And this was *Antony*s answer. *Cesar* being come to *Rome*, understode that some were gone to *Athens*, but what answer they had of *Antony*, he could not tell. When he soughte to discredite *Antony*, with the fouloyours, as he that would iayne with *Pompey*, to put them from their possessions, and that manye were fledde to *Pompey*, but for all that, he coulde not winne the fouloyours from *Antony*. So greates was the glory that he had, gotte at *Philippi*. *Cesar* thought himselfe good ynough for *Antony* & *Pompey* by land, for he had aboue 40. legions, but he had no ships, & they had more than 500. with the which, if they would belet the coast of *Italy*, they might soon oppresse it with famine. Wherefore of many mapens, were offered him in marriage, he thought to make his best match, & he wrote to *Octavia*, that he should contract him to *Scribonia*, sister to *Livia*, father in law to *Pompey*, & he might haue a preference to agree with *Pompey*, if anye were. This done, he remoued *Antony*s friends from their authoritie, & sent *Cicero* into *Africa* with fise legions of *Antony*s. When he called to him *Lucius*, and praised him as kind to his brother, that he would take his faulte by paynfull life: but he coulde not but thinke vnkindnesse in him, that after so great benefite shewed to him, he would not plainly tell his brother a conspiracie.

To this *Lulia* answered, I knowe my sister in lawes ambitious desire to rule, but I toke the conuocitie of my brothers, to take the rule from you all, and if any brother would come nowe to abolishe your Monarchie, I would take his part alwayes agaynst thee for my Countreys sake, although,

Alu. ij.

private,

*Antony* findeth his wife.

*Pompey* sendeth *Lulia*, *Antony*s mother to him honourably.

*Pompey*s friends assayed *Antony*. *Antony*s answer.

*Cesar* discredith *Antony* at *Rome*.

Glorie of *Antony* great.

Marriage for *Cesar* to serue his turne.

*Cesar* to *Lucius*.

*Lucius* to *Cesar*.

*Lucius* army scattered.

*Camerina* in *Latio*. *Fulvia* fleeth. *Putzolo* in *Campania*.

*Plancus* the coward.

*Cesar* taketh *Antony*s bands in *Lombardy*.

*Antony* deceiveth the messengers.

privately I am most beholden unto thee. But if hee will take companions of his tyrannie, I will take thy parte against him, so thou wilt destroy the Monarchie; for the affection to my Countrey shall alwayes prevaile more with me, than fauour of kindred.

Constancie of  
Lucius.

Cesar to Lucius.

Lucius is hono-  
red of Cesar  
with regard.

Sicyone not farre  
from Corinth.

Antobarbus go-  
eth to Antony.

Plancus afrayde.

Antony to  
Plancus.

Polonia.

Cesar maruelling at the constancie of Lucius, saide, he would not vse hym against his brother, though he would followe him: yet he would committe to him the prouince of Spayne, and appoint Reducens and Luccius his Lieutenantes.

Thus in shewe of honor he sente away Lucius, yet secretly commaunded he should be priuily watched.

Antony leauing his wife sick at Sicyone, took the Sea with no great army, with a flauie of two hundred Shippes, whiche he had made in Asia.

When he vnderstoode that Antobarbus came to meete him with a great army, who was suspected not to be trusted of his worde, (for he was one of the condemned men of conspiracie against Cesar, and in battell at Philippi, fought against Cesar and Antony,) yet he went toward him with five good Shippes, that he myght seeme to trust him, willing the rest to followe after. Antobarbus when he had sight of him, came so ward with all his flauie. Then was Plancus afrayde, and wished him to stay, and firste to trye what he meante, because he was to be doubted. Antony answered, he had rather dye, being deceyued by trust, than be thought to doe for feare. Being come nere, both the Admirals were knownen by their flagges, and sayled one to the other. The Herald of Antony standing in the forepart, eyther ignorant that he was not a sure friend, or of a boldnesse of minde, that the inferioure should coupe to the superioure, commaunded the other to strike saile, whiche they did, and drew to the side of Antonys Shippe, where they saluted and embraced one another: and the armye of Antobarbus receyued Antony for they Generall: yet was Plancus scarcely assured. And Antony took Antobarbus into his owne ship, and sayled to Polonia, where Antobarbus had his footemen. And there Antobarbus gaue place to Antony in the Generals tent.

from

From thence they sayled to Brunduse, where was five bandes of Casars in garrison. The Brundusians shut the gates to Antobarbus as an auncient enemie, and to Antony, as one that brought an enemie. Antony took this pretence to be done by Casars commaundement, and therefore, fortified the narrow parte of earth that layned to the Citie, with ditche and trenche. For this citie is almoste an Island in a porte lyke a crescent, whiche by lande, could not be come vnto, when this cliffe was cutte from it, and the place fortified. Antony also did beset the haue, which is very great, and all the Islandes in it, with many Castels that hee made. He sent also into sundry coastes of Italy, to take the fitte places, and exhorted Pompey, also that hee should inuade Isidie, as much as he coulde. He gladly sent Menodorus with a great army of three legions, to gette Corsica, which was Casars, where he took two legions, beyng amased at this attonement with Antony. Antonies Captaynes took Sigunto a citie in Ausonia. Pompey besieged Thurio and Cossentia, & placed his horsemen in their fieldes. Cesar, troubled in so many places at once, sent Agrippa to releue Ausonia. He commaunded the Souldiours that were placed, to serue: but they, vnderstandyng that it was done by Antonies commaund, denied, whiche troubled Cesar moste of all. Yet he wente to Brunduse with an other army, and by fayre wordes made the Souldiours to go with him, the whiche practised by secreete meanes to reconcile Cesar and Antony. And if Antony would not, they would sticke to Cesar, who was now sick at Canusio, and had a greater armie than Antony. When he was come to Brunduse, & sawe how Antony had cut off the lande from the Towne, hee lap and wayted his aduersaries doyngs. Antony was stronger in munitions, by the meane whercof he sente for his armie out of Macedonia, and vied this policie, to put countrymen by nighte into his Shippes, bothe Gallies and other, and to make a shewe of a great army, to come from Macedonia, and so began to beate Brunduse, whereof Cesar was soze, for he coulde not helpe it. At that evening it was tolde, that Agrippa had recouered Siguntum, and that Pompey was repulled from Thurio, and that Cossentia was still besieged: whereat Antony was soze. And hearing that

Antony and Antobarbus to Brunduse.

Antony kepte out of Brunduse.

Antony besieged Brunduse.

Brunduse was builded of the Antolians, and after inhabited of Cretenses, and at laste made an inhabitaunce of Rome: it hath the name of the forme of an Hartes head with the hornes which the Musapians call Tymolus, for that shape hath the porte, which is one of the beste of the world.

Antony vseth Pompeys helpe.

Pompey sendeth a nauy with Menodorus, and besiegeth Cossentia & Thurio.

The space from Tiberto to Beneuentum, was called Ausonia, by the which name also Isidie was called.

Cesar troubled, Cossentia, is yet a Citie, buylded vpon seven hilles, and therof groweth seven hilles for their armes. Souldiours praesise peace.

Canusio nowve Canossa, in Apulia.

Antonies policy. Agrippa recouereth the besieged places.

Ant. iii.

Seruilus

Thurs was a  
cittie builded by  
Nicias, coming  
from Athens not  
farre from the  
which Marnais  
gathered.  
Antones val-  
iantly.  
Fur out, in Ca-  
lania

Objections of  
Millions on  
both partes.

Antones vvyfe  
dead.

Cocceius talke  
with Antonie

*Servilius* was coming to *Caesar* with one thousande and two hundred horse: he could not stay, but straight fro supper with greate rage, toke his frendes and .iiij. C. horse, and valiantly gaue the onset vpon a .pp. and .v. C. and toke them slepyng at *Vria*, and brought to *Brunduse*. So great a fame was still of him, for the victory hee gotte at *Philippi*. The garde of his person, would come to *Caesar*'s campe, and vpbayde them, their vnkindnesse to hym that saued them at *Philippi*. Who answered, that they did but defende themselves. When they objected one agaynst an other. The one, that they were excludet from *Brunduse*, and that the armie of *Calenus* was taken from them. The other, that *Brunduse* was besieged, and that the coast was invaded, and alliance made with *Enobarbus*, a killer of *Caesar*, and with *Pompey*, a chief enemy. At length *Caesar*'s men opened their minde to *Antones*, that they folowed *Caesar*, not forgetting *Antonie*, being desirous that they might be reconciled. But if *Antonie* would not relent, they woulde do their uttermost. And this talke had they in *Antones* campe. Whyles this was a doyng, newes came that *Antones* wyfe was dead, who coulde not beare hys vnkindnesse, leadyng hir sick and not bidding hys farewell. Hir death was thought very comodious for them both. For *Fulvia* was an vnquiet woman, and for ielousie of *Cleopatra*, rayled suche a mortall warre. Yet the matter vexed *Antony*, because he was cōpted the occasion of his death. *Cocceius* was frend to the both. He the Sommer before was sente of *Caesar* with *Cecilia* to *Antonie* into *Asia*, and *Antonie* sente *Cecilia* home and kept *Cocceius* still. He seeking occasiō to trie *Antonie*, told him *Caesar* had set for him, and desired he might departe, and asked whether hee woulde wyte to *Caesar* or no. *Antonie* was content hee should departe. But as for wytyng (sayde hee) what shoulde we wyte but taunteriōne to an other, sayng we are now enemies. And I wrote to hym by *Cecilia*, the copie whereof you shall haue if you wyll. I brought you letters from hym, (sayde *Cocceius*) and enemy you can not take hym, that vsed your brother *Lucius* and your other frendes so well. Why (quoth *Antonie*) hee shutteth me out of *Brunduse*, and hath taken myne armie and prouince that *Calenus* kept. And where

hee is good to my frendes, hee hath made them by hys benefites mine enemies. Then *Cocceius* not mynding furder to stirre so angry a man, departed. And when *Caesar* saw hym, maruelling he had tarried so long, sayde, I haue not saued your brother that you should become mine enemy: how cal you (sayd he) your frends enemies, and take fro them their armies and prouinces? wherto *Caesar* sayd. After the death of *Calenus*, so great a charge ought not to be giuen to so yong a man, as *Calenus* sonne, *Antonie* being absent, and *Lucius*, *Asinius*, and *Enobarbus* in armes against me. As for *Placius* legions, I intercepted, that they shoulde not go to *Pompey*, as the horsemen did. These things were tolde other wise to *Antonie*, (sayde he) yet he beleued nothing till he was shutt from *Brunduse*. I knewe not of it, sayde *Caesar*, neyther did I commaunde it: the *Brundusians*, and the garrison that I left, could not abide him, when hee brought with him *Enobarbus*, a killer of *Caesar* and a proscribed mā, who after the fielde at *Philippi*, besieged *Brunduse*, and yet troubleth the coast of *Italie*, burned my shippes, and spoiled the countrey. You haue (sayd he) consented one to the other, to make alliance with whom ye wil. Neither haue *Antonie* ioynd with any man queller more than you haue for regard of your father. *Enobarbus* is no man killer, neyther any decree of anger made against him, neither was he prouide to that purpose. And if he be thought vntwothy pardon because he was frend to *Brutus*, then must we see whether al other be not in his case. Confederacie is made with *Pompey*, not to hurte you, but if you make warre vpon *Antonie*, to haue his societie, if not, to reconcile hym to you, who is boyde of faulte: but you are in the faulte. For if warre had not bene made in *Italie*, they durste neuer haue sente Embassages, to *Antonie*. *Caesar* replied, and sayde, that *Fulvia*, *Lucius*, and *Manius* began the warre in *Italy*. And *Pompey* durst neuer before invade the coast of *Italy*, but vpon the trust of *Antonie*. Not only trusting vpon *Antonie*, but sente of hym, sayde *Cocceius*, for I will not dissemble, and he shall invade the reste of *Italie* being boyde of spauie, if you make not peace. *Caesar* not vnwilling, to heare this diuise, stayde a while: *Pompey* shalbe punished, whel ynow (quoth he) being already repulset fro *Thurys*.

Caesar to Cocceius.

Caesars vwords.  
of Pompey.

Then

When Cocceius perceyving all the controuersie, tolde hym that Fulvia was dead, for unkindnesse of Antonie, and nowe that she is gone, there is no way but to utter one an others græfe with out dissimulation. Caesar beyng appeased by this talke, receyved Cocceius, who requested him to wyte somewhat to Antonie, as the yonger to the elder. He denied to wyte any thing to his enemye, that would wyte nothing to him. He also thought unkindnesse in Antonies mother, that beyng of his house, fledde out of Italie, and would not seeke to hym, of whome she might haue obtained any thing, as of hir Soueraine: and to hir hee was content to wyte. When Cocceius came forth, many of the Capitaynes declared the mindes of the Souldiours, that except they would be reconciled, warre should be made. Which hee tolde Antonie, and wished him to cōtermaund Pompey from furder inuasion of Italie, and to sende Xenobarbus away, till they were agreed. Iulia his mother ioyned with Cocceius, and prayd hir sonne so to doe.

Antonie stode in doubte, for if the peace did not take, he must desire Pompeis helpe agayne, the whiche would be a shame for hym: but his mother putting him in comfort, & Cocceius seeming to knowe more, Antony gaue place, and required Pompey to returne into Sicilie, and he would keepe promise with him, and sent Xenobarbus, with authoritie into Bythinia. When y<sup>e</sup> army heard this, they chose messengers that might goe to eyther generall, and cutting off al rehearsall of unkindnesse passe, to requyre the to linke in amitie. For this purpose, of Caesars parte, there was chosen Mccenas: and for Antonie, Pollio: and Cocceius was ioyned to them as a friende to bothe. And bycause Marcellus was dead, that was husband to Octavia Caesars sister, they required that she might be made sure to Antony, whiche beyng done, all the army, cried, Happy may it bee, continuing their reioyce one whole day & a night. Then Caesar and Antonie, once agayne diuided the whole Romane Empire, and made Crodopoli, a Citie of Thracia the boundes of bothe their partes, bycause it stode in the ende of the Adriaticall sea.

That Caesar should haue al prouinces, and Ilandes westward euen to the mayne Sea.

That

That Antonie should haue the lyke Eastwarde, euen to the good Euphrates.

That Lepidus should haue Africa still, as Caesar had appointed.

That Caesar should make warre vpon Pompey, vnlesse other order were taken.

That Antonie should make warre vpon the Parthians, to reuenge the iniurie done to Crassus.

That Xenobarbus should be receyued into societie, with these conditions that he had of Antonie.

That it should be lawfull for both, to leaue men in Italie, with like numbers of legions. This peace was solemnelie ratified.

Wher vpon they sent away their friends about their affayres.

Antonie sent Ventidius into Asia, to represse the Parthians, & Pong Labienus, who by the help of the Parthians, made new commotiōs in Syria, as far as Ionia, all the which he shewed in the Parthians warre. Pompey, by his Capitayne Menodorus, repulsed Helenus Caesars Lieutenant out of Sardinia. Wherfore Caesar would not be reconciled with him. They went to Rome together, and celebrated the marriage. Where Antonie put Manius to death, bycause hee stirred Fulvia to make warre. He accused Saluidienus gouernour for Caesar, of the armie at Rhodanus, that hee would forsake hym master and cleaue to hym: whereof he wrote letters to hym to Brundis. This was not lyked of all men, declaring vnconstant dealing in too much seeking of amitie. Caesar called Saluidienus vnto him, as about a matter of charges, and to sende him againe to the army, whom when he came, he slew him with reproche, and deliuered his army to Antonie, as suspected.

In the meane time the cytie was oppressed with famine, for neither durst the Merchantes bring any corne from the East bycause of Pompeys being in Sicilie, nor from the West of Corsica & Sardinia, where Pompeys shippes also lay: nor from Africa, where the nauies of the other conspirators kepte their stations. Being in this distresse, they alleged, that the discord of the rulers was the cause, and therefore required that peace might be made with Pompey, vnto the whiche when Caesar would not agree, they thought warre was needfull for necessitie, and bycause mo-

Ar.

ney

Caesar is quiered by the talke of Cocceius.

Antony in doubt what to doe.

Antony consenteth to peace.

Messengers of reconciliation.

A marriage promised for Antony.

Crodopoli.

Menodorus dyeth Helenus out of Sardinia.

Manius is put to death by Antony, & Saluidienus accused.

Saluidienus killed of Caesar.

Famine in Rome.

Caesar vyll not agree to peace with Pompey.

A payment put  
upon the peo-  
ple.

The people re-  
sist the decree  
of Caesar and An-  
tony.

The people re-  
sist Caesar.

Who buyeth  
friendship to  
deceit shall finally  
lose it.

Caesar escapeth  
by Antonies  
means.  
Dead bodies  
cast into the ty-  
ner, and after  
spoyled.

Antonies counsell.  
The alliance of  
the marriage be-  
twene Caesar  
and his sister  
Scribonia  
Lycetia, was  
named. Aenaria  
of Aeneas, and  
now Ischia of  
strength, it was  
the inhabitation  
of the marquess  
of Pescara.

ny wiled, a decree was made by Antonies aduise, that euery mas-  
ter should pay the half of xxv. drames, for euery slave y he had,  
which was determined to haue bene done in the war of Cassim,  
that somewhat also should be payde of euery mans heritage,  
The people toze the decree with great furie, & objected the con-  
summing of treasure publike, the spoyling of p<sup>r</sup>uinces, the sac-  
king of Italie, and all for p<sup>r</sup>ivate displeasure, and yet all woulde  
not serue, but muste nowe put newe impositions vpon them that  
haue nothing left. They assembled and murmured, & compelled the  
that would not, and with thzeatnings to spoyle and burne the  
houses, gathered all the people. When Caesar with a fewe of his  
freends and garde, came to them to excuse themselves, but they  
threw stones and droue him away, which when Antonie heard,  
he came to help him. To him comming the holy way, the people  
did nothing, because he was willing to agree with Pompey, but  
prayde him to departe, which when he would not do, they threw  
stones at him. When he brought in his soldiours that were with  
out the walles, & not about him, into the citie, being diuided into  
market places and streates, wounded & set vpon the multitude  
killed the in the streates as they came. And they could not easily  
flee for y multitude, nor breake through by runnyng, so that ma-  
ny were hurte and killed, crying and yellyng from their houses.

So Antonie hadde muche ado to escape and Caesar by him was,  
euidently preserved and got away, Thus did Antonie deliuer  
Caesar from present perill. The bodies of the commons that were  
killed, were caste into the riuer to auoyde the grieue of the sight,  
which came not so to passe, for the soldiours, fished for them as  
the streame carried them, and toke from them their apparell,  
whiche grieved the beholders. Thus this euill ended with enuie  
of the Winces, and yet no remedie for the lacke of thing,  
whereat the people grutchted and suffered. Antonie wished Lib-  
bys freendes, to call him out of Sicilie, to congratulate for the al-  
liance made, and he would procure greater matter, and saue him  
harmelesse. They wrote letters to Libo, and Pompey was con-  
tent he should goe. And when he was come to the Ile called  
Istria, and now Aenaria, the people assembled again and pressed

Caesar,

Caesar, to send him letters of safecoduit to come to treat of peace,  
which he did, although against his wil. The people also compelled  
Murtia, mother to Pompey, to go vnto him, thzeatning els to burne  
hir, & help to make peace. When Libo perceyued how the enimies  
were inclined, he desired to speake with the Captaines, that they  
might together agree in the couenants, the which the people com-  
pelled the with much ado, & so Antonie & Caesar went to Baia. All  
other persuaded Pompey earnestly to peace, only Menodorus wrote  
fro Sardinia that he should make open warre, or dye off, whyles  
the dearth continued, that hee might make peace with the better  
conditions, & had him take hede of Murtia, who was a mouer for  
peace, as one that sought to be in his authoritie. Wherefore  
Pompey put away Murtia, and vsed his counsell no moze, whome  
before hee honoured for his worthinesse and wisdom: whereat  
Murtia toke displeasure and wente to Siracuse, and to suche as  
were sent after him to keepe him, spake openly agaynst Pompey,  
wherewith he beyng angrie killed diuerse of the best aboute  
Murtia, and sent to kill him, and to say that his slaues had done  
it, whiche beyng done, he hanged certayne of Murtias slaues as  
though they had done it. The whiche craft was not hid, nor the  
wickednesse that he did against Murtia, a noble man and a va-  
llant warriour, and constant to him from the beginnyng, & his  
frende in Spaine, from whence he came willingly to serue him in  
Sicilie. When he was dead, other men toke in hand to persuade  
him to peace, & accused Menodorus as desirous of his office by sea,  
not so much caring for his master, as for his owne power. Pompey  
folowynge their counsell, sayled to Aenaria, w<sup>th</sup> many chosen ships,  
himself being in a gorgeous galley with fire ozes on a scate, &  
so did passe Dicarchia proudly, towarde the euening, the enimies  
loking vpon him. The next morning stakes were set in the sea, &  
bridges made, into one of y which ioyning to the l<sup>and</sup>, Caesar came  
with Antonie. Pompey and Libo entred the other bridge, in such dis-  
tance, y one could not heare an other, vnlesse they spake aloud.  
Pompey required societie of rule, in place of Lepidus. They onely  
graunted his return to his countrie, then al was dashed. Will offe  
messages wer set betw<sup>en</sup>, offering diuerse conditions on both sides.

Ar is.

Pom- Pompey.

Baia was a Ci-  
tie not farre fro  
Naples, where  
the old Romaines  
had great de-  
light.  
Menodorus coun-  
sell.

Murtia is put  
from Pompey.

Siracuse, now  
Syracusa, a  
goodly citie of  
Sicilie.

Murtia and Py-  
thimus killed of  
Pompey.

Novv Ischia,

Dicarchia, now  
Puzzolo, Puteoli,  
an old ruined  
citie, nearer  
Naples than Baia,  
beyng three  
myles asunder  
by lande, to the  
which Caligula  
made a bridge  
by the sea, mee-  
ting of Caesar,  
Antony and  
Pompey.

Pompey required that such condemned men as were with him for *Casars* death, might be safe in exile, & that the other men of honour & proscribed, might be restored to their countrey and goods. The death continuing, & the people begging peace, it was graunted that they should recover the fourth part of their goods, as redeming it of the new possessors, and wrote of it to the condemned men, thinking they would accept it, which took the offer, being now afraid of Pompey, for his wickedness committed against

*Pompey in a rage* *Murcius*, to whom they went & moved him to agree. He took his cloke, as betrayed of them, whom he had defended, and oft called for *Menodorus*, as one expert in matters of state, and onely constant in faith. At length, by the exhortation of *Murcia* his mother, & *Julia* his wife, they three met againe, upon an old pier of the sea, being well garded, where they concluded with these conditions.

The conditions  
of peace, be-  
tweene *Anto-*  
*ny, Caesar & Pome-*  
*pey.*

That peace should be, both by sea and lande, and the Merchantes haue free course.

That Pompey should take his garrisons out of *Italie*, & receiue no more fugitiues, nor keepe no nauies in *Italie*.

That he should rule in *Cicilie*, *Corfica* and *Sardinia*; and those other Ilandes that now he had, so long as the rule should be continued to *Antonie* and *Caesar*.

That he should send to the people of *Rome*, the coine that now was due.

That he should also rule *Peloponessus*, besides the former *Ales*.

That he should exercise the office of Consul in his absence by his friends, and be admitted to the colledge of the Bishops.

That the noble men that were banished, might returne home, except them that were condemned by publique iudgement of *Casars* death.

That they that were fled for feare should be restored to their goods. And they that were condemned, only to the fourth parte.

That the slaues that had serued under Pompey, should be free.

That the free men should haue the same stipendes, that the old Soldiours of *Antonie* and *Caesar* had.

These were the conditions of peace, whiche being written were sent to *Rome*, to be kept of the holy Virgins.

Then

When they desired the one to banquet the other, and the lotte fell first to Pompey, who receiued them in his greates gally, ioyned to the pier.

Pompey banquet-  
teth *Caesar* and  
*Antony*, and  
they him.

The next day, *Caesar* and *Antony* feasted hym in their Tentes, pitched on that pier, that euery man might eate on the shore, but peradventure for their more safetie, for the Shippes were at hand, the gard in order, and the guesstes with their weapons vnder their clokes. It is sayd, that *Menodorus* when they banqueted in Pompeys Shippe, sente one to Pompey, to put him in remembrance, that now was the time to reuenge his father and brothers death; for he would see that none should scape the Shippe: and that he answered, as became him then for his person and place: *Menodorus* might haue done it without me, it agreeth with *Menodorus* to be periured false, but so may not Pompey.

*Menodorus*  
councell.

Answer of  
*Pompey*.

In that supper, Pompeys daughter, wife to *Libo*, was espoused to *Marcellus*, *Antonyes* nephew, sonne to *Caesar* sister.

The next day, the Consuls were appoynted for foure yeares, first *Antony* and *Libo*, and that *Antony* mighte make a substitute, next *Caesar* and Pompey, then *Senobarbus*, and *Sosius*, lastly *Caesar* and *Antony*, thrice Consuls, and as it was hoped, to restore to the people the gouernement of the common wealth.

Consuls ap-  
poynted.

These things being concluded, they departed, Pompey with his Shippes to *Sicilie*, and they by land to *Rome*.

At the newes of this peace, the Citie and all *Italy* made great ioy, by the which, ciuill warre, continuall musters, insolencie of garrisons, running away of slaues, wasting of Countreys, decay of tillage, and aboue all, most greates famine was taken away: therefore, sacrifices were made by the way to the Princes, as to preseruers of the Countrey. The Citie had receiued them with a godly triumph, hadde not they entred by nighte, because they would not charge the Citizens. Onely they were not partakers of the common ioy, that had the possession of the banished mens goods, who should returne by the league, and be their beneficenters.

Reloyce for  
peace.

The banished men, a fewe except that went againe with Pompey, took leaue of him at *Puzzolo*, and wente to the Citie, where

Banished men  
returne.

Fr. (ij).

a new

a new loy was made, for the returne of so many noble men. The Caesar went to pacifye France, and Antonie to make war on the Parthians. And the Senate hauing approued his actes, as wel past as to come, he sent his Captaynes abroade, & did what he would. He appoynted also certayne kings, only such as should pay a tribute. Of Pontus, Darius, Pharnaces sonne, & Mithridates nephew. Of the Idumeans & Samaritanes, Herode. Of the Pisdians, Antiochus. Of part of Cilicia Polemon, and others of other nations. He sente his army that should haue wintered about him, into Parthia, a nation of Illyria, nigh to Epidaurum, & sometime entierly loued Brutus, that he might acquaint the to gayne & exercise. Another army he set to Dardania, which is a people of Illyria also, that was wot to make rides in Macedonia. Other he commanded to abide at Epirus, & he might haue them all about him, intending to winter at Athens. He sent Fulvius into Africa, to leade vs. legions of Sextus against the Parthians, for he had not yet heard, that Lepidus had taken them from Sextus. Whose things being done, he wintered at Athens with Octavia, as he did at Alexandria with Cleopatra. Only he looked on the letters & came from his armies, and leauing the habite of a Generall, vsed the garments of a priuate man, and without a garde, wot in company of two friends, to heare the lectures & disputations of the Philosophers. His dyet was after the Grecian maner, hauing Octavia euer in his company, as one & was fond vpon woman. All winter being ended, he changed his maner & gouernement. He had his officers & Captaynes attending at his gates, and all things were done to make feare. The Embassages that were differred, were now heard, audience was giue, ships were prepared, and all full of busy. While Antonie was thus occupied, the league betwene Caesar and Pompey was broken for some secrete cause, but the open matter was this. Antonie committed Morte to Pompey upon this condition, that he should pay their debtes, or let them payde, or leaue the matter safe. He took not the prouince with this condition, but to haue the cositrey wth the debtes. Being grieved at this, of his peruerse nature (as Caesar said) or because he envied that others should haue greater armies than he, or for that he gaue too much credit to Menodorus, that said, it was no peace, but a truce, he repaired other ships, & gathered his Gallies, & made an

Antonyes actes  
allowed by the  
Senate.  
Antony maketh  
Kings.

Idumei, people  
betweene Iudea  
and Arabia.  
Samaritans, a regio  
of Palestine, be-  
tweene Iudea,  
Pamphilia,  
Parthia,  
Dardania.

Epirus, now  
Gomera, or Al-  
bania.

Antonyes be-  
haviour at  
Athens.

Change of  
Antony.

Caesar breaketh  
with Pompey.  
The pretence  
of the breach.

an oration to his army, declaring how war must needs follow, & troubled the sea by rovers, so as little commoditie came to the Cities by that accord: wherefore it was spoke openly, that peace was not made for to releue the of perils, but to adde the fourth to the number of Tyrantes encreased. Caesar took some of the Pyrates, & put the to torture, to make the confesse, & Pompey sent the. Caesar told it to the people, & signified it to Pompey by letters. Pompey excused it, & complained of the dealings touching Peloponnesus. The noble man that remained with Pompey, perceiuing him to be always ruled by the that had bin his bondman, killed some of his freemane men, either of themselves, or to please Caesar, to kindle him against Menodorus his maister. Whys they did of purpose, for the hate they bare to Menodorus. At the time, Philadelphus, a freemane man of Caesars, sayled to Menodorus for coine: & Micilio, a most sure friend to Menodorus, wot to deale with Caesar for him, promising him the rule of Sardinia and Corsica, with three legions, & many friends. This matter practised either by Philadelphus, or for displeasure of Pompey, Caesar would not at first, but at length accepted it, thinking the peace to be broken in deede, & called Antony from Athens, to Brundisus at a certayne daye for this war, and sent for the Gallies from Ravenna, and the army from Lombardy, to lye at Brundisus & Putzoli, to inuade Sicilie on both sides. If Antony would agree therunto. Antony came at his day, & not finding Caesar there, tarried not, either for he liked not of the war against the truce, or for he saw Caesar make great preparation (for both of the were ambitious of rule) or for he was feared with a token, for one of the watch of his tent was denoured of a Wolfe, as if he saw the face, as though it should be knowen who it was, whyle he was done without any crye or noise. And the Brundisians said, they saw a Wolfe runne from his pavilion by breake of day. Notwithstanding, he wrote to Caesar, not to breake the covenant made, and threatened to take Menodorus as his slave, for he was bound to Pompey great, whose goddes he had bought. Caesar sent his officers to receive the same, and Corsica of Menodorus, and fenced the coast of Ithaca with many fortresses, that it should not be so subiecte to Pompey, routing. He commanded that more Gallies should be made at Aquennia, and sent for a great army from Illyria, & Menodorus he made a freeman, and to guide the Pavie that he brought, as Viceadmirall

Quarrels against  
Pompey.

Caesar calleth  
Antony from  
Athens.

Antony cometh  
to Brundisus.  
Auspicion be-  
tweene Caesar  
and Antony.  
A token in An-  
tony's Campe.

Antony to Caesar.

Menodorus is  
claymed of  
Antony.

Menodorus re-  
doth to Caesar,  
and is made  
free.

under

Tarentum is a  
Cittie in Apulia,  
which hath a  
goodly porte  
xxvii miles  
compasse.  
An euill token  
to Caesar.

Caesar affirmeth  
the peace broke  
by Pompey.

Caesar into  
Sicilie.

Menecrates  
v. in a grate  
company keep-  
ing the sea.

Coma vras a  
goodly ancient  
Cittie, not farre  
from Paie, now  
nothing is left  
but maeuellous  
ruines.

Menecrates fight  
with Caesar  
for Captaynes.

The fight be-  
tweene Menec-  
rates and Menec-  
rates.

Under Caluissus. He continued leysurely in making preparation, and was angry with Antony, that he would not tarrie. With his Paue prepared at Rauenna, he hadde Cornificius go to Tarento. As he wente, a tempest rose, and crushed the chiefe Shippe, wherein Caesar should goe, which was thought an euill token. And whereas the people thought that warre to be made against the truce, Caesar to auoyde that suspicion, wrote to the people of Rome, and spake to the army, that Pompey had broken the league, by sending Pyrats to the Sea, which was playne by the confession of Menodorus, and the Pirats themselves. Whereof Antony was not ignorant, and therefore would not let him haue Peloponesus. While he thought himselfe well furnished, he sayled into Sicilie, from Tarent, Caluissus, Sabinus, and Menodorus, from Tuscanie, and his army came by land to Reggio, and with great hast all things were done. And Pompey did not knowe that Menodorus was fledde, till Caesar was come, and sayled againste both the Paues. Himselfe tarried at Messina, and sent Menecrates against Caluissus, and Menodorus, that was a greatesse enimie of his, being of his condition. He came in sight of the enimie in the euening. They withdrew to the gulfe of Coma, and there rested that night. Menecrates went to Bonaria. In the morning, Caluissus Paue coasted the shore of Coma in the forme of a Crescent, to keepe off the enimie. Menecrates came forth, and made speede againste the enimie, whom, because he could not draw into the deepe, he set vpon them as they were, and kept the at the shore, where they defended themselves. He might take the sea when he would, and come againe more swiftly, and charge his Shippes at his pleasure, but they coulde not stirre, but keepe them from their anchorages on the one side, and from the other on the other side. When Menecrates sawe that he coulde not take the sea, he sent to Caluissus, and desired him to take the sea, and charge his Shippes at his pleasure, but they coulde not stirre, but keepe them from their anchorages on the one side, and from the other on the other side. When Menecrates sawe that he coulde not take the sea, he sent to Caluissus, and desired him to take the sea, and charge his Shippes at his pleasure, but they coulde not stirre, but keepe them from their anchorages on the one side, and from the other on the other side.

fought with no lesse courage and footing, than as if they had bin on the land. They shotte, they darted, and theye stones, and dyd cast bridges, to passe from one to another. And bycause Menodorus Shippe was higher than the other, they dyd the more harme, with lesse payne. Many were killed and hurte. Menodorus was stricken through the arme with a dart, the which was streight pulled out. But Menecrates was hurt in the thigh with a forked Spanish arrowe, which could not be pulled out. And not being able any longer to fyght, he exhorted his company, and leapt into the Sea, and then Menodorus toke his Shippe, and drew it to land, for he could fight no longer. This was the fight on the lesse side of the Paue. On the right, Caluissus chased certaine Shippes of Menecrates. Demochares a freemane man of Pompeys also, & vicere mirall to Menecrates, entred vpon the other Shippes of Caluissus, whereof he drew some to shore, and some he made to flee, & some he set on fire. When Caluissus came from the chase, and sawe his Paue scattered and fired, he stayde the one, and quenched the other, and bycause it was night, both they withdrew to their former harborough. This was the end of the first fight by sea, wherein Pompey had the better. Demochares grieuouly taking the death of Menecrates, as a very greatesse losse, (for Pompey ever vled Menecrates and Menodorus service by sea) leauing al other thyngs, as though not Menecrates body, and one Shippe hadde bin lost, but the whole Paue went streight from the shoyle to Sicilie. Caluissus lay still as long as he thought Demochares would come against him, but when he saw him gone, he refreshed his Shipps, and kepte alongst the shore. On the other side, Caesar with a great Paue from Tarento, and his army from Reggio, mette with Pompey at Messina with fortie Shippes only. His friendes exhorted him to take the occasion of the few Shippes that Pompey had, and to sette vpon him before the rest of his Paue came, but Caesar would not, till he was toynd with Caluissus, affirming it to be a folly to hazard without helpe. When Demochares was come to Messina, Pompey made him and Apollonides his freemane man also, chiefe of the Paue, in stead of Menecrates, and Menodorus. When Caesar heard of the losse that Caluissus had, he crossed the sea to meete with Caluissus.

Fight by Sea.

Menodorus hurt.

Menecrates  
drownded.

Demochares.

Caluissus shippes  
distressed.

Caesars and Pom-  
peys shewe at  
Messina.

Caesar refuseth  
the fight.

New Admi-  
rals of Pompeys  
Naue.

*Scylla* is one of the notable rockes of the narrow Sea of Sicilie, so named (as they say) of *Scylla*, the daughter of *Phereas*. *Charybdis*, now *Gulfareo*, is another rocke ouer against, named also as they write, of a greedy woman of that name. *Sylla*, in the coast of Sicilie vnder the hill *Seggio*, in the continent of Italy. *Caesar* refuseth the fight by Sea. *Caesar's* Naue hurt. *Caesar* leapeth a shore. *Cornificius*. *V. V.* ant in *Caesar's* host.

A good lucke  
to *Caesar*.

*Caesar* in dis-  
tresse.

*nissus*, and as he passed betwene *Sylla* and *Sylla*, *Pompey* set vpon *Caesar's* taile of his flauie, and prouoked *Caesar* by all meanes, but *Caesar* refused it, either because he would not fight in the streights, or because he would first find *Calpurnius*. He commanded all to draw nigh the shore, & to lie at anchor, & to stand to defence, if any did set vpon the. But *Demochares* coming in, & setting two of his ships vpon one of the other, so drew the together & vpon the rockes, as many were crushed & perished cowardly. And the like lucke was here, as was at the fight of *Cuma*. *Caesar* leapt out of his ship into the shore, and help to saue the that swamme for their liues, but *Cornificius* & other Captaines without commandement, hopped anchor, & took the sea, thinking it better to be overcome fighting, than to perish foolishly. And *Cornificius* with great boldnes took the Admirall that *Demochares* was in, who leapt into another. The fight continuing with great losse, *Menodorus* & *Calpurnius* were scene coming, not of *Caesar's* company, who trauelled for their liues, but of *Pompey's* people only, who therfore retired. It was nere night, & they would not match with the freemen, they being weary, the which chanced well for the other that were in danger. In the night, many forsooke their ships, and went to the mountaines, and made many tokens of fire to the that were in the sea, & were all that night without meate, & without rest, wanting all things. *Caesar* being in like case, went about, & praide the to hold out til the morning. It was not yet knowen that *Calpurnius* was come, neither was there any help from the ships, all being in danger of drowning, but by another good lucke, the right legion drew nigh by the mountaines, whiche hearing of the losse, resorted to the fires by the rocky places, & found their Generall, & the that were with him weary, & wanting all things: then one did help another. And they brought *Caesar* into an old house, without any of his chamber, being dispersed in that nightes tumult. While he had sente aboute to shew that he was safe, he vnderstode that *Calpurnius* was come, & so being recomforted by two ioyful newes, he took rest. At brake of day he looked out, & saw his ships, some burned, some halfe burned, and some floating, and some broken. *Calpurnius* being come, he caused as much help, and repaire to be made as could be, and the rather, because the enimie was gone: but he

hold, a vehement Southwind blew, and made a rough sea, so as *Caesar's* ships were againe crushed on the cliffes & rockes, and one against another. *Pompey* was in the port of *Messana*. *Menodorus* fearing the violence of the storme, went further into the sea, and many followed his example. The other, thinking the storme would cease, as is wont in Spring time, kept still about the shore, sauing themselves with labour: but the wind waxing greater, all went to wracke, Cabels burst, & ships brake. The electric was so great, that no good aduice could be heard, no difference betwene maister & mariner, no skill nor rule preuailed, all was alike, and so they perished. The ships were split, the men were drenched, & they that could swimme, were broken at the rockes: and when the flood of that sea came, whiche is wont to be great, the ships were with new rage tossed hither and thither, beating one another, and the wind continuing toward night, made the feare the losse to be in the darkenesse, and not in the light. Great lamentation was made, and calling one to another for help, but all in vayne. They that were cast into the sea cryed for help of the in the ships. They that looked for help of the on the land, were crushed at the cliffes. So present death was in euery place, and so great darkenesse, as neyther heauen nor earth could be scene, and so euery one looked for death, whiche was more greuous, than death it selfe. Suddenly the winde ceased, and the sunne appeared, the storme hauing bin so great, as the men of that countrey affirmed they had neuer scene the like, the which destroyed the most part of *Caesar's* ships and souldiours, who being afflicted with these new calamities, went to *Vibo* by land with impatient minde. He sente for the Captaines from euery place, that no mutinies might be made, nor trayne layde for him. He appoynted his army by land, to keepe the coast of *Italie*, that *Pompey* being encouraged by this victory, should not invade, who neyther attempted any thing by lande, nor made an ende of them by sea, but suffered them to gather together as they could, and with prosperous wind to gette to *Vibo*, either because he thought the afflicted enough, or could not see the victory, or (as I sayd before) slowe to invade, contente to defend. Of *Caesar's* flauie, scarcely the halfe was left, and that

Tempest vpon  
*Caesar's* shippes.

The trouble in  
*Caesar's* Naue.

The looking  
for death  
greuous.  
A vehement  
storme.

*Caesar* againe  
afflicted.  
*Vibo*.

The great  
negligence of  
*Pompey*.

foze bzusede, leauing some to ouersée them, with sozowfull mind he went into *Campania*, for neyther had he any other Shippes, hauing neede of manye, nor time to make them, the dearth beeing great, and the people crying for peace, and blaming that warre, that was made against promise. *Peede* also he hadde of money, whereof was great want, the people of *Rome* not to be moued to any payments. But *Octauius Caesar*, subtil for his owne commoditie, sent *Mecenas* to *Antony* with instructions to call him to societie of warre, which if he refused, he would transport his legions into *Sicilie*, and trie y<sup>e</sup> matter by lād. Being in these cares, it was knowen that *Antony* would ioyne with him in warre, and that *Agrippa* had a victorie against the French *Aquitanes*. His friends also & some Cities promised him ships. So he leauing his sadness, prepared a greater *paue*. At y<sup>e</sup> beginning of the Spring, *Antonie* came fro *Athens* to *Tarentum*, with iij. C. ships, to ioyne with *Caesar* in warre according to his promise. He changing his purpose, tarried til his *paue* was furnished, and when he was told that *Antonyes* *paue* was sufficiente, he allaged he had other lettes, y<sup>e</sup> it might appeare he had more quarrell against *Antony*, or despised his help, trusting in his owne. *Antony* taking it grieuoussly, remained yet still, and required him once againe, for hauing much adoe, to prepare money for the *Parthian* war, & neede of *Italian* souldiours, he would haue charged ships for mē, although by composition both of them might take vp mē in *Italy*, but it was y<sup>e</sup> harder for him to do, bycause *Italy* was another māns prouince. Wherefore *Octauia* went to hir brother, to moue him thereunto. He said, *Antony* had forsaken him, whereby he was like to haue bin lost in y<sup>e</sup> sea of *Sicilie*. She answered, that matter was satisfied by *Asicenas*. Then he saide, *Antony* had sent *Callias* his late slaue, to confederate with *Lepidus* against him. She sayd, he went to treate of mariage. For *Antony*, before he should go to the *Parthians* warre, desired to bestow his daughter vpo *Lepidus* some, as he had promised. When *Octauia* had affirmed this, *Antony* sente *Callias* to *Caesar* to trie y<sup>e</sup> truth by torture, which he refused, & sente word to *Antony* to meete him, betwēne *Metapontus* and *Tarentum*. *Antony* when he saw *Caesar* lept into a boate alone, signifying y<sup>e</sup> he trusted him, *Caesar* seing y<sup>e</sup> did the like, & either of thē made hast to

Caesars yvant.

Caesars continu-  
ance in warre.Aquitania is  
that they call  
Gingeta.Antony com-  
meth into Italy.Caesar contem-  
neth Antony.Antony desir-  
ous of Italian  
Souldiours.Octauia to hir  
brother.Octauia and  
Antony  
quarrells.Metapontus was  
a faire Citie,  
now vtterly  
destroyed.  
Caesar and Ant-  
ony meete.

get ground on y<sup>e</sup> contrary side, but *Caesar* was the quicker, & arrived on *Antonyes* side, and wente in charriot with *Antonie* to hys sister *Octauia*, and lodged together without garde. The nexte day *Antonie* did the lyke by him. Thus they were sone at debate for suspition, & sone agreed for necessitie. *Caesar* deferred the warre against *Pompey*, till the next yeare. *Antonie* could tarry no longer there for the *Parthians* warre, so they made an exchange. *Antonie* gaue *Caesar* a hundreth and twenty shippes, for the whiche, *Caesar* promysed him twenty thousande legions *Soldiours* *Italians*. *Octauia* presented hir brother with ten shippes, that bothe serued for burden, and oyes. *Caesar* gaue *Octauia*, one thousande choyse men for his garde, as *Antonie* would take. And bycause y<sup>e</sup> time of thre mens authoritie was expired by decree of Senate, they continued it for fve yeare more, of their owne authoritie, neither loking for consent of Senate, nor confirmation of people, and so departed. *Antonie* making haste into *Syria*, leauyng *Octauia* with hir brother and hys sonne, *Menodorus*, being a tray-  
tour by nature, or fearing the threates of *Antonie*, that sayde he was his slaue, or not finding such rewarde as he looked for, or being moued with the daylie rebukes of his olde felowes *Pompeys* late bonde men, and after *Menecrates* death exhorting hym to returne as vnfaithfull to hys Master, hauing assurance he fledde to *Pompey* with seuen shippes. Whiche *Calpurnius* the admirall did not perceyue, wherefore *Caesar* put him from his office, and placed *Agrippa*. When his nauie was finished, he did purge it, after this sorte. Alters stande at the sea side touched with the water. They with their shippes stande aboute with greate silence. The priestes in boates in the sea make the sacrifices and carie their purgations thrice about the nauie, the Capitaynes goyng with them, wishyng and prayng that all vnfortunate and vn-  
saythfull things might be remoued from it. The bowels of the sacrifices beeing diuided, they threowe parte in the sea, and parte they burne on the Alters, the people wishyng all good lucke. It was determined that *Caesar* should inuade from *Pureiol*. *Lepidus* from *Africa*, and *Taurus* from *Tarentum*, and so besette *Sicilie*, East, West, and South. And a day appointed, whiche was the tenth

Exchange of  
fortresse.Continuance  
of three mens  
authoritie.Menodorus fle-  
eth from Caesar.Calpurnius, displa-  
ced and Agrippa  
placed.Purging of the  
nauie.The maner of  
inuating Sicilie.

Py. iij.

after

Quintilis.

Quintilis is one of the three el-boones called Quintonies of Rome, looking towarde Africa and a Citie of that name. The day of the year, other vnto, to be vnto.

Cesar sacrificed to the Sea.

Lepidus.  
Taurus.

Appius.  
The point of Minerva.

The porte of Velino.

The losse of Casars Shippes.

after the longest day of the yeare, which the *Romanes* call *Calendes*, in the honour of old *Cesar*, called *Iulie*, whiche before was named *Quintilis*. This day *Cesar* appointed, because of the honour of his father, whose felicitie was perpetuall. *Pompey* placed *Plennim* at *Lilibeo*, against *Lepidus*, with one legion, and muche shotte. The East and West parte of *Sicilie*, he layde with garrisons chiefly the Isles, of *Lipara* and *Cissyra*, least *Lepidus* should get the one, and *Cesar* the other, and be continuall annoyance to *Sicilie*. He kepte the strength of his nauie at *Messina*, to be ready at all euents. After the day was come, they all tooke shippe in the mornynge. *Lepidus* came out of *Africa*, with a thousande shippes of burden, lxx. Gallies, and xij. legions, fife thousande *Numidian* horse, and other prouision. *Taurus* from *Tarent*, of *Antonies*, a hundred and thirtie shippes, brought onely a hundzeth and two shippes, the other were disurnished by the pestilence that was the winter past. *Cesar* departed from *Putzolo*, hauing first sacrificed to *Neptune*, and the calme sea, to fauour him against the killers of his father. Certen scoutes went afoze, to espie the coast. *Appius* ledde the reregarde, with a multitude of shippes. The thirde day after they were entred, a South winde arose and drowned many of *Lepidus* shippes, yet he gotte to *Sicilie*, and besieged *Plennim* in *Lilibeo*, and tooke many towncs of that coaste. *Taurus* when the winde turned, returned to *Tarent*. *Appius* saylyng by the poynt of *Minerva*, had shippewracke by tempest, parte were losse vpon the rockes, parte in the shalowes, and parte crushed one with an other. *Cesar* so sone as the tempest rose, wente to the porte of *Velino* safe, except one Galley of fire ozes on a side. After the South winde folowed a Southwest winde, whiche so stirred that porte, that the shippes could not go forth opening to the West, nor be stayed with anchor, but were broken against the rockes, or crushed of themselves, which euill was augmented by the comming on of the night. When it was calme, *Cesar* buried the dead, healed the hurte, clothed the swimmers, and amended the losse as well as he colde. He lost fife great shippes, and xlvj. of the lesse sorte, & very many of the small vessels. To amend this want, xxx. dayes were required, & now summer went away.

away. Therefore it was thought best to deferre the warre til the next Summer. But because the people was oppressed with penurie he repayed his nauies as wel as he coulde, & got of his friends some helpe, whiche he sente to supply *Taurus* number. After this losse, *Macenas* was sent to *Rome*, to appease them that yet had remembrance of *Pompey*, by the way himselfe wente into *Italie*, & had the new landed men be of good cheere, and with great speede came to *Tarent*, to view *Taurus* nauie, from thence he went to *Vibo*, & cheered the legions, and trimmed the shippes, to inuade *Sicilie* shortly againe. *Pompey*, took none aduantage of this occasion, only he made sacrifices to *Neptune*, and to *Salatia*, whose sonne, now forsooth, he would needs be called, thinking certainly, that God fauoured him so much, as he would giue him victorie still. And was so inflamed with this successe, as he chaunged his purple robe, into an azure, as adopted of *Neptune*. He thought *Cesar* would not haue stirred, but when he heard he returned againe, he was stricken downe, because he sawe he had to do with an inuincible minde. Yet he sent *Menodorus* with vij. shippes whiche he brought to espie his doings. He disoayning that he had not his old authoritie, & perceiuing he was had in suspition, because he had no more shippes than he brought, determined to flee againe. And thinking that it would turne to his good, if he shewed any feate worthy prayse, he gaue all his money to his companions, & with great hast came vpon *Casars* nauie, with such a violence, as he tooke the ships & lay for the garde of the nauie, sometime two at once, sometime three, & the ships of burden he drowned, burned, & led away, & made great affray in the coast, *Cesar* & *Agrippa* being absent, who was gone to prepare matter for the navy. When he fel to floating of his enemies, he droue his shippe into a soft place, & pretended he had bin a ground, which they thought to haue bene true, and ranne to catche him, as a comon pray: whiche when he perceyued, he went away & laughed: whereat *Casars* souldiours were much agrieved. When he had shewed what seruice he coulde do, he deliuered *Rebilus* a Senator whom he had taken, making his way so. When he sayned that *Vinidius* a familiar of *Casars* would flee away to him, and sayling nigh the enemy, he desired to speake with *Vinidius*, of matters that concerned them both.

*Macenas* goeth to *Rome*.

*Cesar* goeth to cheere the souldiours of *Italie*.

*Pompey* loseth occasion. He is pulled vpon vainely.

*Salatia* is the sea, here put for the Goddess of the sea.

*Menodorus* maketh a newe stirre on *Casars* navy.

*Menodorus* illudeth his enemies.

*Menodorus* deliuereth *Rebilus* a Senator.

He maketh his denise by *Vinidius*.

Whiche

Which when it was graunted, and they meeting alone, he tolde him, that his sleepe agayne to Pompey was for despightes that Calpurnius had done him. But nowe that Agrippa was the Admirall, he woulde returne agayne to Casars service, so Vinidius woulde bying him assurance from Messala, that was Agrippas Lieutenant, promysing to recompence his faulte with singular service: but tyll he had his assurance, he sayde, he woulde molest them as he had done, to auoyde suspition, and so dyd. Messala doubted at the firste, as of a matter not honest, but at length he graunted it, eyther for the necessitie of time, or for that he knewe Casar woulde be content. Thus once agayne he fled, and when he came to Casar, he kneeled to him and asked pardon, before he shewed the cause of his former faulte. Casar bycause of promise was content to pardon him, and appoynted keepers to him, and gaue leane to the Capitaynes of his Galleys to go whither they woulde. Then Casar toke his journey agayne, commaundyng Messala to take two legions and to yne with Lepidus, and go to the haven that is next Taurominio. He sente thre others to Sicily in the furdest parte of the Sea to abyde occasion. He commaunded Taurus to goe to mount Silatio, that is a mountaine against Taurominio. Whiche he did, beyng both fitte for the fight, and for the passages. The army by land followed, & was scouted with light horsemen: the nauy, with Brigandines and Foyttes. Casar came from Vibone and praysed the order, and returned to Vibone. Pompey placed garrisons on the coast of Sicily, and kept his nauie at Messina, to helpe when neede were. To Lepidus came out of Africa the other foure legions, with whom, Papias a Capitayne of Pompeis met, and by a pretence of friendship, destroyed them. For they thought he had bene sente of Lepidus to conduct them and gaue place. Two of y legions perished in the sea, if any escaped by swimming, Tisienus killed them on lande. Casar, sayled from Vibone, into Strongyle, one of the Aeolian Ilands, sending foyttes to espie the coast, and perceyuing many shippes aboute Pelorus, Milis, and Tyndaride, he thought Pompey had bene there. Therefore he left Agrippa his Lieutenant, and went agayne to Libon. From thence he wente agathe to Taurus campe with Messala and thre legions,

Sicily.

Menelaus re-  
uolteeth once a-  
gayne.Taurominio a  
towne of Sicily.  
Taurominio was  
builded of the  
Cafidians, and af-  
ter a Colone of  
Rome hauyng the  
name of the bull  
of Minos vylich  
they beare in  
their armes.  
Sicily.  
Seylucco, is  
nowe called  
Capo di Squila  
lacci a daunge-  
rous place.Vibone or Hippos-  
nea, a cite vwith  
a gulfe, now cal-  
led S. Eufonia in  
Calabria.Papias,  
Lepidus shippes  
destroyed.Tisienus.  
Strongyle, nowve  
Shombole, not far  
fro Sicily.Pelorus, a poynt  
of Sicily, ouer a-  
gaynst Scylla.Mylis, nowve My-  
lazzo.Tyndaride is not  
far from Myle.

legions, minding to take Taurominio in Pompeis absence, and in-  
uade him in two places at once. Agrippa passed from Strongyle to  
Hiera, and toke it. The next day he went to Myla, to inatch with  
Democharus, who had xl. shippes. Pompeius, doubting of Agrippas  
purposes, sent other xl. shippes, to Democharus, vnder the leading  
of Apollonhanes his late bondman, he following with lxx. more.  
Before day Agrippa set forth with halfe his nauie to fight with  
Papia alone, but when he saw Apollonhanes nauie, and the rest of  
Pompeis shippes, he signified to Casar, that Pompey was at Myla  
with the greater parte of his nauie. He kept the battel with his  
great shippes, commaunding al the reste, to keepe course to Hiera,  
the preparation was great on bothe sides, and the shippes had  
turrets both at sterne and pompe. When the exhortation was  
giuen, they beganne the fight, Casars vpon the face, the others  
vpon the sides fetching compasses. Pompeis shippes were lighte  
and litle, apte to turne and returne aboute the enimies. Casars,  
were great & heauie, and therefore the slower, but of more force  
both to offende and defende. In them, the soldiours were more  
manly: in the other, the mariners, they gotte aduantage by com-  
passing aboute, & breaking the sternes & sides of the enimie, and  
with a violence sometime gaue as great a blow as they toke. On  
the contrary side, Casars ships, with their sternes, easily put backe  
these other being litle, and either crushed, or pearced them, and  
when they fought at hande, they combed them with shotte, and  
with hookes, helde them harde, and then woulde they leape in-  
to the sea, and were takē vp againe of the litle botes that way-  
ted on the shippes. Agrippa gaue an onset vpon Papia his shippe  
with such force as he liste it. They that fought in the toppe fell  
downe, the water entred, the lower sorte were drowned, and the  
other escaped by swimming. Papia, beyng receyued into an o-  
ther shippe, fought agayne. Pompey standyng vpon an hyll, and  
perceyuing that his shippes were too weake and weary, and A-  
grippa continually refreshed with the reerwarde, commaunded  
them to retire in order, whiche they did in a shewe of fight. But  
when Agrippa folowed, they fledde, not to the rockes, but to the  
laste wy, that was brought in by the floudes. Agrippa being  
advertised.

Hiera, nowve Sut-  
da, an Ile be-  
twene Sicily &  
Liparis.  
Pompeis nauy.Agrippa goeth  
to the fight.The fight by  
sea.  
The difference  
of the Shippes.The difference  
of the men.Agrippa drineth  
Papia from his  
Shippe.Papia fighteth  
agayne.Pompeis Shippes  
retire.

advertised, by his Masters, not to adventure in those shalowes, but cast anchor abroad, as though he would give a new charge if neede were, in the night. But being admonished not to follow anger more than reason, and not overlabour the weary soldier with watching, nor trust too much the caulmenesse of the Sea, he hardely departed. Pompey's men got to their postes when they had losse thirtie shippes, of the enimies, five were drowned, and many hurt. Pompey praised them for so manly resistyng the greateshippes, whiche hee sayde seemed to him, not a fight by sea, but an assaulte of a wall, and rewarded them as victours, puttynge them in hope, that, in that narrow Sea, their shippes woulde ever be the better, and that they might so be, hee woulde adde somewhat to theyr height. This was the ende of the fight by sea at Myla, betwene Agrippa and Papia.

Cesar in the meane season sayled from Sylaris to Leucopatra, being certified that Pompey was gone from Messina to Myla, because of Agrippa: and when he was determined to have passed from Leucopatra to Tauromeno, by night, after he had heard of the late fight, he changed his purpose, & thought it more for his honour to passe by day. For he beleued that Pompey woulde not long tarry nigh Agrippa. And when day was come, he looked from the mountaines and could haue no sight of his enimie: he filled his navy with as many as might be, committing the rest to Messala, till the ships should returne for him. Approching to Tauromeno, he summoned them to render. But they denyng it, he passed & found Onobala, & the temple of Venus to Archegeta, making his prayers, to overcome his enimies. Archegeta is a little image of Apollo, which the Naxians that were sent to inhabite Sicilie, did first erecte. Going here out of his ship, he had a fall, but he rose agayne, and stayed: Pompey came in sight with a great naue, wherat every man marvelled, for they thought he had bene overcome of Agrippa. His horsemen ranged the shore to be even with his navy, & his footmen were sene on every side. The campe of Cesar was astrayde, & himselfe dismayde, because he could not sende for Messala. Who horsemen set upon the enimie as they were planting their campe. And if an onset had bene given by sea also, it had bene like that

Pompey

Pompey had done a great feat: but for lacke of knowledge of warre, and not understanding in what sort the enimie was, and doubting to begin the fight so late, they went to harborough at Coccineo, and the footmen to Phenice, to haue some distance from their enimie. That night was quiet, and Cesar's men had leysure to finish their trench, but for labour and watche, they were unfitte to fight. Cesar had thre legions, fiftie hundred gentlemen without horse, one thousand light harness, two thousand bowmen, & his soldiours for the sea. Deliuering his footmen to Cornificio, to resist the enimie as much as he could by land, he before day took the sea, before he should be shut from thence. As the right battaile he appointed Titinius, to the left, Carcius. And Bigantine he went aboute the naue, and exhorted them, what thing done, he put of his robe off honour, as he was wont to doe in extreme perils. Pompey twice gaue him the onset that day, & the night ended, the fight, in which diuerse of Cesar's ships were taken & diuerse burned, & diuerse fled to Sicilie for all that he coulde doe, which were chased of Pompey: & such as swam to the lande, were dispatched of the horsemen or taken: some got to Cornificio's campe, whome he receyued, sending onely light horse to conuoy them, for he thought it not good to stirre his legions, being out of harte, & the enemy so nigh, in triumph of that victorie. Cesar passed that night among his naues, vnccerten what to do, whether to sende for Cornificio amidst the wreckes of the sea, or to see to Messala: & then by chance, departing with one onely page, with out seruants, soldiours, or families, he came to the port of Abala, where some founde him out, in great feare and desperation, alldyring him from shippe to shippe, they brought him at last to Messala, which was not far off, where before he took rest. He sent a Bigantine to Cornificio and to all the shore, to signifie that he was alive, and promised he would shortly help them. When he had a litle rested, he wente by night to Styllida, from whence Messala caried him to Carimate, who was ready to saile with thre legions, whome hee willed to go to Lipari, and hee woulde follow streight. He wrote also to Agrippa, to deliuer Cornificio from danger so soone as he coulde, and sent Laberio to help with speade,

Z.ij.

He

Pompey hath the losse by sea.

Pompey prayseth his Souldiours.

Leucopatra, an hill in the sea nigh Reggio, now Capo de Iarome, or Spartaco monts di Calabria.

Cesar came forth agayne.

Onobala.

Archegeta. Naxians, of Naxos an Ile in Aeglio, now Niesu. Cesar falleth.

Cesar in feare.

Pompey loseth for lacke of experience.

Coccineo, a point nigh a lake.

Cesar ordereth his battaile.

Cesar leaueeth the robe of a general.

Pompey galleth.

Cesar in doubt departeth with one page.

Abala. Cesar in desperation is brought to Messala.

Cesar signifieth that he is well.

Cesar goeth to Styllida.

Lipari be the I. landes nexte Sicillie, seven hundred.

He sente *Macenas* agayne to the citie, because some went aboute newe troubles which were punished openly. He sente *Messala* to *Pharolo* to bying the firste legion. This *Messala* was condemned at *Rome* of the thre meime, and rewarde was promised to them that would kill him. When he fledde to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and after their death, he gaue himselfe and hys nauie, to *Antonie*. This I thought good to remember, as an example of the *Romane* vertue: that where *Messala* had hym that condemned him in hys power, cast into utter desolation, he restored him to his state and pserued hym. *Cornificius*, although he might easily haue kept the enimie from the campe: yet because he wanted victuall, he prouoked them to battayle. *Pompey* thought not good to fighte with them that were desperate, hoppyng to subdue them by famine. *Cornificius* marched receyuing into his batayle the vnarmed that escaped the sea: beyng greatly annoyed w<sup>th</sup> the horsmen in the plaine, which were most part *Affricanes* and *Phozes*. The fourth day he came to a dry place called *¶* parchyng plotte of the fire, burned & dreyed euen to the Sea, the which the inhabitantes dare not go to, but in the night, so great is the heate. *Cornificius* durst neyther passe that way in the night, because the *Phone* did not shewe, nor they skilfull of the way, nor coulde not abide by day, the heate was so intollerable. Thirst could not be aswaged: nor they go but fast, because the horsmen so solowed them. And being come to the issue, they sawe naked men, who ranne vpon them, and clasyng with them, put them in daunger of choking, with *¶* which being yet troubled, the soldours were in desperat<sup>ion</sup>. But *Cornificius* comforted them, & tolde the there was a well at hand, & so they put backe those rude people till they came to the well, which they found possessed with other enimies of like sort. When they were utterly out of hope. For they saw an army coming, and could not tell whether it was frend or foe, but it was *Laronius*, whom when they that kept the well saw, they fled, fearing to be interclosed. Whereat the weary soldours made great loy with shoutes & cryes, which *Laronius* answered. They ranne on heapes to the wel. Their Captaynes forbidding the to drinke too hastily, they that would not folow that counsel, died presently.

Messala.

Romane vertue.

The drye place.

Daunger of  
Cornificius.Naked citizens  
vpon the armed  
Romans.The Romans  
griuously trou-  
bled.

Laronius.

Soldours peri-  
shed vwith hasty  
drinking.

Thus beyonde all hope, *Cornificius* broughte his army safe to *Myla* to *Agrippa*, who had taken *Tyndarida*, furnished wyth all things necessary, and fitte for the warre by Sea, whither *Cesar* sent both footemen and Horse. He had in *sicilie* one and twenty Legions, twenty thousande horsmen, and aboute fife thousande light Horse. *Pompey* held yet with garrisons, *Myla*, *Naxos*, and *Peloro*, and all the Sea coast, who being afrayde of *Agrippa*, kept continuall fyres to be against the Ships. He kept the mouthes of *Tauraminio* and *Myla*, and shutte the pathes of Mountaynes with walles. He also molested *Cesar* beynd *Tyndarida*, who would not yet fight, and supposing that *Agrippa* would arriue, he went with spede to *Peloro*, leauing the freights of *Myla*, whiche *Cesar* forthwith did take, with a little towne called *Diano*, notable by the tale of the goodly Oxen, which were taken away when *Flys* sei Sept. When the noyce of *Agrippa* his comming was ceased, and that *Pompey* heard the freights of *Myla* were possessed, he called for *Tiseno* with his army. *Cesar* going to encounter wyth him, missed his way in the night in the hill of *Myconio*, where he lay without a tent. And whereas the rayne was very greate, as is wont in Autumne, he stode all night vnder a French target, the Souldoyours holding it ouer him. The horrible and fearefull sounds of the hill *Mongibello* were heard, and the flashing of fire was scene, and *¶* saoure of *¶* brimstone was felt, in so much as the *Germanes* leapt out for feare, and thought it no tale that they had heard of that hyll. After this, he wasted the Countrey of *Palesteno*, where he mette with *Lepidus*, taking by coyne, and they both layde seige to *Messana*. Many skirmishes there were, but no great battell. When *Cesar* sente *Taurus*, to keepe victuall from *Pompey*, and take the Cities that remained for hym, by the which difficultie, being dyuen to his tryal, he determined to aduenture all at one fight. And because he thoughte himselfe too weake by land, he sent his Herald to require the fighte by Sea. And albeit *Cesar* had no good will to match by sea, hauing hitherto had euill lucke: yet thinking it dishonorable to refuse him, he appoynted a day to the fighte, with thre hundred shippes on a side, furnished with all weapons and defence that they coulde deuise. *Agrippa*

*Agrippa* taketh  
*Tyndarida*, vvhich  
che vvas a Citie  
named of *Tinda-*  
*rus* father of  
*Leda*.

*Peloro* is one of  
the four hills of  
*Sicilie* toward  
*Italy*.

*Myla* is a floud  
and a Citie  
both, vwith a  
Port, now cal-  
led *Melazzo*.

*Diano* is a Citie  
also in *Spayne*.  
They vvere  
the Oxen of  
*Phaetusa*, vvhich  
she and hir two  
sisters kept.

*Myconio*.  
*Cesar* in perill  
again.

The hill *Aetna*,  
now *Mangibello*,  
so, that spouteth  
fire.

*Germanes* afrayd  
of the noyce of  
*Aetna*.

*Palesteno*.  
*Messana* besec-  
ged.

*Pompey* desireth  
to trie all by a  
fight of euall  
number of  
Shippes.

Grapple, the  
invention of  
Agrippa.

The floute and  
bit fight by Sea.

The profite of  
the grapple.

Like nesse of  
ramon maketh  
confusion.

invented a grapple, that is, a rafter of five cubites long, layd over with yron, having a cricle or ring in eyther ende, and in the one, a crooked hooke of yron, and in the other, many ropes, which drew the hooke by gynnies, when it was cast with a sling agaynst the enemies Shyppes. When the day was come, the first onlet was of the small vessels, not withoute eseries, throwing dartes and stones, and shotte fyred, as well by hand as by engine. The ships rushed one against another, some on the sides, some on the sterne, and other on the Poupe, thereby the Souldyours were shaken, and the vessels broken. Some used their shotte and dartes a farre off, and there were little boates to take up all that fell in the water. The Souldyours and the Murriners contended who should do best. The exhorting of the Captaynes did good, and the engines did help, most of all the grapple, whiche reached the small Shypps a farre off for the lightnesse, and held them fast, drawing them by the ropes: neyther coude it be cutte off, bycause it was couered with yron, nor the ropes be touched, bycause of theyr length. Neyther was this engine knowen, that they might have armed their weapons with yron. They rolled on the suddaine, thrusting their Ships on the sterne, to get aloofe. When the enemies did so, then was the force of me equal, but when the grapple came, it was a thing by it selfe. The Ships fought ioyned together, and leaping out of one into another, and scarcely coude the one be knowne from the other. Their armour and weapons was alike, their shape was all one. Their priuie token was understood to both, which was cause of muche decept, and after, of confusion, for they distrusted their owne, for feare to be deceived, and so did not know what they might do. In the meane time the hurt was great, the sea was full, as well of men, as of armour, and ruines of the broken and crushed vessels. For after they came to fyghte at hande, they threw no more fire.

Both the armyes of footemen stode bypon the shore, wyth doubtfull mynde whyther the victoery woulde encline, for in a multitude of fyre hundred Shyppes, they coude not diserne, howyng all alyke, excepte it were the couloure of theyr toppes, wherein they onely differed, and onely they coniectured by the

markes they hadde, and by the noyses and voyces, howe the matter went. But when Agrippa vnderstode that Pompey had the worse, he exhorted his Souldyours to stande to it, that they myght obteyne the victoery, whiche was in theyr handes, and so they dyd, wyth suche furie and violence, as the enimie fledde, and ranne themselves a ground, where they were eyther taken or burned, whiche when they that kepte the Sea, dyd see, they yielded.

When the flauie of Caesar sang the song of victoery, the whiche the footemen on the shore answered with no lesse gladnesse.

Agrippa getteth  
the victory.

Reioyce of vic-  
tory by Casars  
men.

Pompey perceyuing the ouerthrowe, fledde to Messina, not remembryng his forces of footemen, the whiche by and by yielded to Caesar, and shortly after the Horsemenne did the lyke. The whiche when Pompey hearde, he commaunded to put all things into the seadientene Shyppes that were lefte, and leauing the habite of a Generall, woulde flee to Antony, whose mother he hadde saued in lyke daunger. And that he myght be the better welcome, he sente to Plennius to bring the eyght legions that he had at Lelisea, whiche he woulde leade wyth hym. But when he perceyued that his friends and Souldyours did continually yelde to Caesar, and that the enimie was entred the narrow sea, although he was in a strong and well furnished Citie, yet he woulde not tarrie for Plennius, but fledde wyth his seadientene shippes. After he was gone, Plennius came to Messina, and kept that Citie.

Pompeys army  
yeldeth to Caesar.

Pompey sauntereth,  
and provideth  
to flee.

Pompey fleeth  
wyth xvij. ships

This was the end of this last fighte by sea, in the whiche, only thre of Casars ships were sonke, and seauen and twenty of Pompeys. The remnant were all defeated by Agrippa, except xvij. with the which Pompey fledde away.

Caesar remayned at Naulecho, and commaunded Agrippa to besiege Messina, whiche he did with the fellow ship of Lepidus. Plennius sente for peace. Agrippa thoughte it good to deferre the answer till the morning. But Lepidus was contente, and to winne Plennius Souldyours to hym, permitted halfe the spoyle of the Citie to them, which they hauing obteyned beyonde all hope, being glad to haue gone with theyr liues that night, sacked the Citie

Naulechi.

Messina sacked.

with

with *Lepidus* Souldyours. By this meanes *Lepidus* wanne plenty legions, who sware vnto him, so as nowe, hauing two and twenty legions, with a great nauie, was not a little proude, and thought to winne *Sicilie*, bycause he had gotten diuers places before, to the which he sent his garrisons to keepe out *Octavian*.

The next day, *Caesar* expostulated with *Lepidus* by his friends, saying, he came as a confederate to resort to *Sicilie*, and not to get *it* for himselfe, and he alleadging, that his authoritie was taken fro him, and that *Caesar* had it alone, he could be content to render *Africa* and *Corfica* for *Sicilie*. When *Caesar* was angry, and came vnto him, and charged him with ingratitude, and departed, so as they stode in doubt of each other, keeping warde feuerally. The Shippes lay at anchoz, and it was suspected that *Lepidus* intended to haue burned *Caesars* ships. The armies fearing a new ciuill warre, had not the like estimation of *Lepidus*, that they had of *Caesar*: for him they accompted wise and diligente, and *other* remisse and negligent, bycause he suffered their enemies to be partakers of the spoyle. When *Octavian* understode this, he caused his friends to deale with the Captaines secretly, and to promise them liberally, and many were wonne vnto him, specially of *Pompeys* band, thinking their state not sure, excepte *Caesar* consented to it. *Caesar* came in person with many Horsemen, which he left without the trench, and entred the Camp with a few, unbeknowing to *Lepidus*, for lacke of foresight, protesting that new warre was moued against his will; wherefoze the Souldiours saluted him as Generall, and *Pompeys* parte that were corrupted, asked him forgiveness. To the which he said, he marvelled that they should aske forgiveness, not hauing yet done that was conuenient for them. They understanding his meaning, took the ensignes, and brought them to *Caesar*. Other pulled downe their tentes. But when *Lepidus* heard the tumulte, he came out armed, and freight a fray began, where one of *Caesars* Pages was killed, & himselfe stroke through the best plate, but not hurte, wherefoze he departed in hast to his Horsemen. A garrison stood at his running away, whereat he was so angry, as he was not quiet, till he had beaten downe that Castell, the which being

*Lepidus* diuideth the spoyle of *Messina* with *Pompeius*, and receyuethe his army. *Lepidus* thinketh to be Lord of *Sicilie*. Questioning he receyuethe *Caesar* and *Lepidus*.

*Lepidus* army revolteth.

*Pompeys* Souldiours yeelde to *Caesar*.

*Caesar* stricken.

A Castell beaten downe, whose garrison is left at *Caesar*.

being done, other Castels gaue ouer in like sort, some presently, and some the night following, some neuer spoken to, some pretending some occasion, by beeyng vexed of the Horsemen: yet some abode the bzunt, and repulsed the, for *Lepidus* euery where sent helpers to them, the which revolting also, the rest that were willing to him, changed their mind. And first againe the *Pompeians* that yet remayned with him, forsooke him by little and little; *Lepidus* caused other to be armed to keepe the in, who being armed, to that intēt, took their ensignes, & with the aid of others, ioyned theselues to *Caesar*. *Lepidus* threatened them that went, and praid them also, and he took the Standerds, and sayd, he would neuer deliuer them, but whē a Souldiour said, Thou shalt deliuer them dead, he gaue place. The last that forsooke him was the Horsemen, who sente to *Caesar* to know, if they shoulde kill hym, which he denyed. Thus *Lepidus* being forsaken of all men, and hauing lost his army, changed his habite, and went to *Caesar*, and many ranne to see that sight. *Caesar* rose when he came, and would not suffer him to kneele, but depriuing him of all authoritie, reseruing only a priestly office, in *his* apparell that he came, he sent him to *Rome*. Thus he that had bin many times a Generall, and sometime one of the three rulers, making officers, & condemning many as good as himselfe, liued a priuate life, vnder some of the whome he had attainted before. *Caesar* would not persecute *Pompey*, nor suffer other to do it, either bycause he would not meddle in another mans iurisdiction, or would behold *Antonys* doing, to haue iust occasion to fall out with him. For now that al other aduersaries were taken away, it was thought ambition would make them two quarell, or bycause *Pompey* was none of the conspirators, as *Caesar* did after affirme. Nowe had he an army of xlv. legions, of xxb. M. Horsemen, and of other Souldiours as many more, which he gathered together. He had sixe hundred Gallies, and many Shippes of burthen, which he sent to the others. He gaue the Souldiours a rewarde for victory, and promised more in time to come. He distributed crownes, garlands, and other honozs, and forgaue *Pompeys* Captaynes. Whys so greate felicitie, Fortune did enuie: for his owne armie fell to

Castels giuen ouer to *Caesar*.

*Lepidus* utterly forsaken.

The horsemen sende to *Caesar*, to know, if he woulde haue *Lepidus* killed.

*Lepidus* depriued, only a speciall living reserued. The mutabilitie of Fortune.

*Caesar* woulde not follow *Pompey*.

*Caesars* mighty armie.

Enuie follovveth Fortune.

Aaa.

multi

Mutinie of  
Souldiours.

mutinie, desiring to be discharged, and requiring the rewarde promised at the field of *Philippi*. He answered, that thys warre was not like any of the other, notwithstanding, he woulde reward them for all, together with *Antonys* Souldyers, when he should returne. But as concerning their discharge, he put them in remembrance of their oth and obedience. But seeing them still obstinate, he ceased hys rebukes, least the Souldyours lately yielded, should follow their trade, and promised that *Antony* and he, would discharge them in conueniente tyme, and that he would now not vse the in any cruell warre, for by the help of God, all was ended and done, and now he would leade them into *slauonia*, and other barbarous nations, where they shoulde get great booties. They sayde they woulde not goe, vntill he woulde rewarde them thoroughly. He sayde he would rewarde them, and also giue them garlandes & garmentes of honoz and prayse. Then sayde *ofilus*, one of the Tribunes, Garlandes and purple garmentes bee rewarde of Childzen, Souldyours had neede of money and landes. The multitude sayde it was true. Then *Caesar* was graced, and came from his seate, and they that stode nexte the Tribunes, praysed him, and rebuked the other that woulde not agree wyth them. He sayde, he was sufficiente alone to defende so iust a cause. The nexte daye he was not seene, nor coulde bee knowen where he was become. When the Souldyours not one at once for feare, but altogether, requyred to be dismissed, *Caesar* spake as saye as he coulde to theyr Captaynes, and discharged them that had serued at *Philippi* and *Medena*, as the most olde Souldyours, and commaunded them to depart the Ile, least they should corrupt the rest. Thus much he sayd to them that he discharged, that though he discharged them now, yet he woulde rewarde them. Speaking to the other, he made them to wytnesse the periurie of them that departed, not discharged by the leaue of theyr Generall, and praysed them, and promised to dismisse them shortly, and that they should not repente their ductie done to him, and that now he woulde giue to euery of them fyue hundred drammes. Then he sette a talke vpon *sicilie* of fiftene hundred Talentes, and appoynted few

*ofilus* rudely  
speaketh to  
*Caesar*.

*ofilus* not seene  
agayne.

Souldyours  
dismissed.

tenantes for *sicilie* and *barbarie*, and diuided hys army. *Antonys* Shippes he sent to *Tarent*, the rest of hys army he sent partly into *Italy*, and partly he toke wyth hym, when he wente out of the Ile. Comming towarde *Rome*, the Senate receyued hym wyth all kinde of honozs, permytting to himselfe to receyue, whiche he woulde, eyther all or some at his pleasure. He was mette a farre off wyth them that had garlandes, as well of the Senate, as of the people, of whome he was first brought to the Temples, and then to hys house.

Honoures offered to *Caesar* at *Rome*.

The daye following, he made an Oration to the Senate and to the people, he declared hys doynge in order, and the administration of the common wealth, from hys beginning to thys day. Whiche Orations written of hymselfe, he published wyth many examples, and pronounced peace and tranquillitie after so long ciuill warres. Tributes vnpayde he forgane, and lyke wyse the gatherers of the tolles, and the fynes for offices.

*Caesar* declareth his actes to the Senate and the people.  
*Caesar* Orations published.

Of the honozs of the Senate, he accepted a Chariot, in the Theatre, and yearly solemnities of the dayes of hys victories. And an image of golde in the common place, wyth thys inscription. For peace gotten, after so many warres both by lande and sea. But he refused the chiefe Bishopshippe, which the people offered hym, whiche by auntiente custome was not vled to be taken from any man aliue, for *Lepidus* had it, and when they woulde haue had hym kyllled *Lepidus* as an enimie, he denyed it. Then he wrote manie letters to the armyes, wyth commaundemente to bee opened all at a daye appoynted, and then to doe as they were commaunded, whiche was, to restore all bondmen in *Rome* and *Italy*, to their maisters or their heyres, that had freedom giuen them at the request of *Pompey*, all the whiche restored to their old state. The like he did in *sicilie*. If any were chalenged, he put them to deathe in the Citie. From whence they came. This seemed to be an end of ciuill warre, when *Caesar* was eyght and twenty yeares of age, and consecrated as a God. The Citie and *sicilie* was troubled very much wyth robbers and rousers, with such boldnesse, as they openly committed their lewdenesse.

Modestie of *Caesar*.

Inscription of peace.

Bondmen restored to their maisters.

*Caesar* honoured as a God, at xxviij. yeare of his age.  
Robberies in the Citie.

Sabine.

V Vatches appointed in the night in the Citie.

The hope of restorment of the common store by Cæsars words.

Tribune perpetuall.

Lacinio, a hill in the furthest shore of Italy. Pompey spoyleth the Temple of Iuno. Mylene a Citie in Lesbos, now Mytilene. Vayne hope of Pompey. Calpurnia.

Pompey useth double deuce.

Titus sent as against Pompey by Antony.

To correct these, *Sabine* was sent, who put manye of them to the sword, and spent a yeare, before he coulde ridde them, and at that time (they say) the bands of watches were appoynted, which continue to this day. The speedy redress of this, brought greates estimation to *Cæsar*, who exercised manye things after the olde manner by yearely officers, and burned all the letters that were written in the time of warre, and promised to restore the common wealth so soone as *Antony* returned, for he knew that he also would giue by his offices, now that there was no ciuill warre. Wherefore, being extolled with immortall prayes, the Tribuneship was giuen him for euer, with a meaning, by the taking of this, to leaue all other, of the which he wrote privately to *Antony*: and he gaue his aduice by *Bibulus* going from hym, and placed *Lieutenants* in his prouinces, intending to be his companion in the warre of *Slutonia*.

*Pompey* fleeing out of *Sicilie*, came to the shore of *Lacinio*, where he spoyled a rich Temple of *Iuno*. From thence he went to *Mylene*, where his father left him and his mother, when he made warre with *Cæsar*. And bycause *Antony* was gone to the *Parthian* warre, he intended to yeld to him at his returne. But where it was reported that *Antony* was overcome, and he belaued it, he conceived an hope to succede him in all the prouinces, or that at the least in part, taking example of *Labinus*, who ranne ouer *Asia*. Being occupied with these cogitations, he heard that *Antony* was come to *Alexandria*. He prepared himselfe to both courses, and wrote to *Antony*, to be his friend and fellow, only meaning to espie his doings. And secretly he sente other Embassadors to the Princes of *Thracia* and *Pontus*, minding to passe into *Armenia*, if he did not obteyne his purpose.

He wrote also to the *Parthians*, hoping they would take hym for a Captayne in the warre, being a *Romane*, against *Antony* the *Romane* aduersary.

He prepared shippes and souldoyers for the same, pretending to be afrayde of *Cæsar*, and to prepare them for *Antony*'s use. But when *Antony* heard of his purposes, he sente *Titus* chiefe Captayne agaynst hym, that receyuing an

armie

armie and naute *Syria*, he shoulde resiste *Pompey* with all his power, but if he had rather receyue *Antony*'s truste, he shoulde bring him to him honorably. The Embassadors of *Pompey* made this request.

They are sent to thee from *Pompey*, not that he coulde not be admitted into *Spain*, a prouince that oweth him good will for his fathers sake, if he list to make warre, whiche holpe hym when he was younger, and now offereth him the same: but bycause he had rather enioy peace with thee, or vnder thy banner, make warre, if neede be. Which is no new intent, but when he ruled *Sicilie*, and invaded *Italie*, and saued and sente thee homethy mother, he desired thy friendship, whiche if thou haddest accepted, neyther had he bene driven out of *Sicilie*, whereto thou diddest sende thy shippes, nor thou bene overcome in *Parthia*, *Cæsar* not sending thee such army as he promised. Yea thou mightest haue brought *Italie* vnder thy power. But although he were refused, when time was, he now desireth thee, not to be illuded and deceyued with so many fayre wordes and affinitie, remembryng that *Pompey* also after promise to the contrarie was iniustly invaded of *Cæsar*, and spoyled of his portion, whereof no parte hath redoubted to thee. Now thou onely arte the lette, why he hath not the only Monarchie, which he hath long thirsted after. For you had bin at war before this, if *Pompey* had not bene. And thou oughtest to foresee these things of thy selfe, so for the good will, whiche he beareth thee, he had rather haue the amitie of a playne and liberal man, than of a subtil and crafty fellow. *Pompey* is not angry, that thou lentest shippes agaynst him, being constrained, that thou mightest haue men of him, but putteth thee in remembrance, how much he army not sent thee, did hinder thee. And to be shorthe, *Pompey* committeth himselfe to thee, with all his shippes, with a trusty army, whiche haue not forsaken hym though he fledde, thou shalt purchase a great prayse, if being in peace, thou wilt preferue the Honor of *Pompey* the great: that if the warre be broken, which is feared, thou mayst haue a confederate of such might and estimation. When *Antony* hearde this, he sayde, If *Pompey* meaneth good faith, I haue giuen commission to *Titus*,

Pompey's Embassadors to Antony.

Antony to Pompey's Embassadors.

Aaa. iij.

to

to bring him to me. In the meane time, Pompey's messengers that were sente to the Parthians, were taken of Antonies officers, and brought to Alexandria, of whome, when Antonie had learned all thyngs, he sente for Pompey's Embassadors, and shewed them to them. When they excused hym, beyng a yong man and in extreme necessitie, fearyng to be released of hym, and dyvyn to prove the moste mortall enemies of the people of Rome: but if he were sure of Antonies mynde, he should neede no furder sayde. He beleneued it as a playne man, and nothyng suspitious. Fulvius beyng president of Asia, receyved Pompey very gently, not beyng hable to reiect hym, nor sure of Antonies minde. But when he sawe hym, trayne his soldours, he gathered an army of the countrey, and sente for Cnobarbus, capitayne of the armie, and for Amyntas a frende, who assemblyng quickly together, Pompey complayned that he was used as an enemy. When he had sent Embassadors, to Antonie, and looked for answer from him. In the meane while he practised to take Cnobarbus, by the helpe of Curione his frende, but the practise beyng discovered, Curio was put to death, and Pompey kylled his late bondman Theodorus, who was onely privie to that counsell. And because he doubted of Furnius, he toke the cite of Lampaco by composition, where many Italians dyd inhabite, appoynted by Iulius Caesar, whome he allured to his pay with great promyses. Now had he two hundred horse, and three legions, and besieged Cyzicus both by sea and lande, from the whiche he was repulsd: for there was a litle bande of Antonies, and certen sworde players that were brought by there. And where Furnius absteyning from battayle, did cucrmore encampe nigh him, and kept him fro raging, which he went aboute in the territozie of the Acheans, Pompey set upon the fore parte of his campe, and sente other aboute to do thelike behinde. Whereby Furnius resisting him, his campe was taken of the other, and dyvyn to flic by the fieldes of Scamandria, where Pompey killed many of them, for the fildes was moyst with the shoures. They that escaped durst not turne againe to the fildes. The people of Mysia, Propontide, & other places, that were poore & consumed with payment, came to Pompey's service.

Pompey's messengers taken.

Excuse of Pompey.

He beleneued it as a playne man.

Pompey trayneth his men.

Curio put to death.

Theodorus killed.

Acheia a part of Greece.

Pompey dislodgeth Furnius.

Scamandria a litle town at the porte of Ilio.

People resort to Pompey.

service, beyng renouned for his late victorie. But wantyng horsemen, and beyng shrewdly handled in foragynge, he heard of a bande of Italian horsemen goyng to Antonie (whiche Octavia had sente from Athens) and sente to corrupt them with golde. The president of the countrey toke them, that brought the money, and distributed it to the horse men. Pompey at Nicea and Nicomedia gathered muche money with greate successe. Furnius agayne comming into the fildes and encamping nigh him, there came Ixx. shippes out of Sicilie in the spring, which were lesse of them that Antonie had lent Caesar. And Titus came out of Syria with a hundred and twentie shippes and a greate army, all the which arrived at Proconnesco, of the which Pompey being afrayde, burned his shippes and armed his pariners hauing more trust in the lande. But Cassius of Parma, Nasidius, Saturninus, Therinus, Antistius, & other honorable frendes of Pompey, & Furnius mosse dere vnto him & Libo himself, his father in lawe, when they saw that Pompey was alwayes to weake, they yelded themselves to Antonie. He being thus forsaken, went into y midland of Bythinia, intending to go into Armenia. Furnius & Titus folowed him: he being secrete, departed out of his tents, and with great tourney they overtooke him at night, and seuerally encamped aboute an hill without ditch or trench, beyng late and they weary. That night Pompey set upon them with three thousande men as they were sleeping, & put them to flie naked shamefully: but if he had assailed them with his whole power, or solowed them as broke, he had gotten perfect victorie. But fortune would not suffer, and he got nothing thereby, but that he went on his iourney. They recouering horses, folowed him, and kepte him from viuals, so as beyng dyvyn to speache, he desired to speake with Furnius that was sometime a frende of his fathers, and a man of greate dignitie. And standyng on the bankes of the riuer, he sayde, he had sente Embassadors to Antonie, and in the meane season wantyng viualles, dyd that he had done. If you make warre vpon mee by Antonies commaundes, mee he seeth not wel for himselfe, not perceyuing a greater warre, to hang ouer hym. But if you do it vpon your owne authoritie,

Propontis, now the sea of Ligea George.

He gathereth more.

Pompey's frendes yelde to Antonie.

Pompey assaileth his enemies by night.

Pompey loseth occasion.

Pompey desireth speach with Furnius.

I pray you and beseeche you that you would cease till my Cō-  
 badlabours returne, or carie me safely to him. And to you, O  
 Farni, I will committe my selfe, so you will promise me to deli-  
 ver me safe to *Antonie*. Thus much hee sayde, hopping in *Anto-*  
*nie*, as a gentle man, and seeking to passe his iourney quietly,  
 To whom *Furnius* thus answered. If thou wouldest haue com-  
 mitted thy selfe to *Antonie*, thou shouldest haue done it at the  
 first, or being quiet, haue looked for answer at *Mitylene*: but  
 making warre, thou haste brought thy selfe to this case, if thou  
 repentest thee, blame not vs. *Antonie* hath appoynted *Titius* to  
 receyue thee, to hym therefore, committe thy selfe, of whom thou  
 mayst require that thou requirest of mee. For he commaunded,  
 that if thou playest the parte of an enimie, to kill thee: if not, to  
 bring thee honorably vnto him.

*Pompey* was offended with *Titius*, as vnthankfull: because hee  
 had made this warre agaynst hym, whome he once toke (and  
 saued hym). Therefore *Pompey* was the more grieved to come in  
 to his handes, that was but a meane man: whose fidelitie he sus-  
 pected, eyther of his behauiour, or of the former iniurie hee had  
 done him, befoze he did him pleasure. Wherefoze once agayne  
 he yelded to *Furnius*, & desired to be taken, but it was not graun-  
 ted. When he desired *Amynias* might take him, which whē *Fur-*  
*nus* sayde, he should not do, because it were a wrong to him that  
 had commission from *Antonie*, and so they brake. *Furnius* Sol-  
 diours thought hee woulde haue yelded the nexte day to *Titius*.  
 But he in the night, making fires after the maner, and sound-  
 ing the trompe at euery reliefe of the watche, with a few went  
 out of the campe, not tellyng them what he woulde doe, for hee  
 meante to haue gone to the sea, and haue set *Titius* campe a fire,  
 whiche peradventure he had done, had not *Scaurus* gone from  
 him and signified his departure, and whiche way he went. Then  
*Amynias* folowed him with fiftene hundred horsemen, to whom  
 when he drew nigh, his people forsooke hym, some openly and  
 some secretly. When he sawe himself forsoaken of all sides, hee  
 yelded to *Amynias* without condition, refusing *Titius* condi-  
 tions. Thus the yonger Sonne of great *Pompey* was taken,

losing

losing his father when he was very yong, and his brother, when  
 he was toward mans estate, which two being taken away, hee  
 lay close a great whyle, and vexed *spayne* wth priuie robberies,  
 till he hadde good resolt to him, and then he professed hymselfe to  
 be *Pompeys* sonne, and made open rades: and when *Iulius Caesar*  
 was slayne, he moued playne warre, being ayded wth greate  
 multitudes and forces of the suddayne, gayning Shippes, and  
 publike treasure. He oppressed *Italy* wth famine, and broughte  
 his enimies to what conditions he woulde, and that most is,  
 when the wicked condemnation was executed in *Rome*, he saued  
 manye of the noble men, that enioyed theyr Countrey by his  
 benefyte: but Fortune not fauouring hym, he woulde neuer  
 take the aduantage of his enimie, neglecting manye occasions,  
 he woulde lye still.

Thys was he that now is in bondage.

*Titius* commaunded his army to sweare to *Antony*, and put  
 hym to death at *Mileto*, when he hadde lyued to the age of fortye  
 yeares, eyther for that he remembred late displeasure, and for  
 got olde good turnes, or for that he had such commaundement of  
*Antony*.

There bee that saye, that *Plancus* and not *Antony*, dyd com-  
 maunde hym to dye, whyche being president of *Syria*, had *An-*  
*tonyes* signet, and in greate causes wrote letters in his name.  
 Some thynke it was done wth *Antonys* knowledge, he fear-  
 yng the name of *Pompey*, or for *Cleopatra*, who fauoured *Pompey*  
 the great.

Somethynke that *Plancus* dyd it of hymselfe for these causes,  
 and also that *Pompey* shoulde geue no cause of dissention be-  
 twene *Caesar* and *Antony*, or for that *Cleopatra* woulde turne his  
 fauour to *Pompey*.

When hee was dispatched, *Antony* toke his iourney into  
*Armenia*, and *Caesar* agaynst the *Slauonians*, continuall eni-  
 mies of the *Romans*, neuer obeying the *Romane* Empire, but  
 reuoltyng in euery ciuill warre.

Abb.

And

*Pompey* hateth  
*Titius*.

*Pompey* hateth  
*Titius*.

*Pompey* yeldeth  
to *Furnius* who  
woulde not  
take him nor  
safer *Amynias*  
to do it.

*Pompey* is intent,  
discouered by  
*Scaurus*.

*Pompey* forsaken  
of all handes.

*Pompey* yeldeth  
to *Amynias*  
without condi-  
tion.

The coming  
vp of *Pompey*.

The good actes  
of *Pompey*.

Negligence vn-  
did *Pompey*.

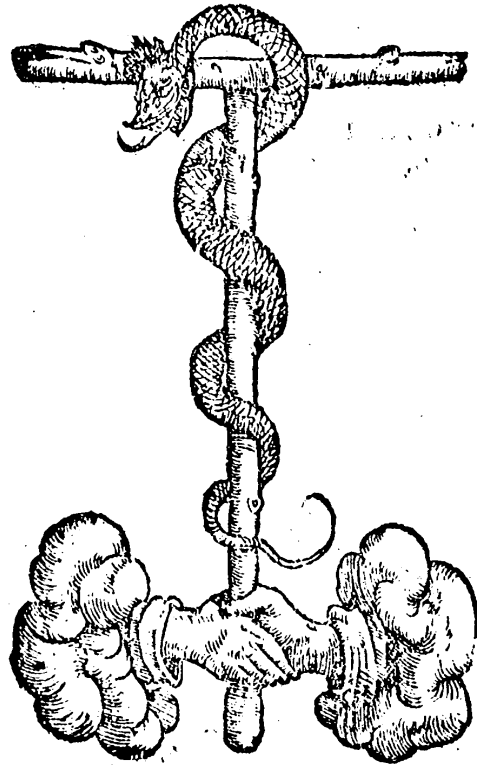
*Titius* putteth  
*Pompey* to death  
at *Mileto*, a Citie  
in the endes of  
*Ionia* and *Caria*.

*Plancus*.

The *Illyrians*  
now *Slauonians*.  
continuall eni-  
mies of the  
*Romans*.

And because the warres of *Illyria* are not thoroughly known  
 unto me, nor sufficient to make a full volume, and can not be  
 declared commodiously otherwise, I haue thought it good  
 to referre them to the time, that they were subiect  
 to the *Romans*, and making a compendious  
 Treatise of them, to ioyne them with  
 the affayres of *Macedonie*.

FINIS.



A CONTINUATION  
 of Appian of Alexandria:

Wherein is declared the last acte of the most  
 full Tragedie of the Romaines bloudie  
 Dissentions, in the whiche *Marcus Antonius*  
 was querthzown by sea at *Actio*, and  
 by land at *Alexandria*:

Where both he and *Cleopatra* killed themselves, after the which,  
*Octavius Caesar* was the only Monarch of all the  
 Romane Empire alone.

In this we be taught: That Gods vengeance is sharp, although it be  
 slow, and that peoples rule must giue place, and princely  
 power preuaile.



AT LONDON,  
 Imprinted by Henrie Bynniman.

Anno. 1578.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, his singular good Mayster, Sir  
*Christopher Hatton, Knight, Capitaine of the Queenes Maiesties*  
*Garde, Viz chamberlaine to hir Highnesse,*  
*and one of hir Maiesties most honorable priue Counsaile.*



As the losse of old possessiōs, is a grieſe to the landed men: euē so the decay of aūtient bokes, is a smart to the learned sort. *Titus Linius* father of the *Romane* historie (whom to see, repaire was made of Gentlemen frō farre places, vvhiles he liued) hath not escaped the iniurie of time, but bin left vnperfite, to the great sorow of posteritie, after he dyed, *Cornelius Tacitus* that folowed him both in matter and age, could not auoyde that iniquitie, although the Emperor *Tacitus* commaunded his bokes to be written ten times euery yeare. This Authour *Appianus Alexandrinus*, hath had the like lucke, for al the estimation he vvvas in, the halfe of his labour being lost, and the last part of the vvhole ciuill tumult not now to be had frō him, but briefly supplied otherwise, that the end of the *Romanes* wo, & the beginning of our ioy, might be declared, the one successiuelly folovving of the other. The vvchich it may please your honour to accept, according to your accustomed goodnesse, beseeching the liuing Lord long to preserue the same.

Your Honours humble  
seruaunt. H.B.

A Continuation of Appian of Alexandria, till the ouerthrow of M. Antonius, which was the laste ciuill dissention after the which, Octauius Caesar had the rule of all the Romane Empire alone. 371



After that Octauius Caesar, and M. Antonius had agreed with Sextus, the younger sonne of Pompey the great, it was determined that Antonius should make warre vpon the Parthians, to reuenge the death of Crassus. Wherefore presently he sent Ventidius to repress the Parthians, and he to gratifie Octauius,

was content to marie his sister, and to be made the holy minister of Iulius Caesar that was dead, he remained in Rome, ruling by common consent, with Octauius Caesar, as well the matters of the Citie as of the whole Empire. And as it befalleth betwene such Princes, to make pastimes in play and matches, Antonius alwayes had the worse, at the which he was somewhat moued. He had in his company an Egyptian, after y manner of a Soothsayer, who, epyther to please Cleopatra, or to shew the very truth, tolde Antonius then, that his fortune was obscured by the fortune of Octauius. Wherefore hee aduised him to go furder off. For, sayth he, when thou art abroad, thy nature is noble and contagious, but when thou art with him, it is deiect and afrayde of his. Antonius, whether by this motion, or his owne inclination, was content to leaue all there to Octauius, and to go towarde his olde loue of Egypt, yet carrying his new wife with him into Grecia, pretending an earnest desire to reuenge the iniurie that was done to Crassus, which was after this sorte:

Antonius marieth Octavia.

Antonius fortune is overcome of Caesar.

Crassus, Pompey, and Caesar, were all suters for the Consulship in Rome, agaynst them stood Cicero and Cato. Crassus and Pompey were chosen, and they continued Caesars authoritie in France for the peaces longer, which he only desired. In casting lottes for

Crassus, Pompey and Caesar.

Ccc.

the

Crassus goeth to  
the warre a  
gainst order.

Execration.

Emperor.

Hierapolis an  
holy citie in As-  
sia, full of marue-  
lous things.

Tokens.

Antonie goeth  
against the Par-  
thians to reuenge  
Crassus.  
Antonie disber-  
ter by his Lieut-  
enants than by  
himselfe.  
Vendimus.

the prouinces, *spayne* fell to *Pompey*, wherof he was glad, being  
giuen to please his wife: and the people was gladd, being desir-  
ous to haue *Pompey* nigh the *Citie*. *Syria* fell to *Crassus*, wherof  
he was onely gladd, and all other so. For they perceiued he  
was wholly giuen to spoyle the countrie of *Parthia*, whiche was  
not comprehended in the law of the prouinces. Wherefore *Atti-*  
*us* the Tribune of the people, forbade *Crassus* to invade *Parthia*, but  
he being animated by *Casars* letters out of *Fraunce*, and by *Pom-*  
*peys* presence in *Rome*, wente forwarde, notwithstanding that  
the Tribune, at the gate of the *Citie* did stande by, with fire  
and sacrifice, coniuring him in the name of moste strange  
and fearefull Goddes, not to procede, the which kinde of execra-  
tion, the *Romanes* thinke to be moste horrible, bothe to him that  
doth pronounce them, & to him, against whom they be pronoun-  
ced: when *Crassus* had passed the seas, and lost many of his shippes,  
saying before due time, and after he had gotten some cities by  
accoide, and wonne one by force, he woulde needs be called *Im-*  
*perator*, for the which he was mocked, because that name was not  
giuen to any by the *Romanes*, before he had in a plaine batayle, o-  
uerthrowne .x. *th.* and spending one winter like a rent gatherer,  
without any exercise of his soldiours, & in spoiling a Temple at  
*Hierapolis*, in the entry of the which, he & his sonne, fell one vpon  
an other, & being offered help of the king of *Armenia*, if he would  
make his iourney thorough his countrie, which was the better  
way, he refused it, & went rashly through *Mesopotamia*. And at the  
passage ouer a bridge which he had made, it thundred & lightened  
in his face, & blew downe a parte of the bridge, and after he was  
come ouer, his campe was twice set a fyre by lightning. These  
& many other tokens might haue moued him, but he went forth,  
till both he & his sonne and .xx. *th.* *Romanes* were slaine, & .x. *th.* ta-  
ken, and al the despite done to them that could be deuised. Upon  
this occasiō did *Antonie* leade his army against the *Parthians*, & by  
his Lieutenant *Ventidius* gaue them a great ouerthrow, whiche he  
was at *Athens*. Wherefore he made great feasting among the  
*Gracians*, and being ready to go forth, he wore a garland of holy  
olive, & to fulfill an oracle, caried with him a vessel of water. In  
the

the meane time *Ventidius* gaue an other ouerthrow, in the which,  
*Pacurus* the kings sonne was slaine, the which although it seemed a  
sufficiēt reuenge for *Crassus* death, yet he gaue the the thirde ouer-  
throw betwene *Media* & *Mesopotamia*. When *Ventidius* thought it  
good to stay, lest *Antonie* should enuie him. And when he had  
subdued them, & reuolted, he besieged *Comagenus Antiochus*, in *sa-*  
*mosata*, who promised to giue a thousand talents & obey *Antony*.  
Vnto whom *Ventidius* willed him to send his Embassadors, be-  
cause he was at hand: which being done, he would not receiue his  
offer, that it shoulde not seeme that *Ventidius* hath done all. But  
when the citie stood at defence, and would not yeelde, he was so  
rie, he had refused the condition, & was content, to take three hun-  
dred talents, & go his way agayne to *Athens*, hauing done little  
or nothing in *Syria*. He rewarded *Ventidius* very well, & sent him  
to *Rome* to triumph, & only he had triumph of the *Parthians*, a man of  
bale blood, & auaced by *Antonie*, who confirmed his saying of *Casar*  
& *Antonie*, & they did better preuayle by their Lieutenants, than  
by themselves. Now was *Orodes* the king of *Parthia*, killed by his  
sonne *Phrates*, from whom many fled away, & among other *Moneses*  
a noble man came to *Antonie*, who compassing his miserie, to *The-*  
*mistocles*, & his owne felicitie, to the kings of *Persia*, gaue him three  
cities: euē as *Xerxes* gaue .iiij. cities to *Themistocles*, for his bread,  
drinke and meate, and as some say, fiew more, for his lodgyng  
and apparell. And when the king sent for *Moneses* to be resto-  
red, *Antonie* was content with it, and offered hym peace, so he  
would render the Ensignes and the captiues that were taken at  
the losse of *Crassus*. When he toke his iourney by *Arabia* and *Ar-*  
*menia*, where he increased his army by the confederate kyngs,  
wherof the greatest was the king of *Armenia*, who lent him .6000.  
horse, & 7000. footmen; he mustred his army, & had of *Romane* foot-  
men .lx. *th.* of *Spanish*, *French*, & *Romane* horsemen .x. *th.* of other natiōs  
of horse & footmen .xxx. *th.* And this great power, he did cast a ter-  
ror vnto the *Indians*, only the vaine loue of *Cleopatra*, brought  
to nought effect. For the desire he had to come agayne into hir com-  
panie made him do all things out of time and order. He had leste-  
his laste wife *Octavia* with his children, and the children had

*Samosata*, a citie  
where is a targe-  
of a maruelous  
nature.

*Antonie* refused  
such good offer.

*Antonie* returne-  
th.

King *Orodes* kil-  
led by his sonne  
*Moneses* to *The-*  
*mistocles* com-  
pared.  
*Antonie* libera-  
lity, to counter-  
waile kings of  
*Persia*.

Valne lesse.

of *Hanks*.

Cleopatra.

Antonie killeth  
the king of Iurie.  
Vanie of An-  
some.

Haste maketh  
vvaile.

Atropatia one  
part of Media.

The artillerie  
of the Romanes  
taken.

had by his first wyfe *Fuluia*, with *Octavius Caesar*. And beyng now in the *Easte partes*, was wholly gyuen to the wanton desire of *Cleopatra*, to whome hee gaue the prouinces of *Cypres*, *Calosyria*, *Phanitia*, and a parte of *Cilicia* and *Iurie*, wherewith the *Romanes* were muche greued, and also with his crueltie to *Antigonus* kyng of *Iurie*, and with his vanitie in the chyldren hee had by *Cleopatra*, callyng the one, *Alexander*, the Sunne, and the other *Cleopatra* the Moone. Yet was *Cleopatra* not the fayrest woman in the worlde, but very wittie and full of artificiall deuises, and had the caste to beguyle *Antonie*, who was easie to be ledde. For haste, hee woulde not suffer hys armie to reste after so long a iourney: for haste hee leste his engines behinde him, wherof one was called a *Ramme* of foure score fote long: for haste hee leste *Media*, passyng by the leste hande of *Armenia* into *Atropatia*, whiche hee spoyled. When hee besieged the great Citie of *Phraata*, where hee founde hys errour, in leauyng hys artillerie behinde. Wherefore to cause hys men to do somewhat, he made them caste vp mountes. In the meane time the king came forth with a mighty army, and hearing that the artillerie was left behynd, he sent a great parte of his horse men, which slew *Tatianus*, and ten thousand that were left for the custodie of the Engines, & toke and spilled the munitio. The which did much discourage his Souldiours, & caused that the kyng of *Armenia* forsoke him, for whose cause he made the warre. The *Parthians* were very bragge vpon the *Romanes*, wherefore *Antonie* toke ten legions, and all his horsemen to range the countrie, thereby to prouoke the enimie to fight. When he had gone one dayes iourney, he saw the enimies round aboute him, therefore, in his campe he determined to fight, yet would not so seme, but rayled his campe as to goe away, commaundyng that when the fote men were at hande, the horsemenne shoulde sette vpon the enimie, whiche stode in a triangle battayle to beholde the *Romanes* good order, shakynge their darters. When the tyme serued, the horsemen gaue so fierce an onsette vpon them, as they toke away the vse of theyr shotte, notwithstanding they stucke to it. But when the fote men came, with shoute and fearefull shew, the

Parthian

*Parthian* Horsemen were disordered, and turned their backs. *Antony* thinking to make an ende of the warre that daye, gaue them the chase, and yet toke but xxx. and kyled lxxx. Whiche agayne did much discourage the *Romanes*, since they lost so many at their cariage, and wanne so little at this victory.

Antony sheweth  
a small  
victory.

The next day *Antony* returned to his Camp, and by the way at the first mette with few of his enimies, afterwards more and more, and at the last all, so as being much molested with them, with much adoe he got to the *Tentes*, where the enimie assauled the trench, the which, diuers for feare did forsake. Wherefore *Antony* punished euery tenth man, and fedde the rest with barley. The warre was greuous to them both, for *Antony* could no more goe a foraging without great losse. And the kyng feared, that if his men shoulde lye in the fielde all Winter, they would forsake him. Wherefore he deuised this policie. The noble men of the *Parthians* suffered the *Romanes* to carrie away their prayes, with great commendation of their worthinesse, and that the king woulde be glad of peace, and so riding nether the army, woulde rebuke *Antony* for keeping them there in so strange a countrey, out of the whiche, though the *Parthians* were theyr friends, it shoulde be harde for them to escape. When *Antony* hearde of this, he caused to be enquired, whether these men wold speake by the Kings consent, which they answered to be. When he sente to the King, that if he woulde restore the Captiues and ensignes, he woulde depart. The King sayd, he woulde sende them to him, if he woulde depart quickly. Wherefore *Antony* made vp, and retired. At his going away, he did not speake to the Souldiours as he was wont to doe, being very eloquente that way, whereat many were offended, committing the matter to be done to *Domitius Aenobarbus*. Being in his way, one *Mardus*, well acquainted with the *Parthian* maners, whose faith the *Romanes* had proued before, tolde *Antony* it was best for him to goe so, as hee might haue the hilles on his right hande, and not to hazarde hys army laden with armour to the *Parthian* archers and horsemen in the playne way. *Antony* consulted with his counsell, pretending yet not to be afraide of the breach of peace, and accepting

Punishment.  
To be fedde  
with barley,  
was a punish-  
ment among  
Souldiours.

Craft of the  
Parthians.

Antony omitteth  
a Generalles  
part.  
Mardus.

Err. liij.

the

the counsell as compendious. *Antony* required suretie of *Mardus*, he bad him bind him, till he came into *Armenia*. So being bound, he brought him two dayes quietly.

Parthians vpon  
the Romanes.

The third day when *Antony* looked for nothing lesse than the *Parthians*, *Mardus* elyped the banke of a riuer to bee broken downe, and the water flowing abroade, which he coniectured to be done by the enimie to hynder the passage of *Antony*. Therefoze he wished *Antony* to loke to it, for they were not farre off. *Antony* sette his men in order, and by and by the *Parthians* came vppon him, whome he receyued with his shotte. So there was muche hurte done on both sides, till the French horsemen brake vpon them, and put them by for that day. *Antony* being taughte hereby, went on with a square battel, fencing the same thoroughly with the shotte. The Horsemen were commaunded to giue repulse to the enimie, and that done, not to chase them farre. So when the *Parthians* these foure dayes had receyued as much hurt as they had done, they minded to retire, because the winter was at hand.

Parthians trouble  
the Romanes.

*Fulvius Gallus*  
taketh an euill  
interpretation.

The fifth. daye, *Fulvius Gallus* a valiant man, desired *Antony* to haue a greater bande of shotte, and more Horsemen, and he would do some notable feate, which when he had receyued, he put backe the enimie, not returning to the armie againe as they did before, but pursuing them along without feare, whiche when the leader of the reuerward did see, he called him backe, but he would not obey. And whereas *Titus* toke the banner to turne backe, he put it forward againe, and hadde hym meddle with his owne matters, and wente so farre, as he was compassed of his enimies, and compelled to sende for helpe, wherein *Candidus* that was in greate credite wpyth *Antony* dyd not well, for he sente but a fewe at once, which were sone put backe, and utterly hadde bin lost, hadde not *Antony* come wpyth his legions in tyme, and abated the courage of the enimie. Notwithstanding thre thousande *Romanes* were slayne, and syue thousande hurte, and *Gallus* wounded with foure vartes, of the which he dyed. *Antony* went about weeping, and comfortyng them: they desired him to be content, for all was well, if he were well. Great loue bare

*Titus*.

*Candidus*.

*Romanes* slayne.

*Antony* weepeth.

the souldyours vnto him, for he was compted one of the best Captaynes of that tyme. The enimies were so encouraged by this victoꝝ, as they wayted at the Camp all night, thinking the *Romanes* would haue bin gone: And in the morning the number was much encreased, for the king had sent the horsemen gaid of his person, but came at no sight himselfe, so as there was nowe fortie thousand horsemen. *Antony* would haue gone among the souldyours with a blacke golwe, but his friends would not suffer him: so he went generall like, and prayced them that hadde done well, and rebuked them that had done otherwise. They prayed him to pardon them, and to punish euery tenth man. Only they desired him to leaue his sorrow. Then he held his hands vnto heauen, saying: If anye disceyue of God remained of his former fortune, he desired it might fall vpon him, so the *Romanes* army might be saued, and haue the victoꝝ.

*Antony* lamenteth.

*Antony* prayes.

The next day, he went more warily, when contrary to theyr looking, the *Parthians* came trolling downe the hill, thinking to haue gotten pray, and not to haue founde warre. The *Romanes* toke in their archers and such other, into the middell of the battell, causing the to kneele, and they stouping, couered them with their shields, vppon the which the *Parthians* arrowes sliced off. And the *Parthians* thinking that the *Romanes* had stouped for weakness, made a shoute, and came vpon them with their haues, at the whiche tyme the *Romanes* rose, and so encountred with them, as they droue them away. Thus were they troubled dyuers dayes, and made but little way.

Policie of the  
*Romanes*.

*Parthians* repulsed.

Nowe was there wante in the Campe, for they coulde gette no tozney, and their Cattell was spent, partly by losse, and partly by carryng the wounded and sickie men. A barly lose was solde for the waighte of siluer. They ate strange hearbes and rotes, and some that brought present death, with a kinde of madness, for they coulde do nothing else but roll stones, so as all the Campe was almost occupied in picking and turning of stones. The remedye of this was wyne, whiche wanted in the host, therfore when they hadde vomited the melancolie, they dyed. Many thus dying, and the *Parthians* still commyng vpon

VWant in the  
*Romanes* Campe.

Barly bread.  
Herbes venemous.  
Frensyne in the  
Camp.

VWine.

The army of  
Nero.

Antony vvained

V. Water.

Salt water.

upon them, *Antony* oftentimes cryed, Oh the tenne thousande, meaning the tenne thousand *Greekes*, which, vnder the leading of *Xenophon*, passed safe a farre longer way, in despight of their enimies. Howe when the *Parthians* perceyued they could not ppeuayle againste the *Romanes*, nor breake their order, but were alwayes put backe, they began to deale gently againe wyth the forragiers, shewing the strings of their bowes vnbente, and to make an ende, &ely a fewe *Medians* shoulde followe the tayle, to keepe the *Townes* from spoyling. These wordes made the *Romanes* glad, and *Antony* minded to goe the champion way, and leaue the hilles. And being entred this way, one *Mithridates*, a cousin of that *Monesis* that fledde to *Antony*, came vnto him, and required to speake with one that coulde the *Parthian* tong. To whome *Alexander* of *Antioch*, a friende of *Antonyes*, was appoynted. He tolde him that *Monesis*, for good will to *Antony*, had sent him to shew, that vnder the hilles which he saw before him, nexte vnto the which the playne way did ioyne, the *Parthians* lay in secrete, to beguile him againe by their faire wordes. Therefore if he woulde saue himselfe and his host, he shoulde not leaue the way by the hilles, where in deede he shoulde finde labour and thirst, but the other way he should not escape *Crassus* misfortune. This saide, he went his way. *Antony* communicated this wyth his friendes, and with *Mardus*, who affirmed it to be most lyke the truth. Therefore he sayd it was best to go by the hills, though it were paynesfull, and shoulde lacke water one daye. Howe *Antony* toke this way, and commaunded euery man to carrie as muche water as he coulde: but there was lacke of vessels, and the most part carryed it in their sallets. When the *Parthians* spyed had told whiche way *Antony* went, contrary to theyr manner, they came vpon him by night, and by breake of day, set vpon the rereward, weryed with labour & watching. So they were compelled both to march, and to resist the enimie. Now was the forwarde come to a floud, whiche was very clere, but salt, that who soeuer dranke of it, was full of payne. *Mardus* gaue them warning of it, but the *Souldyours* would not be ruled. Then *Antony* ranne aboute, praying them to refraine and passe on, for a little

little further was a floud of healthsome water, and so chose a way, that the *Parthians* could not follow them. And to cause the *Souldyours* to haue some shadow, he blew the retreat, and pitched his tents. Which being done, and the *Parthians* going backe, as they were wonte, *Mithridates* came agayne, and spake with *Alexander*, telling hym, that after the *Souldyours* had rested a while, they should remoue and passe ouer the next floud, for so farre the enimie would followe. When *Antony* heard this, he toke many cuppes of gold to *Alexander*, to giue *Mithridates* as many as he could carrie away. So *Antony* departed, and hadde much ado, for the enimies folloved so hard, as they sacked his carriage, and toke his tables and plate of golde, and as many as hadde anye thynge, they kylled and spoyled, whereby it was thought that all the armye was disordered, and scattered, in so much as *Antony* called one of his chamber to hym, and wylled him, if he commaunded hym, to kyll hym, he shoulde do it vpon his oth, and take away his head, that he mighte not be knowen when he was dead. *Antony* being in this sorrowe, *Mardus* dyd comfort him, affirming that the floud was at hande, whiche hee knew by the coldnesse of the aire that there was felte. *Antony*, to bring all to quiet, commaunded to Campe euen there. By breake of daye, the *Parthians* againe charged vpon the tayle, in defence of whome, the shotte was sent, and the battell defended them with their shieldes. The *Parthians* durst not come to hand strokes, so as by this time the forwarde was come to the floud, ouer the which, *Antony* sent first the hurt & sicke souldiours, and appoynted all the *Horsemen* to encounter with the enimie, by the whiche meane, they that wente ouer, might haue leysure to drinke. When the *Parthians* sawe the floud, they vnbente theyr bowes, and sayde, the *Romanes* myghte nowe drinke at leysure, for they had so deserued by theyr vertue.

The *Romanes* beeping past the floud, did marche in order, not yet trusting the *Parthians*.

The sixth daye after theyr last syghte, they came to the floude *Araxes*, whiche diuideth *Media* and *Armenia*. And bycause this floud was hard to passe, they were agayne afrayd of theyr enimies.

Ddd.

mies

mies had layne in awayte, but passing quietly, as soone as they came to lande, they reioyced at it, as they do that see it from the Sea, and embraced one another, weeping for ioy. Now followed there another inconuenience, for the Countrey being plentifull, and the Souldyours taking too muche, fell into many diseases, and dyed. *Antony* then mustered his men, finding he wanted twenty thousand footemen, and foure thousand Horsesmen, halfe of the which dyed of diseases. From the Citie of *Phraath*, they had bin comming seauen and twenty dayes, in the which they hadde fought eyghtene times with the *Parthians*, of whome they coulde not haue perfitte victoꝝy, bycause the King of *Armenia* forsooke them, whose army hadde bin most expert to haue deale with the *Parthians*: wherefoze euery man counselled *Antony* to be reuenged of the King. *Antony* vsing policies, shewed all courtesies to the men of the Countrey, and sent so fayre messages to the King, as he came vnto him, whome he committed by and by, and carryed him to *Alexandria*, where he triumphed ouer hym, which thing greeued the *Romanes*, that *Antony* woulde defraude his Countrey to please his Concubine. The winter was so greate, that he lost eyghte thousande, befoze he coulde come to a Castell called *Leuce*, where he was in great agonies, till *Cleopatra* was come. Then like a foolish yong mā, he gaue himselfe to wantonnes and riot, running from his table to the sea side euery day to see if she were come. When she came, she brought muche apparell, and money to gyue the Souldyours. Some say, *Antony* toke them to hir, to gyue the *Romanes*.

Now was there a variance fallen betwene the Kings of *Parthia* and *Media*, for the spoyle of the *Romanes* goodes. The *Median* King sent to *Antony* to come agayne, and he woulde ioyne wpyth him with all his power which was very great. *Antony* was not a little glad hereof, bycause the helpe of the *Medians* mighte bee the meane for hym to conquer *Parthia*, and so intended to make a new iourney.

At *Rome* *Octauia* desired to goe to hir husband *Antony*. *Caesar* was content with it, not so muche to pleasure his sister, as to take occasion by the euill handling which he suspected would followe of hir,

hir, to moue iust warre against *Antony*. When she was come to *Athens*, she receyued letters from *Antony*, to stay there, by cause of his newe voyage. She smelling the matter, wrote vnto him to know whether she should send the things whiche she had brought him, that is to saye, many coates for his Souldyours, great plenty of Castell, money, and rewards for his Captaines, and two thousande freshe Souldyours, for the gard of his person, all the which, were well set out to hym by *Niger* his messenger. When *Cleopatra* heard this, fearing that if *Octauia* came, she would put hir out of concept, she bestirred hir, she pinched hirselfe, she wepte, and wayled, and woulde needes dye for *Antony*es sake, who sayd, he would take his iourney in hand. Some there were that blamed *Antony* as rude and hard harted, that hee would put so louing a Lady and so great a Quene in danger of hir life, eyther for his wiues sake, or for anye other cause, in so muche as *Antony* was made a tame fowle, and deferred vnto the next sommer his expedition, and returned to *Alexandria* to winter with *Cleopatra*. Now was *Octauia* returned to *Rome*, & hir brother willed hir to goe to hir owne house, but she went to *Antony*es house, which she kept with so good order, and cherishing as well the children he had by *Fulvia*, as by hir selfe, as it did aggravate the fault of *Antony*, that he woulde forsake so vertuous a *Roman* Lady, for an *Egyptian* strager. *Octauia* desired hir brother, that if there were none other cause of warre but by hir, that he would not moue it, for she should beare the blame. Wherefoze in all requests she did help *Antony*es friends, whereby vntwillingly she hindered *Antony*, who was nowe so fonde wahren, as hee woulde haue *Cleopatra* called by the name of the Goddesse *Isis*, Quene of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Affrike*, and *Calosiria*: and *Casariou*, whome it was thought she hadde by *Iulius Caesar*, to be hir companion in these Kingdomes. The sonnes that he hadde by hir, he called Kings of Kings. To *Alexander*, *Armenia*, *Media*, & *Parthia*: to *Ptolomee*, *Phanitia*, *Syria*, & *Cilicia*, he appoynted. In *Rome* *Caesar* accused him of this geare befoze the Senate. *Antony* by letters, accused *Caesar* likewise. First, that he had not made him partaker of *Sicilia*, out of which he had wrong *Pompey*. Then, that he

Surlet.

Office of the  
Romans.Antony taketh  
the King of Ar-  
menia by flight.  
Antonyes tri-  
umph displea-  
sant to the Ro-  
manes.  
Leuce.Antonyes land-  
scape.Antony called  
by the Median  
King.Caesar seeketh  
occasion to  
warre Antony.Antony forbid-  
deth his wife  
Octauia to come  
to him.

Niger.

Craft of Cleo-  
patra.

Antony doeth.

Octauia.

Modestie of  
Octauia.Antonyes son-  
nes.  
Isis.  
Casariou.Accusations be-  
twene Caesar  
and Antony.

Wdd. is.

he

he had not restored the Shippes which he had sent him. Thirdly, that hauing deposed *Lepidus* his fellow in authoritie, he kept those profits and prouinces to his owne vse, and that he had diuided *Italy* to his owne souldiours, and not remembred his. To these *Cesar* answered, that by cause *Lepidus* ruled out of order, he had brought him to order, his prouinces he would participate with him, when he would diuise with him *Armenia*. As for his Shoulpoures, they hadde no portion in *Italy*, no more than he in *Media & Parthia*. When *Antony* heard of this, he sent by *Camilius* with xvj. legions to the sea. He carrying *Cleopatra* with him, wente to *Ephesus*, whither all his Princes assembled, to the number of eyght hundred shippes of burden, of the which, *Cleopatra* gaue him two hundred, and two hundred talents for the expences of the warre. *Domitius* and other of *Antonyes* counsell, would haue had *Cleopatra* to haue gone to *Egypt*, till the warre were ended. But she corrupted *Camilius* to tell him, that it was not honorable to remoue hir that was at suche charge for the warre, nor sure to exasperate the *Egyptians* mindes, in whome was great part of his forces by sea. So *Antony* must liue with *Cleopatra*, till they were both brought to death. From *Ephesus* they wente to *Sams*, where they made lusty chere. For as all Kings, Princes, and prouinces were commanded to bring all maner of munition for the warre thither, euen so all kind of players, and people of pastime, wer willed also to be there, that at what time all the world as it were was in sorow for hir ruine that was toward, that only *Itad* was in all ioy & pleasure. The Kings sente all prouiso thither, struing who should make greatest banquets, in so much as it was saide, if there be suche cheering before the war, what triumphing will there be, when the victorie is gotten. From hence they wet to *Priene*, where were shewed all Comedies & Tragedies, and then to *Athens*, where as kinds of new shewes were deuised. Here *Cleopatra*, for emulation of *Octavia*, to whome the *Athenians* had done great honours, gaue a greater largesse to the people, and they againe made a decree of honour to be done to hir, at the which, *Antony* was as a Citizen of *Athens*, and in the name of the Citie made an Oration vnto hir.

Antony

*Antonie* had sent to *Rome*, to remoue *Octavia* out of his house. She went from it, with all his chylde, weeping and lamenting that she should be any cause of the warre. The people lamented, bothe hir and *Antonie*, specially they that had seene *Cleopatra*, who did not excell *Octavia*, neyther in beautie, nor in flour of yeares. *Cesar Octavius* was afrayde, when he heard of *Antonie* expedition and great preparation, for he had nothyng ready, nor money to prepare, in gathering of the which, if *Antonie* had come on, *Cesar* had bene in great daunger. For whyles money is so exacted, men are tumultours, but when it is gathered, they be quiet. Therefore it was thought a greatesolie in *Antonie*, to detract the time. But what shal a man say, That that wilbe, shalbe.

*Titius* and *Plancus* two chiefe aboute *Antonie*, and they that gaue him aduise he should send *Cleopatra* away, fledde from him to *Cesar*, by cause *Cleopatra* began to maligne at them: and they did bewray *Antonie* Testament, being priuie to it. It was kept of the *Virgines Vestalles*, to whome *Cesar* sente to haue it: they would not deliuer it, if he would take it from them, he might. So he went, and toke it away, and first by himselfe redde it, and noted what might be sayde agaynst it. When he called the Senate, and redde it openly, whereat many were grieved, thinking it not reasonable that a mans minde for his death, should be scanned whylest he was alieue. The greatest faulte that was founde, was this, that he had willed wheresoeuer he died, that his body should be caried to *Alexandria*, and sente to *Cleopatra*. Furthermore, one *Calpurnius* a frende of *Cesars*, objected agaynst *Antonie*, That he had giuen hir the Librarie of *Pergamo*, in the which was two hundred thousand booke. That he would rise from the table, and trample vpon hir seate by compaite. That he suffered the *Ephesians* in his presence, to call hir Soueraigne. That when he gaue audience to Kings and Princes, he would receiue letters of loue from hir written in tables of pearle and Cristall, and reade them. That when *Furnius*, a man of authoritie in *Rome* and very eloquent, did pleade a cause before him, *Cleopatra* came by in a litter, & he left the court, and ranne downe to hir, and leanyng vpon the litter, went away with hir. Many

Ddd. iij.

men

Octavia is put out of Antonies house.

Cesar in vwant.

Slacknesse of Antonie.

Exaction of money.

Titius, Plancus. Antonies friends forsake him.

Antonie's testament bevrayed.

Cesar objected agaynst Antonies testament.

Librarie of Pergamo.

men thought *Calpurnius* forged these crimes. Therefore *Antonie* friends made meane to the people of *Rome* for him. And sent *Geminus* vnto him, to warne him to take heed, that he losse not his power, and be pronounced rebell to *Rome*. When *Geminus* was come into *Gracia*, *Cleopatra* suspected he came to entreate for *Othania*. And beyng at supper, she taunted him, and bled him spitefully: but he bare all, till he might haue *Antonie* alone. But what he would not be, but he was commaunded to tell why he came enē at supper: he sayd that other things required a sober conference, but one thing he knew both sober and dronke, that all should be well if *Cleopatra* went into *Aegypt*. *Antonie* was angry at that. And *Cleopatra* sayde, Thou haste done well, *Geminus*, to tell the truth without any torture. *Geminus* went bys way out of hand. The Parasites of *Cleopatra* dyd cause many other to flee from them, bycause they coulde not beare their despites and contumelies, among whome was *Syllanius* and *Dellius*, who sayde he feared to be destroyed of *Cleopatra*, for so *Glaucus* the Phisitian had tolde hym. When *Caesar* was ready, the warre was denounced against *Cleopatra*, the authoritie taken from *Antonie*, bicause he had committed it to a womans lust, and not in his right wits, beyng bewitched by hir. And left all the warre to be directed by hir Eunuches and Ruffians, who also had the commaundement in ciuill affayres. Diuerse vnlucky tokens were seene at the beginning of this warre, both in *Italie* and *Gracia*.

Geminus.

Cleopatra taunteth Geminus.

Answer of Geminus.

Geminus telleth crutch and is blamed.

Romans flee from Antonie.

Warre proclaimed.

Name of Antonie.

Confederate kings.

Name of Caesar.

Countries of eyther side.

*Antonie* had a nauie of warlike ships to the number of fūe hundred, wherof 110. were made for triumph. He had an hundred thousand footemen, & 11. M. horsemen. *Bochus* king of *Africa*, *Tarchondemus* king of vpper *Cilicia*, *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* king of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* king of *Commagena*, and *Adallus* king of *Thracia*, were present at this war. *Polemon* king of *Pontus* sent ayde, likewise *Manchus* of *Arabia*, and *Herode* the Iewe, and *Aminthus* the kyng of *Licaonia* and *Galatia*. Also the king of *Media* sent him succour. *Caesar* had. 250. shippes for the warre, 1111. M. footemen, & as many horsemen as the enemye. *Antonie* had rule from the foud *Euphrates* & *Armenia*, to the sea of *Ionia* and *Illiria*. *Caesar* had al from that sea to the west Ocean, & from thence to

to the *Tuscan* & *Sicilian* sea. So much of *Africa* as bent towarde *Italie*, *Fraunce*, *Spaine*, and the pillars of *Hercules*, *Caesar* had. The rest from *Cirene* to *Athiopia*, *Antonie* helde. So much was he thall to this woman, that where he farre passed in good footemē, for hir pleasure he put all his strength in a nauie. And when he understode that the Captaines of the nauie found fault for lacke of good seamen, he supplied the want with roges, carriers, haruest men, and labozers of wasted *Gracia*, and yet was not the nauie furnished, but many shippes boyde and vnable to fight.

*Caesar* made not his shippes huge & for ostentation & shew, but light & swift, & them well furnished, whiche he helde at *Tarent* and *Brinduse*. From thence he sent to *Antonie* to require him to lose no time, but to come forth, & he would giue him safe rodes & portes for his nauie, and giue him conuenient ground in *Italie*, to lande his men surely & quietly. *Antonie* on the contrary side bragging chalenged to fight with him hand to hand, which if he would not doe, then to fighte with him in *Pharsall* fielde, where *Caesar* fought with *Pompey*. But *Caesar*, whiles *Antonie* lay at anchoz at *Astio*, whiche is now *Nicopoli*, passed the sea to get the towne of *Epirus*, whiche is now called *Toryne*. *Antonie* beyng afeard, the enemye should set vpon his shippes unfurnished, made a shewe of great readinesse by shippynge oares on euery side, and so kept the porte. Wherby *Caesar* being deceiued, went backe, and *Antonie* deuised to take away the water from him, which was scant & naught. He dealt gently concerning *Domitius*, contrary to *Cleopatras* opiniō, for he being sicke, tooke a litle boate & fled to *Caesar*, & which although it grieved *Antonie*, notwithstanding he sent him all his goodes & seruants. The which, bicause it was openly knowē that he was fled, so grieved him, that he died. The kings *Aminthus* & *Deiotarus*, went to *Caesar* also. And bycause *Antonie*'s nauie was not sufficient, he was compelled to looke & trust to his army by land. And *Canidius* & was general of the footemē, perswaded him in any wise to send *Cleopatra* home, & go to *Thracia* or *Macedonia*, & try & mater by lād. For *Dicomes* king of the *Getes* was redy to help him with great numbers. And & it shold be no shame to him to refuse & fight by sea, bicause *Caesar* had & praife of it by reaso of & *Sicilian* wars: but

The manner of Caesars Shippes.

Caesar prouoketh Antonie.

Antonie chalengeth combats with Caesar.

Astio.

Toryne.

Canidius.

Antonie heareth  
not good coun-  
sell.

Antonie in dan-  
ger.

Agrippa request  
of an old Cap-  
taine, not  
granted.

Antonie refuseth  
a good counsell.

The fight.

but it should be a great blame vnto him, not to vse his forces by lande, wherein he was moſte experte, and suffer the ſame to be abuſed by ſea. But *Cleopatra* vrged him to fight by ſea, although ſhe deſpayred of the victorie, and ſecretely prouided all meanes to flee away. In this time *Antonie* was in ſome daunger, there was a certaine narrow ſpace of grounde, betwene him and his ſhanke, ouer the whiche it was his maner to paſſe without feare, of the whiche, when *Caſar* was aduertised, he layde wayte for him, the whiche, being a little to quicke, tooke him that came befoze *Antonie*, and he hardely eſcaped and ranne away.

When it was determined to fight by ſea, they burned all the vnprofitable veſſels, and kepte the Gallies of the beſt ſorte, into the whiche he put twentie thouſand footemen, and two thouſand Archers. Then a certayne Captayne, that had bene a good ſeruitour, and was an expert Soldiour, ſhewed his wounded body to *Antonie*, crying, O generall, why doeſt thou diſtruſt theſe woundes and weapons, and putteſt thy truſt in brittle veſſels? Let *Egyptians* and other like make their fight by ſea, giue vs the land, in the which we haue bene wonte to ſtande and die, or elſe to conquire. *Antonie* answered nothing to him, but with his hande and head, ſignifying he ſhould be of good cheere, paſſed by, all hope layde aſide, for where as the maſters of the ſhippes, would haue taken away the ſayles, he commaunded them to be carried into the ſhippes, that none of the enimies ſhoulde eſcape him, as he pretended. That day, & xiiij. daies moze, the rough weather deferred the fight. The fifth day, the weather being fayre, they made the fight. *Antonie* and *Publicola* had the righte wing, *Calpurnius* the left, and *Marcus* and *Iulius* the midde battayle. *Caſar* appoynted *Agrippa* to the right, he helde the left. *Canidius* had *Antonies* land Soldiours. *Taurus*, had *Caſars*, being in order and quiet on the ſhoze. *Antonie* went about bys ſhanke in a ſpyte, exhorting his Soldiours, to fight without remouyng, bycauſe of the waight of the ſhippes, and commaunded the maſters, that ſtandynge (as it were) at Anchor, they ſhoulde not ſtirre at the onſet of the enimie, but auoyde the diſadvantage of the place, in the mouth of the porte.

¶

They ſay, that when *Caſar* wente out befoze day to viewe bys ſhanke, he mette a man leadyng an Aſſe, and asking his name, he ſayde, my name is *Fortunate*, and mine Aſſes name, is *Victrix*. The ſigne of this place, with the figure of the man and the Aſſe, he did ſette vp afterwarde in a table of Braſſe, in the common place of Rome. When hee had overlooked the reſidue of his ſhanke, he betooke himſelfe to the righte battayle, and behelde his enimies quiet in the ſtraights: for it ſeemed they had lien at anchor: and ſo helde his ſhippes backe a good while, being two miles off. At ſixe of the clocke, a good gale beganne to blowe, when as *Antonies* Soldiours would tarry no longer, but truſtyng in the greatneſſe of their ſhips, moued the left battayle. When *Caſar* ſawe that, hee was gladde, and held ſtill his right battaile, that he might the moze get his enimies out of the ſtraights, and with his ſwiſte ſhippes, fight with the huge heauy veſſels of his enimies, which were nothing well manned. When the onſet was giuen, they did not courage-ouſly encounter, for *Antonies* ſhips could not well ſtirre to giue a good aſſault, whiche is beſt done by mouyng. *Caſars* ſhippes were not fitte to giue the charge vpon the front, bycauſe of the others ſharpe and ſtrong beakes: nor durſt do it on the ſides, for breaking of their owne beakes, for the greates tymber and yron worke of thoſe mighty veſſels. Wherefoze it was like a fight on lande, or rather, as I may ſay it, an aſſault of a wall. For three or foure of *Caſars*, did ſet vpon one of *Antonies*, and fought with theyr dartes, pykes, and ſpyed weapons. And *Antonies* menne ſlong downe theyr weapons from their towers out of their caſting Engines. *Agrippa* began to ſtretch forth to compaſſe the reſt, whiche when *Publicola* dyd ſee, he was forced to do the ſame, and ſo diuided from the midde battayle. And the fight being very ſore on bothe ſides, and vncertayne to whome the victorie woulde fall, *Cleopatra*, with byr threſcore ſhippes, whiche were placed behinde the greates ſhippes, brake thorough to their greates diſorder, and tooke themſelues to flight.

Here did *Antonie* ſhewe himſelfe to haue forgotten his office.

¶

¶

*Cleopatra* fleeth.

*Antonie* ſoleyeth.

L. oster.

fice and charge, and verified the olde saying, *That the minde of a louer, liueth in an other body.* For as though he had bene annexed to hyr, and coulde neyther lyue nor die without hir, by and by, so sone as he saw hir shippe vnder sayle, he forsooke all, and left his soldours to the slaughter of his enimie, for whom they shed their bloudes, and with two companions of *Aegypt*, got into a Byrgandine, folowynge *Cleopatra*, to bying both hir and himself to reprochfull death. When she did see him comynge, she sette out a flagge to call hym, so hee beyng hoysted vp to hyr, did not looke vppon hyr, nor she vppon him, but wente and satte solitarie in the foreparte of the shippe, holdynge his hedde with bothe his handes.

Antony is hoysted into Cleopatra's Shippe.

Antony is pursued.

Varicles.

Shortly *Casars* swifte shippes that did followe hym were in sight, whome *Antonie* put backe, sauing one, in the whiche *Enaricles* was, who fierly pursued, shakynge his speare with threatnyng wordes. *Antonie* standynge still and askynge, who is he that foloweth *Antonie*? it is I (quoth hee) *Lacharis* sonne, that by the good fortune of *Cesar* do pursue thee for my fathers death. Yet did he not take *Antonies* shippe but the other that was of the same goodlinesse, in the whiche was all the riche furniture of *Cleopatra*.

Silence of Antonie.

Tenaro, a foreland.

When hee was gone, *Antonie* satte still after one sorte and in one place, and spake not to *Cleopatra*, eyther for anger or for shame. But when hee was come to *Tenaro*, the womenne that were familiar to them bothe, brought them to talke, and then to boorde and bedde. Entendynge to sende from thence into *Africa*, he chose one of the Quenes riche shippes, full of Golde and Silver, and gaue it to his frendes, wishynge them to prouide for themselves. And when as they wepte and prayed hym to be of chere, hee desired them to folowe his requeste, and wrote to *Theophilus* his officer at *Corinth*, to geue them quicke dispatch, and to helpe to hyde them, till *Cesar* might be pacified.

Antonie giueth his frends leaue to shut for themselves.

Many of the shippes of burden, and some of his frendes, were come from the fight, declaring that the navy was losse, but they

they thought the army by lande was safe. Wherefore he wrote to *Canidius* to make haste by *acedonia*, and bying his armie into *Asia*.

In this case was *Antonie*.

*Cesar* had a long fight with *Antonies* nauie, the whiche at length, by the vehemencie, bothe of the rage of the Sea and courage of the enimie, gaue ouer, onely fise thousande beyng slayne, and thre hundred shippes taken.

There were but fewe, that knewe of *Antonies* sleeyng, and when they hearde it, they wondred, as at a thyng incredible, that he, hauynge ninetene legions of footemen, and twelue thousande horsemen, woulde forsake all and runne away, as though he had not knowne the vnstabilenesse of Fortune, and had not proued the chaunce of warre, full many a tyme. The Souldiours thought still hee woulde come among them, in so muche as when *Cesar* sente messengers to them, they reiected them, and so continued seuen dayes, but when their Capitayne *Canidius* was stolne away by night, and they left comfortlesse, they yelded to the Conquerour, who sayled vnto *Athens*, and makynge bittie with the *Grotians*, distributed coyne among them, being afflicted before, with all kynde of exaction and seruitude. When *Antonie* had sent *Cleopatra* into *Aegypt*, from *Parctonio*, hee wente into *Affrica*, with two frendes only, the one a *Gretian*, and the other a *Romane*, and there lyued solitarily, till hee heard that his Lieftenautes there, hadde forsaken him: Then he woulde haue killed himselfe, but his frendes did stoppe him. And so hee wente againe to *Cleopatra*, who was diuising by great expenses to carrie hyr nauie into the nooke of the straughtest place of the Sea, that is thought to diuide *Affrike* and *Asia*, that she might be safe from inuasion. But, bycause the first shippes that came, had euill lucke, and for that *Antonie* hoped his footemenne were safe at *Asia*, hee caused hyr to leaue off, and fenced the mouthes of the floudde *Nilus*. This beyng done, *Antonie* buylded him an house in the Sea at the Lanterne, and rammed it aboute, separating himselfe from the company of men:

Men amazed at Antonies madnesse.

Soldiours good opinion of Antonie.

Antonies footemen yeldeth.

Parctonio a port town.

Antonie in despayre.

A deuise of Cleopatra for hyr safetie.

Antonie foloweth the trade of Timon.

See. is.

Affric

Timons tabernacle.

Enill newes one after another.

Antony remeth his riot.

Feastes of the dying sorte.

Cleopatra seeketh for payson.

Request of Cleopatra.  
Requestes of Antonie.

Euphronius.  
Alexas of Laodicea.

Infectible punished.

Affirmyng hee woulde folowe the trade of *Timon*, that was surnamed, *Hater of men*. For when as he was forsaken of his frendes, and deceyued of suche menne, as he had brought to advancement, hee tooke this ingratitude so to the hate, that he woulde refuse all mens societie: euen as *Timon* dyd, who was a Citizen of *Athens*, and called that house *Timons Tabernacle*. The firste that brought hym newes of the losse of his followers men at *Actio*, was *Canidius* hymselfe. And shortly after it was tolde hym that *Herode the Iewe* was gone to *Caesar* with certayne legions, and that other *Byntes* dyd the lyke: none of these thyngs dyd moue him, but as beyng well wplyng to leaue bothe hope and care, contented hymselfe with *Timons Tabernacle*. But beyng otherwise perswaded by *Cleopatra*, he came to the courte to *Alexandria*, and there gaue hymselfe to feasting and banquettyng, so as the *Alexandrians* dyd nothing else a great whyle, but make good chere. This manner of fellowship, vsed among them that woulde lyue, they forsooke, and beganne an other, whiche was called, of them that woulde die together, the whiche was not inferiour to the other, in delicacie nor superfluitie, and as many as had sworne to dye together, made suche feastes in order by course, one to an other.

*Cleopatra* beside all this gaue hyr selfe to the searche of moste speedy payson and venom, and caused not onely suche growyng thyngs, as were accompted moste effectuous, to be sought, but also the lyuing beastes and Serpentes, and made a proue of them all in some of hyr folkes. When bothe shee and *Antonie* sente to *Caesar*. Shee requyred that the kyngdome of *Egypt* myght be entayled to hyr chyldren. *Antonie* desired hee myght lyue a pryuate lyfe in *Athens*, if hee might not doe it in *Egypt*. For lacke of other frendes they were fayne to sende *Euphronius* their Scholemayster to him. For *Alexas* of *Laodicea* had deceyued *Antonie*, and by the meane of *Herode the Iewe*, gaue hymselfe to *Caesar*, who dyd not accepte hym, put him in chaynes, and sent him to die in his countrey. This rewarde had hee for his unfaithfulnesse to *Antonie*.

Caesar

*Caesar* would not heare *Antonyes* requestes, but promised *Cleopatra* all kinde of courtesie, if she woulde reiect *Antony*. He sente his Liberte *Thyrenus* a learned man, that might moue that magnificall Lady wyth the hope of so lusty a yong Emperoure. He vsed so long and pleasing oration, that *Antony* had him in suspi-  
sition: therefore he toke him, and caused him to be whippied, wrighting to *Caesar*, that he was stirred by his pryde and insulencie, which woulde moue a man though he were in miserie. And if this (quoth he) doth greue you, take my Liberte *Hipparchus* is wyth you, and whippe him, and then we shall be curd. Nowe *Cleopatra*, that she might wipe away all suspition, honoured hym maruellously, and celebrating hir owne birth daye, meanelly, as hir case required, she honoured his, so nobly and princely, that many that came poze to the feast, went rich away.

At this time *Agrippa* wrote to *Caesar* from *Rome*, that in anye wise he shoulde repaire thither, for the case required his presence. By this occasion the warre againste *Antony* was deferred tyll the next sommer, when *Caesar* sent forces againste his Captaynes in *Affrike*, and went hymselfe against him in *Asia*. And when he had taken *Peluso*, it was suspected that *Cleopatra* was contented that *Seleucus* shoulde deliuer it: but she to purge this crime, toke the wife and chyliden of him to be punished. She had a godly sepulchre made, toying to the Temple of *Isis*, in the whiche she had placed all hir treasure, and princely things. And *Caesar* being astrayd, that if she were driuen to desperation, she woulde set all on fire, put hir in great hope alwayes. Now was he come wyth his army to the Citie, and his horsemen lay at the hozserace, vpon the which *Antony* came out so fiercely, as he droue them to the Camp. When he returned into the Court, and toke *Cleopatra* in his armes, and kissed hir, and recommended him vnto hir, that had fought best, and she gaue him an head piece, and a coate armour of golde. Yet he that night fledde to *Caesar*. When *Antony* challenged *Caesar* once againe to fight hande to hand. *Caesar* answered, there were many wayes for *Antony* to dye. When seing there was no way so honourable to dye, as in fight, *Antony* determined to set vpon *Caesar* both by Sea & land, and at supper bad

Cee. iij.

his

Antony cheereth  
his men.

A noyse in the  
Citie in the  
night of Iovæ  
musicke.

Antonyes ships  
forsake him.

His horsemen  
forsake him.

Antony com-  
playneth of  
Cleopatra.  
Cleopatra fleeth  
from Antony.  
Message of  
Cleopatra.

Antonyes greafe

Antonyes  
man, killeth  
himselfe.

Antony thrusteth  
his sword into  
himselfe.

Diomedes.

Antony is caried  
half dead into  
the Sepulchre.

his me drinke & make merry, for he coulde not tell if they should do so any moze, or serue other Lords, for as for himselfe, he shuld not live. And whē they wept at the wordes, he sayd, he would not leade thē to a fight, by y<sup>e</sup> which he might rather hope for a glorious death, thā a sure & triumphāt victorie. About midnight, was heard ouer al y<sup>e</sup> citie such a pleasant noyse & musicke, as is wont to be vsed in y<sup>e</sup> sacrifice of *Bacchus*, the which wēt forth of y<sup>e</sup> Citie into the enemies Camp. It was expounded, that the God, whom he had most serued, did now also forsake him. In y<sup>e</sup> morning, he brought forth his footemen, & placed the vpō the hilles about the citie, where he stood to see y<sup>e</sup> successe of his nauie, the which coming nigh to y<sup>e</sup> enemye, saluted thē as friends, & they did the like, & so yēlded to thē. When this was perceyued, *Antonyes* horsemen fled to *Cesar* also: his footemen did fight it out, & were overcome, which being done, he retires into y<sup>e</sup> citie, crying, he was betrayd of *Cleopatra* to thē, against whome he had made war for hir sake. She being afrayd of his furie, got hir into hir Sepulchre, causing the bridge to be drawne, & to be kept close and shut. This done, she sent one out to tell him that she was dead. Whē he heard it, he sayd, Why temptest thou *Antony*? Whē he wēt into his Chāber & unharnessed him, saying, O *Cleopatra*, I am not tormented that I am without thee, for I wil sone be with thee, but that I being so great a Captayne, should be pūctured of thee, y<sup>e</sup> art but a woman, in such a case of fortitude. *Eros* his faithful seruāt was with him, whom before he had swozne to kill him whē he should commaund it: Now (saith he) is the time for thee to do it, and take him his sword. He turned his face and killed himselfe, and fell dead at *Antonyes* fete. Ah good *Eros* (quoth *Antony*) where thou couldest not abide to doe it to me, thou hast taught me to do it my selfe, and so he thrust the sword into his belly, and layd downe vpon his bed. The stroke was not so great, as it coulde dispatch hym, there fore he commaunded them that were by, to make an end of him, but they went out of the chamber, leauing him crying and lamenting, til *Diomedes* came from *Cleopatra*, to bring *Antony* to hir, whō hearing she was alieue, commanded to be caried to hir in their armes to y<sup>e</sup> doze of the monument, which *Cleopatra* would not open, but let downe staires & limes to heane him vp, whyche

she and hir two women did, that onely were with hir there. It was a pitifull sight to see him all bloudy, and yēlding the ghost, to be halled vp so hardly, holding forth his hands, and stretchyng himselfe toward hir, as well as he could, the poze womē not hauing strength ynough to do it, till *Cleopatra* with both hir hāds, bending downward as much as might be, got him vp, they y<sup>e</sup> were below, crying vpon hir to haue pitie vpo him. Whē she had him in, she layde him vpo a bed, lamenting and tearing hir mourning woe, & wiping the blood frō his face, called him Lord, husband & Emperour, forgetting hir owne sorow, for cōpassion of him. He being somewhat cōforted, desired a cuppe of wine, eyther for that he was a thirst, or y<sup>e</sup> he might the soner be dispatched. Whē he had dronke, he wished hir to prouide for hir selfe, so wel as she could, hir honoz being saued, & among *Cesars* friends, to trust *Proculeius* most: and that she shuld not afflict hirselfe for him, in this great alteratiō, but rather comfort hirselfe, y<sup>e</sup> she had dealt with him y<sup>e</sup> was most mighty & ful of power, who being a *Romane*, was not thorough cowardise overcome of a *Romane*. This said, he yēlded y<sup>e</sup> ghost, whē as *Proculeius* was come frō *Cesar*, for whē *Antony* had stricke himselfe, & was drawe vp to *Cleopatra*, *Dercerem* one of his gard toke his bloudy sword, & caried it to *Cesar*, telling him how it stood: which whē he heard, he went into his closet, & wept for *Antonyes* chance, that had bin a valiant mā, & his cōpanion in many battels. When he red his letters to his friendes, declaring how proudly & arrogantly he answered to his gentle letters, & he commaunded *Proculeius* to do all y<sup>e</sup> he could, to get *Cleopatra* alieue, for he feared the destructiō of hir treasure, & thought it would be no final honoz to him, if he might bring hir in triūph. She wold not talke w<sup>th</sup> *Proculeius* win, but far of, so as hardly hir voyce could be heard. Hir request was, that hir kingdome might be established to hir children. *Proculeius* had hir be of good chēre, and remit al to *Cesar*, and marking y<sup>e</sup> place, sent word to *Cesar*, who sent *Gallus* to talke with hir, and he of purpose prolōged the cōmunication, till *Proculeius* hauing got scalling ladders, with two moze, got into y<sup>e</sup> window where *Antony* was taken in, & went streight to y<sup>e</sup> place wher she was talking w<sup>th</sup> *Gallus*. Whē one of y<sup>e</sup> womē cryed, O unhappy *Cleopatra*, thou art takē alieue. Whē she would haue stricke hir

A pitifull sight.

V Words of *Antony* at his death

*Proculeius*.

*Antony* dyeth.

*Dercerem*.

*Cesar* receiveth for *Antony*.

Request of *Cleopatra*.

*Gallus*.

*Proculeius* getteth into the secret Sepulchre of *Cleopatra*.

Proculeus stayeth  
Cleopatra from  
killing hirselfe.

Epaphroditus,  
Care of Caesar to  
keepe Cleopatra  
alīue.

Caesar honoureth  
a Philosopher.

Caesars mercy to  
the Alexandrians.

Cleopatra bury-  
eth Antonys  
body very  
princely.  
Cleopatra kept  
from killing hir  
selfe by hunger.

Caesar cometh  
to Cleopatra.

Cleopatra submit-  
teth to Caesar.

She beateth one  
of hir seruants.

hirselfe, for she ware a dagger: but *Proculeus* ranne quickly, and embraced hir with both his hands, saying: O *Cleopatra*, you doe iniurie both to your selfe, and to *Caesar*, in taking from him the acte of clemencie, and casting an infamie of vnfaithfulness. Then he tooke the dagger from hir, and cut hir garments, that she shoulde haue no payson about hir. Then *Caesar* sent his fre made man *Epaphroditus*, with commaundment, that he shoulde in anye wise see hir kepte alīue, in all other thinges doing most gently and curteously. Then he entred the Citie with *Arrius* the Philosopher, holding him by the hande, that the Citizens mighte see in what honoz he had him. Being come into the common hall, and the Citizens lying prostrate for feare, he willed them to rise, saying, he forgot them, firste for *Alexanders* fame that builded the Citie, then for the beautie of it, thirdly, for *Arrius* sake. The body of *Antony*, *Caesar* was contente that she shoulde burie, which she did with hir owne hands, by the labour where of, getting an age, she was glad she hadde suche a cloke, to refrayne from meate, and kill hirselfe with hunger, whiche, when it was perceyued, *Caesar* threatned hir the losse of hir Childzen. Then she was contente to be releued againe. And after a fewe dayes, *Caesar* came to see hir, and comforte hir. She lying very homely in hir night gowne, lept out of the bedde, and fell downe at *Caesars* fete with trembling voyce, and heauie chere. Hir body was defoimed with hir owne stripes, whereof the printes were sene: hir eyes were sonke, and hir couloure swart: yet by hir behauiour declare, that hir grace was not extinct, whiche byd appeare out of that forpined and wasted corpe. *Caesar* willed hir to sit, and he sate by hir, she making excuses, that she had done al for feare of *Antony*, all the whiche when *Caesar* had reproued, he gaue hir wholly to his mercy, and toke him a note of suche treasure as she had. The which, when one of hir Treasurers *Selenus* had corrected, that she had hidde somewhat from him, she lept vnto him, and knocked him aboute the pate, whereat *Caesar* smiling and blaming hir, O *Caesar* sayd she, is it not a grēce, that seeing thou dost not disdayne to visit me in this wofull estate, to be accused of my seruants for keeping a fewe womens thyngs, where

where with I would winne thy wife *Linia*, and thy sister *Octauia*, to make thee the more fauourable to me. *Caesar* was glad of these words, thinking she had desire to liue, and granted hir al that and more to, beyond all hope, thinking he hadde deceyued hir, but she deceyued him. *Cornelius Dolabella* a noble yōg mā in *Caesars* camp, had a great desire to *Cleopatra*, to whom *Caesar* gaue leaue to come and tell hir, that he would go home by lād thzough *Syria*, and that she and hir childzen shoulde be sent to *Italy* by shippe. When she vnderstode it, she desired *Caesar* she mighte firste celebrate *Antonys* funerall, wherewith he was content. She came to the graue with hir women, and sayde, Of late (noble *Antony*) I did burie thee, being free: now I honoz thy buriall, being captiue, and garded, that I should not consume this wretched body with too much lamenting for thee, whiche is reserued to be shewed in triumph of thee. Other honours at my hand thou shalt not looke for, being ready to be caried away from thee. Nothing did separate vs lyuing, but now in death we must be parted: thou a *Romane*, must lye hēre, and I unhappy *Egyptian*, in *Italy*, so far forth to be partaker of thy Countrey: but if the Gods there can do any thyng, (for oure Gods haue deceyued vs hēre) forsake not thy wife, which is alīue, neyther suffer in me a triumph to be made of thee, but burie & close me hēre with thee. For of infinite grēces, there is none so great to me, as this shorte time that I haue lyued without thee.

When she had ended these laments, and put on garlands, and kissed the graue, she commaunded a bath to be made ready for hir. When she was washed, she wente to meate, and had greates chere: then a chest was brought out of the Countrey to hir by a man, and the gard asking what it was, he toke away the leaues, and shewed them the figges. They maruelling at the forme and greatnesse of them, the man smiled, and desired them to take the. They suspecting nothing, bad him carrie them in. After this, she sent *Caesar* hir writings sealed. When all other being remoued, but hir two women, she shut the doores. When hir letters were come to *Caesar*, he redde them, and founde hir onely request to be with greates petition, to be buryed by *Antony*, whiche when hee

Caesar granteth  
all things to  
Cleopatra.

Dolabella is sent  
to Cleopatra.

Cleopatra cele-  
brateth Antons  
nyes funerall.

V Words of  
Cleopatra.

Cleopatra decey-  
ueth Caesar.

The Gard is  
deceyued.

Cleopatras last  
request to Caesar.

fff.

law,

law, he suspected by and by what was a doing, and was mynded to haue gone threight thither hymselfe, yet first sent to see what was done, but she was dispatched suddaynely. For they that came thither, founde no alteration in the Gard, and opened the boxes, and found hir dead, lying in a bedde of gold most royally. One of hir women called *Iris* lay dead at hir fete. The other, whose name was *Charmium*, being ready to fall downe dead, trimming the Crowne vpon hir head, to them that cryed, is this well done *Charmium*? yea very well (quoth he) for one that is descended of so many progenitours Kings. When she had said thus much, she fell downe dead by the beds side. They say a Serpente called *Aspis*, was brought among the figges, and couered with the leaues, the whiche did sting hir to death, whose nature is, to giue an heauinesse and slæpe, without any shrinking or marke in the skinne, onely putting forth a gentle sweat out of the face, as one were in a trance, and hard to be wakened. Some saye, there were two little spots in hir arme, whiche *Cæsar* eyther belæued; or else would so haue it belæued, for in hir Image þ he brought into triumph at *Rome*, he set forth the Serpent, and two markes in hir arme. Howsoever it was, *Cæsar* was forþ it was so chaunced, yet did he highly commend hir noble mind, and caused hir to be royally layd by *Antony*, and hir women to be nobly buryed also. *Cleopatra* was xxxix. yeaues of age; and hadde reigned. xxiij. whereof. xiiij. was with *Antony*, who liued. liij. yeaues, or at the most. lviij. *Antonyes* Images were throwen bolone; *Cleopatras* were not remoued, for *Archibius* hir friend had obteyned that of *Cæsar* for a thousand talents; *Antony* had seauen childe by thre wiues, whereof *Attillus* the eldest was only killed of *Cæsar*, the rest *Octavia* brought vp with hirs; *Attillus* was betrayed of hys Scholemaster *Theodorus*, who toke a goodly ietwell from hys necke when he was killed, the which being required, and denyed of him when he had it, caused that he was hanged.

*Cesarione*, whom *Cleopatra* had by the first *Cæsar*, beyng also betrayed of his scholemaster, who she had sent with him, & a great treasure into *India*, was slayne, after she was dead. Hir daughter called *Cleopatra* of hir name, he married to the flourishing king

*Cleopatra* is said dead vpon a bed of gold, and hir two women by hir.

*Aspis* brought among the figges, did sting hir to death.

Age of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*.

*Antonyes* children.

*Cæsar* be-  
sought *Cleopatra*  
children.

*Iuba*. He promoted *Antonie*, that was some to *Fulvia*, to so high fauour, that next *Agrippa* and *Liuius* childe, he was chief. She had by *Marcellus* two daughters, and one some named *Marcellus*, whom *Cæsar* did adopt & made him his some in law. The other daughter was giuen to *Agrippa*. *Marcellus* dying shortly after this mariage, *Octavia* desired that *Agrippa* mighte marrie hys daughter, & *Antonie*, hys. Hir other daughters were bestowed vpon *Domitius Aembarba*, & *Drusus Liuius* some, and steppchilde to *Cæsar*, of whom came *Germanicus* and *Claudius*. *Germanicus* died, & *Claudius* was Emperoure. Of *Germanicus* came *Caligula* who was Emperour also. *Agrippina* that had *L. Domitius* by *Aembarba*, did marrie with *Claudius* the Emperour, who adopted *Domitius*, calling him *Nero Germanicus*, and was Emperour. Thus of *Antonies* race diuerse Emperours issued. Albeit himselfe had the lamentable end that you haue hearde, and was the only cause why the *Romane* state was not restozed to a common wealth agayne as the noble *Brutus* protested when he died, al whose execrations came vpon *Antonie* before he died. Eyther for that God woulde plague *Antonies* euill life: or that he would chaunge the state of that mighty comon wealth, whiche had all the worlde at suche a becke, as they might doe what they woulde, whose outragious dealings as wel in fozeine as ciuill murders, it pleased God to punish with so great alteration, or else for some secrete determination for the natiuitie of his only sonne *Iesus Chyrist* our Lord. For now is *Cæsar* the only Monarche without any competitor at all, and yet had no childe to whom to leane it, but adopted *Tiberius* his wiues sonne, whome, that she might see Emperour, it is thought she holpe to dispatche *Cæsar* before his time, who had the title of *Augustus* giuen him, a thing neuer done before to any *Romane*, not onely for augmentyng and encreasing the Empire of *Rome*, but also for the deuination and destinie, by which it was assigned vnto him. And after hee had shutte the gates of *Ianus* temple, for that a generall peace folowed throught out the worlde, he disposed himself to set good orders in the citie, and made many good lawes for the preservation of the same, in the whiche time diuerse tokens appeared of the coming of a greater Prince

He vseth one of *Antonies* sonnes in great fauour.

Chaunge of marriage.

Emperours of *Antonies* issue.

*Antony*, the cause of the alteration of the *Romane* estate.

*Augustus*.

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Fit. ij.

than.



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FINIS.

# Faultes escaped in the printing of the Bookes of Ciuill vvarres.

Page.	Line.	Faulte.	Correction.
1	18	ould (reade	Mail
3	35	Lisbia	Libya
4	1	Duke of Loma	Gulfe of Ionia
4	vlt.	Colligant	Colligant
5	20	of that	of them that
13	33	Papirius	Papirius
16	33	pastime	pasture
25	25	Hirians	Hirians
29	17	Esclamo	Falerno
32	16	Cuine	Canne
38	21	Cithecus	Cetheus
50	17	meanes	malice
54	14	warres	wages
69	vlt.	Gargius	Garganus
70	8	birdes	burdens
73	20	Catiline	Catiline
83	35	that Milo	Milo that
85	26, 28, 29	Protolomis	Ptolomie
95	3	Dyrachium	Dyrachium
97	2	Sypris	Sycoris
100	22	that any	that only
102	14	manly	manly
103	1	Baron	Barne
107	34	of. viii. C.	sauing 800.
110	1	Vetona	Velona
114	7	ringes	ringes
115	18	fortie	400.
115	27	so	see
126	9	Methridates	Mithridates
128	33	which	with
129	5	Gorta	Citra
140	17	came	comming
161	2	40	400.
ibid.	5	hoise	holie
ibid.	18	Titurus	Titurius
167	14	Phaberius	Talerius
172	33	These words,	
		but as a succes	
		for of his tyrani	
		nie, must be red	
		in the text, after	
		thys worde	
		(thinke)	
		the	the

Page.	Line.	Faulte.	Correction.
175	1	striker	strikers
178	1	hart	hart
210	3	left	hurt
ibid.	22	louing	following
212	30	Crallus	Crispus
223	19	Cornue himself	Cornutus himself
232	33	seale out all the line	
248	27	for or	for
271	7	Ciceronians	Cizicentians
285	7	Caldeans	Calcidonians
ibid.	15	of Saporea	for Saporea
289	3	of	with
ibid.	21	Cafe	Thafe
290	9	florke	flanke
292	17	legates	legion
294	21	yet	after
296	11	Achia	Achaia
ibid.	vlt.	Generallies	Generall
305	15	naue	none
307	30	Pergama	Pergamo
309	8	adde this, other Tributes were commanded to Kings & Princes & free Cities, according to euerie ones habilitie	
ibid.	25	Galace	Galaceans
ibid.	22	Palestia	Palestina
ibid.	31	Siona	Siclana
315	17	adde this, that the Consulles shoulde rule after the auncient manner, without any lette of the three men.	
324	2	enuies	enemies
326	4	and state	estate
339	21	Birhinus	Birhinicus
341	15	wife	nece
343	11	Menedorus his	Menedorus as one ruling his
358	2	circle	circle
359	10	adde	but Pompeis part was sad
380	19	right	neight
378	14	Antioch	Antioche
379	vlt.	of	that
382	1	sent	lent
ibid.	38	as	all

## The second part of Appian of Alexandria.

Wherin be contained some of the  
Romanes expeditions against forraine

Nations, as haue bene defended from the  
spoyle of War, or by decay of time,  
and bin brought into light and  
come to our hands.

That is to say:

- 1 Against Mithridates King of Pontus, with his miserable end.
- 2 Against the Hiberians, now called Spaniards, and among many notable things, the pitiful ouerthrow of the Citie of Numantia.
- 3 Against the Carthagies, with the lamentable destruction of that Citie.
- 4 Against Antiochus the Great, who after many losses, made a dishonorable peace.
- 5 Against the Parthians, where Crassus was slaine, and Antonie foyled.
- 6 Against the Illyrians, of whose Conquest Octavius Caesar glorieth.
- 7 A fragment of the war with the Frenche, with whom Iulius Caesar fought tenne yeares together, and triumphed of them.

Translated into English by W.B.

Imprinted at London by Ralph Newberie and  
Henrie Bynniman.

Anno. 1578.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE,  
his singular good Mayster, Sir  
*Christopher Hatton, Knight, Cap-  
taine of the Queenes Maiesties  
Garde, viz chamberlaine to hir Highnesse,  
and one of hir Maiesties most honou-  
rable priue Counsaile.*



He first translatour of this Author into Latin, did make his dedicatiō to two sūdry Princes: but we haue thoughte good to make your Honor the vvhole patron of our english *Appian*, as vvholly as vve could set him forth.

In the former parte hee sheweth to youre Honoure, the conquestes that the Romaines made one of another. In this parte hee sheweth the conquestes that they made of other nations: vvherein they vvente so farre, that at laste they fell dovvne, beeyng ouerprest with their ovvne vvayght. To these tvvo kindes of conquests, a thirde is to be added, vvhen a man conquereth himselfe, as *Alexander* did in conteyning from *Darius* most faire vvife and daughters, and *Cesar*, in sparing to punish his greatest enemies. To vvhom *Cicero* sayde, that in other victories, fortune, policie, and souldiours, might claime a parte, but in this, he alone should haue al the glorie. And vvhen *Darius* died, and vvas holpen therto, by *Polycrates*, he sayd, for thy paines *Alexander* shal giue thee thanks, but the Gods immortal, shal giue *Alexander*

*Stephanus in  
his Greeke ad-  
dition to the  
Greeke Pres-  
face.*

Alexander thanks, for his magnanimitie shewved to my mo-  
ther, vvife and childrē. By such maner of conquest, your  
honour shall attaine to moste sure triumphe, the guide of  
vvhose Chariot, shal be Grace giuen from aboue, that shal  
neuer fayle you. Howv vvorthy this author is to be read in  
these matters, his testimonie may be ynough to proue, that  
vvisheth him to be read in the same, afore all other.

Then may it please your Honour to accept him  
at the hands of your most humble seruaunt,  
that cōtinually prayeth for your increase  
of fame and honour, to the seruice of  
your Prince, and the glorie  
of God.

Your Honors most  
bounden seruaunte :  
H. BYNNIMAN.



# The Authours Preface to the bookes of the Romane wars, with for- raine Nations.



Beginning to write the Historie of the  
Romaines, I haue thought it necessa-  
ry to declare first, the borders of the  
nations that the Romaines ruled. In  
the mayne Sea, the moste parte of the  
Brittaines is theirs. And goyng to  
the sea, by the pillers of Hercules, and  
sayling aboute these pillers, they bee  
Lords of al the Ilands, and the firme

land, that is inhabited alongest the sea.

The firste on the right hande of that sea, be the *Maroussians*, the  
other be the nations of the *Lybians* as farre as *Carthage*, beyonde  
whome be the *Nomadians*, whome the Romaines call *Numidians*,  
and the Country *Numidia*. The other *Lybians* do inhabite about  
the shallowe seas, to *Cyrene*. Then *Cyrene*, the *Marmaridans* and  
*Ammonians*, and they that dwell at the lake of *Mares*, and the  
great citie which *Alexander* did build in *Egypt*, with *Egypt* it self,  
as farre as a man may sayle in *Nilus* to the Caste *Ethiopiens*, and  
by sea, to *Pelusio*.

Then tournyng the course to *Syria* and *Palestina*, and beyond  
them you go to parte of the *Arabian*. The *Phenitians* bordure  
bypan the *Palistines* at the sea, and beyond the *Phenitians*, the hyl-  
low part of *Syria*, vnto the floude *Euphrates*. From the sea aboute  
the porte *Minars*, and the sandes of *Palmiria* to *Euphrates*. They  
had the *Cilicians* of *Syria*, and the *Cappadocians* their neighbours, &  
parte of *Armenia*, called *Armenia* the lesse. And all the nations  
about *Euxinus Pontus*, obeyed the Romaynes. And the *Syrians* and  
*Cilicians* that be toward the sea. The *Armenians* and *Cappadocians*  
inhabiting the nations of *Pontus*, & they of the middle land, which  
they

These pillers or  
hills of Hercules  
be in the strai-  
ghtes of Gades,  
beynd the vvhi-  
che it vvvas thou-  
ght no mā could  
go.

Moores inhabite  
Mauritania vvell  
vvarde.

Libia, othervvise  
called Affrica, is  
the third part of  
the vvorld, diui-  
ded frō Asia by  
the floude Nilus,  
and from Europa,  
by the sea, that  
is called Medus  
terræum.

Nomades vvvere  
they that alway  
followed theyr  
flocks, and chaū-  
ged their places  
of pasture.

There be twvo  
shallowe seas  
called Sytes.

Marmaridans bee  
those people of  
Affrica, among  
vvvich be they  
that be called  
Bisili, vvwhose

sperte killeth serpents, as Cato proued vvhen he vvvent against Iuba. The holloyve parte of Syria is  
called Calosyria. Pelusium is the furthest Citie of the coaste of Egypt. Palmyra is a free Cittie in  
the confines of the Romane and Parthian kingdomes.

## The Authors Preface to

they call *Armenia* the great, of the whyche the Romaines take  
nottribute, but they receiue kings by their appointment. From  
*Cappadocia* and *Cilicia* to *Ionis*, is the great lande like an Ilande  
whiche hathe *Pontus Euxinus* and *Propontus*, and *Hellepont* on the  
right hande, and the *Aegean*, *Pamphilian*, and *Egyptian* sea on the  
lesse side, for they say it maketh almost an Ilande on both sides,  
and as men go to the *Egyptian* Sea, there be the *Pamphilians*, *Lyci-  
ans*, and after them *Caria* to *Ionis*, and the *Galatians*, *Bythinians*, *My-  
sians* and *Phrygians* be aboute *Euxinus*. In the middle land, the *Pisi-  
dians* and *Lydians*. So manye nations inhabite *Cherronesus*, of all  
the whiche the Romaines haue rule. On the other side of that  
sea, they gouerne the nations about *Pontus* and *Mysia* in *Europa*,  
and the *Thracians* that be aboute *Euxinus*. From *Ionis* beginneth  
the Gulfe of *Aegea*, and the other from the sea of *Ionis*, and the  
narrowe sea of *Sicilie*, and the *Tuscane* sea to the pillers of *Hercu-  
les*. So great is the length from *Ionis* to the *Ocean* sea, and in that  
coaste, these be the Romaine prouinces. All *Grecia*, *Theffalia*, *Ma-  
cedonia*, and al þe toyne vpon *Thracia* and *Illyria*, and the nations of  
*Pannonia*. Then *Italie* it selfe, the longeste of them all, reaching  
from the *Ionian*, to the moste parte of the *Tuscane* sea, to the *Celi-  
ans*, which they call *Galatians*, and of the people of the *Galls*, some  
belong to this sea, and some to the north *Ocean*, and some at the  
riuer of *Rene*. And all *Iberia* and *Celiberia*, that ende in the west  
and north *Ocean*, and *Hercules* pillers. I wil declare evidently of  
all these stattons, when I shall wypte of euerye statton by it  
selfe.

Nowe we haue tolde with howe great borders their Empire  
is compassed by sea. To him that will trauaile on the land, ther  
is a parte of *Mauritania* that goeth towarde the Weste to the  
*Aethiopiens*, then the other more desert, and wylde parte of *Lybia*,  
to the Caste *Aethiopiens*: This is the bordure of the Romaines  
in *Lybia*.

Of *Asia*, the floude *Euphrates*, and the hill *Caucasus*, and the  
kingdome of *Armenia* the great, and the *Colchians* that be about  
the Sea of *Euxinus*, and the rest of that sea. In *Europa* two flouds  
*Renus* and *Hister* doth chieflly diuide the Romane kingdomes. Of

*Prophtis* is now  
called *Mare de  
San Georgio*.  
*Pamphilia* is in  
*Asia* the lesse,  
named as some  
thinke, of the  
plentye of trees.  
*Euxinus* is the  
sea that begin-  
neth at *Bospho-  
rus* *Tracis*, and  
goeth east and  
northe: it vvvas  
first called *Axe-  
nus*, that vvvas  
*Inbospitalis*, bi-  
ca: te the inhabi-  
taunts dyd kyl  
and eate the pas-  
sengers: but af-  
ter beeing made  
ciuill by the  
*Grecians*, it vvvas  
called *Euxinus*.

*Renus* is the  
floude that diui-  
deth *Germany*  
from *France*.  
*Iberia* &c. now  
*Spaine*.

*Euphrates* is a  
floude of *Meso-  
potamia*.  
*Caucasus* an hyll  
diuiding *India*  
from *Scythia*.

# The Authours Preface to

*Hister* is the same floud in *Illyria*, that *Danubius* is in Germany: the great est floud in Europe.  
*Dacia* now *Palaestina*, the people were called *Dac*, or *Dani*, sayning to the *Grecians*, of whom the *Athenians* take their names of the mannts in *Comedie* as *Darius*, *Geta*, *Cyclades*, be the Isles in the *Aegean* Sea. *Sporades* be lles about *Creta* in the *Carpasian* Sea. *Echinades*, be big lles next to *Acamin*. *Tyrrenides* be the lands in the *Tuscan* Sea. *Myriam* sea, is part of the *Aegean* sea. *Britaine* now *England* so great as it seemeth a myne lande. *Asiatica* is a rule of the best sort of men. *C. Caesar*, King. *Emperours*, *Emperor* is he that is generall of an army.

these, *Renus* runneth to the north Ocean, and *Hister* into *Euxine* *Pontus*. And in some place they goe beyond, and rule the nations that bee beyonde *Rene*, and the *Getes* that bee beyonde *Hister*, whom they call *Daciers*. These be their boundes by land, as neare as I coulde gather. All the Ilandes that be in the Sea, *Cyclades*, *Sporades*, *Hiades*, *Echinades*, and *Tyrrenides*, & *Mysia*, or whatsoeuer other name they haue, about *Libya*, *Ionia*, *Aegypt*, *Myrto*, or *Sicilie*, or what otherwise they be called in the Sea: Al these be subiect to the *Romanes*, and they that for their excellencie, be named of y<sup>e</sup> *Romanes* great Ilands, as *Cyprus*, *Creta*, *Rhodes*, *Lesbus*, *Eubolia*, *Sicilie*, *Sardin*, and *Cyrrus*, and whatsoeuer other else. When passing the north Ocean, into y<sup>e</sup> Ile of *Brittaine*, which for y<sup>e</sup> greatnesse maye serue an other continent, they haue y<sup>e</sup> best parte of it, moze than halfe, the reste they passe not of. For that parte which they haue, is not fruitfull to the. As great as al these nations be, was y<sup>e</sup> greatest labour to the to conquire *Italy*, which they could hardly doo after. 500. yeares, halfe of y<sup>e</sup> tyme being vnder kings.

But when they had expulsed their kings and sworne that they woulde no moze recelue them, they vsed the rule of the best meane, and hadde them yearely chosen two hundred yeares after the v. C. Their Empire waxed moſte greate, and they were Lordes of infinite forraigne power, and subdued the most nations. The *Caesar* getting the vpper hand, made it a sure state, he kept still the forme and name of a Common wealth, but made himselfe a Monarchie ouer all, and so the rule hath continued in one to this daye, whome they call not Kings, as I thinke to auoide their olde othe, but name them Emperours, whiche is the title of them that rule armies for a tyme: but in all purposes they bee Kings. And Emperours haue continued to this tyme aboute two hundred yeares moze, in the whiche the City hath bin chiefly beautified, and the reueneue moſte encreased, & all things being in long and sure peace, brought to perfect felicitie. For the Emperours haue made some of these to be of theyr dominion by force, and haue holden in, them that reuolte. Therefore by good skill they hadde rather keepe that be moſt profitable aboute the Sea, and encrease them, than to extende theyr dominion to barbarous nations, poze, & vnprofitable

# the foreyne warres.

table, of whome *Sharie* sent Embassadors come to *Rome*, to yelde themselves subiect, and not receiued of the Emperoure, as vnprofitable to him. To other many nations they appoint things, bycause the Empires hadde no neede of them, some subiectes must be kepte, for a shame to forsake them, though they be poze. Create armies be in euery place, as in a circle, by the which they keepe so greate lande and sea, as one place. There was neuer Monarchie that was so great, or continued so long.

The state of *Grecia*, if a man will begin fro the time of *Darius* army, in the which they most flourished, vnto the time of *Phillip*, *Amyntas* sonne, though he put together the power of the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Thebans*, shall not appeare so mighty a thing, for they contended rather for dignitie among themselves, than to get dominion, and thought no matter so noble, as to maine- teine their libertie againste strange kings that molested them.

If some of them sayled as farre as *Sicilie* in hope of rule, they were ouerthrowen. If any went into *Asia*, they did little there, and returned. And to conclude, the power of the *Grecians*, though it were contentions for y<sup>e</sup> rule, it proceeded not surely out of *Grecia*, but shewed they would keepe it from seruitude, & vnconquerable as muche as they could, but after *Philip* & *Alexander*, I thinke they haue done very euil, & vnworthy themselves. The Empire of *Asia*, is not to be copared to the least of y<sup>e</sup> seates and vertue of *Europ*, for the weakenes & faintnesse of their nations, the which

this present wrighting shal declare, for the *Romanes* with a few battels got so many nations of *Asia*, as now they commaund, although they were defended by y<sup>e</sup> *Macedonians*, but they had great labour about *Europe* & *Libya*, the dominion of the *Affrians*, *Medians*, & *Persians*, three of the greatest powers, til *Alexander*, *Phillips* sonne, though he recken y<sup>e</sup> ix. C. yeares y<sup>e</sup> they continued, can not copare with the *Romane* Empire as it is now, and y<sup>e</sup> greatnes of their Empire, is less by halfe I thinke, if it be well considered, for the *Romanes* reach fro the West Ocean, to the hill *Caucasus*, & the floud *Euphrates*, and to the *Aethiopians* that be about *Aegypt* and *Arabia*, to the East Ocean. And their boundes is, the Ocean of the sunne rising and setting. They rule all the inwarde sea, all the Ilands, and the *Brettaines* that be in the Ocean.

*Grecia*, *Darius* the first king of *Persia*, that had *Cyrus* daughter to, vwife.

The *Athenians*, were ouerthrowen in *Italy*.

The power of *Grecia*.

The rule of *Asia*.

*Europe*.

*Asia*.

## The Authors Preface.

*Perſeus ſiue*  
from the eaſt  
hath the red ſea  
and from the  
weſt *Arabia.*

*Macedonia.*  
*Philip.*

*Alexander.*

The power of  
the kings of *Aſia*  
ſiue.

*Ptolemaus*  
*Legus*, vvas  
the mightieſt after  
*Alexander.*

*At Yrebbia.*  
*At the lake of*  
*Perugia.*  
*At Caune novve*  
*Berlota.*

The *Medians* and the *Perſians*, when they had moſt of the ſea, it was no further than the Gulfe of *Pamphilia*, and one Ile of *Cyprus*, or verie little of the *Ionian* ſea, for the ſea of *Perſis* which they had, was no greate matter.

The *Macedonians* beſore *Philippe*, had very little power, and to ſome they were ſubiects. The labour and trauaile of *Philippe*, is not to be accompted light, but it was onely aboute *Grecia*, and one region.

Under *Alexander*, for the greatneſſe, multitude, felicitie, and ſpeedyneſſe, this dominion in a ſhorte ſpace, became infinite, and incomparable, but bycauſe of the ſhort time, it was like a bright lightning. The whiche beyng diuided into manye *Prouinces*, part of them continued noble a good whyle. But our kings only dyd maintaine two hundred thouſande footemen, fortie thouſand horſemen, three hundred Elephants vſed to the warre, two thouſande armed Chariots, and ſo muche armour as woulde ſerue three hundred thouſande. Beſides this prouiſion for the lande, they had two thouſande of the ſmall beſſels, and of galleys little and greate a thouſande ſpue hundredeth, with double furniture: eyght hundred ſhippes of ſhelue, whiche they vſed for pompe, with ſteins, and ſternes of golde, ſeauen hundred and fortie talents of *Egipt*, in their treaſure, al the whiche appeareth by the *Princes* recordes, which be yet extant.

The ſeconde king of *Egipt*, after *Alexander*, who of al other, was moſte able to ſpende, moſt bountifull to beſtow, & moſt deſirous to get, leſte this behinde him: Other *Princes* were not muche inferiour, but by mutuall diſcorde of their poſteritie, which is the onely deſtruction of great kingdomes, they came to nothing.

But the *Romane* Empire paſſed for greatneſſe and felicitie, for continuance, and wiſedome in the Senate, neither wanted they manhode, nor patience, nor painefulneſſe, til they had eſtabliſhed their power, nor gaue place to miſfortune: they loſte ſometime twenty thouſande, ſometime fortie and fiſtye thouſand at a battaile: diuerſe tymes the Citie was in daunger by famine, peſtilence and ſedition. Yet all this woulde not abate their ambition,

## the Romane forraine wars.

by the ſpace of ſeauen hundred yeares, ſtruying with paine and perill, till they brought their dominion, (keepeing ſtil one trade,) to this heighth, as they receyue moſte ample fruits of their wiſedome and happineſſe.

Theſe things many *Grecians* and *Romanes* haue put in writing, and the Hiſtozie is farre exceeding the *Macedonians*: and where as I haue conſidered their valiauntneſſe, and woulde ſee it in euery nation, my penne hath carried me, from *Lybia* to *Iberia*, & from *Iberia* into *Sicilie* or *Macedonie*, or to embassages, & confederacies of ſundrye nations, and then brought me againe as a forced man to *Sicilie* and to *Carthage*, and eſtymes carried mee away from theſe vnperfect, til I had gathered by partes, howe of theſe ſent ambassadours or armies into *Sicily*, and what they did in that Iland, til they had conquered it. The how many ambassages, how many leagues were made betwixen them, what overthrowes on bothe ſides were giuen, till *Carthage* was overcome, and *Africa* made a prouince, and then *Carthage* reſtored againe, to the ſtate that it is now. I haue done the like in euery prouince, bycauſe I woulde know, what the *Romaines* did euery where, that I might ſee the manhode or ſapntneſſe of al natiōs, and the vertue and fortune of them that conquered, and what ſoeuer other matter chaunced. Thinking this woulde be acceptable to other alſo, to vnderſtand the *Romaines* actes, after this ſorte, I haue writtten of euery nation by it ſelfe, leauing to write what was done in the meane time of other, placing them ſcuerally.

To ſet the times to euery thing I thought it too much, the moſte notable, I will expreſſe by their diſtance of time.

At the firſte the *Romaines* had one name, as al other: after came another, and at length, the thirde alſo was added to ſome of them, to be known by ſome marke of body or vertue of mind, as the *Grecians* had ſurnames ioyned to their names. Sometime I will put all, chiefly of the noble men, that they may be better known, the moſt I will name by the one or the other, as ſhal be moſte fitte. And where there be three booke that declare the *Romaines* doings in *Italie*, I call them three, the *Romaines*

The *Romaines*  
haue diuerſe  
names.

The diuiſion of  
the vvorke.

## The Authoures Preface.

ages with the *Italians*, and for the multitude of matter, are thus diuided. The firste, conteyneth the reignes of the seauen kings, therefore I call them, *The Historie of the Romane Kings*.

Then followeth the Booke of matters done in *Italy*, beate them that dwell in the coast of *Ionie*, the which Booke for a difference is called, *The Romanes warre after the Kings*. The last of all in that land were the *Samnites*, next the *Ionian* sea, a nation most fierce and warlike fighting with the *Romanes* fourescore yeares, till they and the *Grecians* their fellows that inhabite *Italy*, were subdued, and this booke, for the difference from the other two, is called, *The Romanes warres with the Samnites*. All the other haue their seuerall titles, as, *The Romanes warre with the Galles*, the *Sicilians*, the *Iberians*, with *Hanniball*, with *Carthage*, with *Macedonia*, and so forth. The order of the which, is after the order of the time in the which they were done, though that many other things happened by the way.

The ciuill seditions and warre among themselves most horrible of all the rest, shall be declared by their names that were chiefe doers of the same, as *Marinus* and *Sylla*, *Pompey* and *Caesar*, *Antony* and *Caesar Augustus*, and the killers of *Caesar* the elder.

Then shall be shewed of *Antony* and *Caesar*, which made an end of ciuill warre, when *Aegypt* came vnder the *Romanes* domination. So all the warres are diuided into bookes of their nation, or to the names of the Captaines, if they be ciuill.

The last booke shall declare what armies they haue, what reuenue they take of euery Nation, what charges they be at with their ordinarie garrisons by sea, and such other. And seeing I shall wright of their vertue, it shall be fitte to beginne of their originall. Who I am that haue written these things, many knowe, & I haue shewed it before, and to tell it moze playnely, I am of *Alexandria*, accepted in my Countrey, and exercised at *Rome* in causes of Iustice, touching the Emperoures, til it pleased them to thinke me woorthy their seruice. He that will knowe the rest, may learne it of the Bookes that I haue written.

The

*Samnites*, nowve  
Anno, part of  
the Kingdome  
of Naples.

*Appian* a counsellour  
to the  
Emperoures in  
small causes.

## The Romanes warre with Mithridates King of Pontus: by Appian of Alexandria.



When the *Romanes* had ouercome *Mithridates* the King, after. xliij. yeares warre, they made *Bithinia*, *Cappadocia*, and other nations, bordering vpon the, inhabiting the sea called *Euxinus*, subiecte vnto them. And in the same warre they wonne of *Cilicia*, those that were not yet of their obedience, and of *Syria*, *Phoenicia*, & *Cælosyria*, and *Palestina*, and the midde land, to the floud *Euphrates*, not being vnder *Mithridates*, but by the violence of that victory. And to some they put tributes by and by, & to some afterward. *Paphlagonia*, & *Gallia*, and *Phrygia*, and *Mysia*, toying to *Phrygia*, and after them *Lycia*, and *Caria*, and *Ionie*, and all the rest of *Asia*, that is aboute *Pergamo* and old *Grecia*, and *Macedonia*, which *Mithridates* hadde gotten, they recouered some agayne: and to manie of them appointed tributes, that neuer had payd any. For which I thinke they call this chiefly the greate warre, and the victory of it also greate, and the Captayne of it that was *Pompey* in their proper language they name greate to this day: for the number of the nations that they toke or recouered, and the long time of fortie yeares, and the boldnesse and paynesfulnesse of *Mithridates*, mightie (as appeared) at all assayes. He had aboute foure hundred ships of his owne. He had fiftie thousand horsemen, and two hundred and fiftie thousand footmen, engines, and munition accordingly. Kings and Princes were his confederates. The *Armenian*, the *Scythian*, and *Pontus*, and the fenne of *Meotia*, and from thence to the streights of *Thracia*. He sente to the *Romane* Captaynes that were at warre together, and to stirre *Spain* against them, he made amitie with the *French* to moue agaynst *Italy*. He filled the Sea with Pirates from *Cilicia*, to the pillars of *Hercules*, which made, that no trafficke nor sayling could bee

*Cæle* is one of  
the partes of  
*Syria*, the which  
is hollov, for  
so signifyeth the  
word.

*Thracus*, *Bosphorus*  
nowe the  
streights of  
*Constantinople*.

as

from

from one Citie to another, and wrought a great famine in euery place. And generally, he lefte nothing vndone or vndeuided that coulde be done, to stirre vp the greatest motion among all men, from the East to the West. For either they made warre, or sent ayde, or robbed or vexed their neyghbours. This warre was variable, and in the end brought the Romanes to greatest dominions, for by this, their rule stretched from the West, to the floud *Euphrates*. It was not easie for me to deuide it by severall nations, being done together, and one wrapped with another. Whole that could be separated, be told particularly. The *Greekes* thinke, that the *Thracians* did serue at *Troy* vnder *Rhesus*, and that *Rhesus* was killed by *Diomedes* in the night, the whiche matter, *Homere* telleth in his *Merles*, and that they fledde to the mouth of *Pontus*, which is most streight to sayle into *Thracia*, and that they that wanted Shippes, did remaine there, and toke the lande named *Bebricia*. They that had Shippes, wente beyonde *Byzance*, to that part of *Thracia* called *Bithinia*, and did inhabite at the floud *Bithia*, and being driuen by famine, returned to *Bebricia*, and named it *Bithinia* in stead of *Bebricia*, of the floud at the whiche they dwelled, and so the name not unlike in time to be changed, by cause there is not much difference betwene *Bebricia* and *Bithinia*. So do some thinke. Other suppose that *Bythis* the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Thrace*, did first raigne here, and so the name was giuen to both the lands. This I thought good to shew first of *Bithinia*. Of the Kings that were before the Romanes, in number nine and fortie in order, it is mete for me to make some mention in these matters of the Romanes. *Prusias* that was called the hunter, married the daughter of *Perseus* King of *Macedonie*, and the Romanes and *Perseus* making warre not long after, *Prusias* stode as neuer.

*Perseus* being ouercome, he mette with the *Romane* Captaines, wearing a *Romane* garmente called *Toga*, and hauyng shoes after the *Italian* manner, and hys head shauen, wyth a cappe, after the whyche manner they goe which be made free by testamente, beeyng an euill fauoured man to beholde, and a little shorte one. Meeting wyth them, he spake in the *Romane* tong, *I am a freemake*

*Prusias* King of *Thracia*, 10. liad.

*Bebricia* in *Asia* the tette.

*Byzantium* is now *Constantinople*.

Some call his Set, that was hilted to *Rhesus*.

*Prusias* Cynicus.

The Romanes were called *Togates*, and the *free* *Pallians*.

man of the Romanes, which they call *Libertus*. He appearing a sighte to be laughed at, was sent to *Rome*, where being laughed at also, he had pardon. Not long after, veying *Attalus* the King of *Asia* that is about *Pergamo*, he wasted hys lande in *Asia*. Whyche when the Senate of *Rome* heard, they sente to *Prusias*, that he shoulde not molest *Attalus*, a friend and confederate to the Romanes. And when he thought muche to obey, the Embassadors sharply commaunded him to obey the Senate, and to come with a thousande Horsemen to the consynes to decide the matter, and willed *Attalus* to bee there with as many.

He despising the small number that was wyth *Attalus*, and thynkyng he myghte entrappe hym, sente hys Embassadors afoze, as though he woulde follooe with his thousande horse, but bringyng all his army, went as to a battell. When *Attalus* and the Embassadors hearde of it, they fledde, euery man where he coulde. He toke the carriage of the Romanes, and destroyed the towne of *Nicephora*, and burned the Shippes that were there, and beseged *Attalus* in *Pergamo*.

When the Romanes heard of thys, they sente other Embassadors, who commaunded *Prusias* to restore *Attalus* his losses. Then *Prusias* was afrayde, and obeyed, and wente hys waye. The payne that they put vpon him, was this, that he shoulde presently geue hym twentye armed Shyppes, and in time, fiftie talentes. The Shyppes he gaue out of hande, the talentes he payde in tyme. He was hated of his subiects for his crueltie, and his sonne *Nicomedes* well beloued of the *Bithinians*. Wherefore *Prusias* suspectyng him, sent him to lyue at *Rome*. And vnderstandyng that he was well beloued there, he wylled hym to obteyne of the Senate, a release of the money he ought to *Attalus*, and sent *Mena* to deale with him, and commaunded *Mena* that if he coulde gette hym discharged of the money, he shoulde spare *Nicomedes*, but if he coulde not, he should kill him. He sente to thys purpose certayne greate Shyppes, and two thousande Souldoyers. *Mena*, bycause the penaltie was not forgiuen (for *Attalus* hadde sente *Andronicus* to tell, that the payne was lesse than the spoyle,) neyther durst kyll the

The behauioure of *Prusias* disguised. *Libertus* that of a seruant is made free.

The craftie acte of *Prusias*.

*Prusias* is forced to recompence *Attalus*.

*Prusias* praetiseth to kill his sonne *Nicomedes*.

young man, whom he sawe to be worthy to be loued and honored, nor goe agayne into *Bythinia*. The young man, knowing of his tarrying, came to talke with him with his good will, and conspired against *Prusias*, and toke to their practise the Embassadour of *Attalus*, that he should perswade him to get *Nicomedes* to the Kingdome of *Bythinia*. They met together in *Bernice*, a little Citie of *Epirus*. In the nighte they wente into a Shippe, there they consulted what was to be done, and were secrete all nighte. When day was come, *Nicomedes* came forth of the Ship, cladde with a Kings robe of purple, with a crowne on his head. *Andronicus* meeting with him, saluted him as King, and sent him forth with five hundred Souldiours, which he had ready. *Mena* dissembling, as though he had not sene *Nicomedes* till then, ranne to the two thousand, as though he had bin discontented. When come to the talke, he sayde:

*Nicomedes* sheweth himselfe as King.

*Mena* to the Souldiours.

‘ You haue two Kinges, the one at home, the other going on.  
 ‘ You must needes foresee safetie, and coniecture your well doing,  
 ‘ as in this, to establish you securitie, by well appoynting, which  
 ‘ of the two you will haue raigne. The one is olde, the other is  
 ‘ young. The *Bithinians* hate the olde, but they loue the young: and  
 ‘ the chiefe of the *Romanes* loue this young man: and *Andronicus*  
 ‘ being his defendoure, hath promised *Attalus* friendship, hauing  
 ‘ a greate Kingdome ioyning to *Bithinia*, and an olde enimie of  
 ‘ *Prusias*.

When he had sayde thus, and withall declared the crueltie of *Prusias*, and what mischief he had done to all men, and the common hatred of the *Bithinians* against him, and perceiued that they abhorred the wickednesse of *Prusias*, he ledde them straight to *Nicomedes*, and was the seconde after *Andronicus* that called him King, and garded him with two thousand. *Attalus* receiued the young man gladly, and required *Prusias* to giue the young man some Citie to dwell in, and landes to finde him. He answered, he would shortly giue him all *Attalus* Kingdome, for whose sake he had invaded *Asia* before. When he had said thus, he sente to Rome to accuse *Attalus* and *Nicomedes*, and to call them into iudgement: but *Attalus* wente with his armie into *Bithinia*, to

whome

whome the *Bithinians* by little and little revolted. *Prusias* distrusting all men, and hoping that the *Romanes* would deliuer him from this danger, obteyned five hundred *Thracians* of *Diegelles* his father in lawe, and to these onely he committed his body, sleeping into the Castell at *Nicaa*, the Pretor of Rome not bringing *Prusias* messengers to the Senate speedily, because he fauoured *Attalus*, but at last being brought, and the Senate commaunding him to chuse Embassadors that might ende the warre, he chose thre men, of the whiche one had his head stricken with a stone, and had an euill fauoured scarre left: another had his face festered with a soze: the thyrde was compted an ydiot. In so muche as *Cato* telling at this Embassage, saide, it had neyther minde, face, nor head. The Embassadors went into *Bithinia*, and commaunded them to cease warre. *Nicomedes*, and *Attalus* dissembling to obey the Senate, the *Bithinians* being set on, sayde, they coulde not any longer beare the crueltie of *Prusias*, now especially that they were known to be against him. The Embassadors because the *Romanes* hadde not yet heard of this matter, departed, doing nothing. *Prusias* despairing of the *Romanes*, in whome he had most trust, no help comming by them, he went to *Nicomedia* to get the Citie, and to defend himselfe against his enimies, but they forsoke him, and shutte the gates against him: and *Nicomedes* came with his army, and certayne of *Nicomedes* host being sent of him, killed *Prusias*, flaying to the Temple of *Iupiter*. Thus *Nicomedes* reigned in *Bithinia* for *Prusias*, and he in time ending his life, by some *Nicomedes* that was called *Philopater*, succeeded the *Romanes*, giuing him his fathers kingdome, by decre of Senate. Thus wente the state of *Bithinia*, and if we will learne all, the nephew of this another *Nicomedes*, leste the *Romanes* by his heire by testament.

*Nicaa* was first called *Antigonia*, afterward *Nicaa*, of *Lisimachus* wife.

Embassadors to be laughed at.

*Cato*.

Now *Nicomedes*, and of saylers *Comidia*.

*Prusias* killed.

The *Romanes* made heyres of *Bithinia* by testament.

Who ruled *Cappadocia* before the *Macedonians*, I can not well tell, whether they were vnder a King of their owne, or vnder *Darius*. It should seeme that *Alexander* left these nations tributarie to the rulers, when he went against *Darius*: and so it semeth that *Amisus*, a Citie of the *Athenian* kind, did bring in the people to rule, according to the Countreys manner. And it is sayde

*Amisus* a sayre, to come in the confines of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*.

a. ly.

of

Hieronimus was  
an Historiographer  
of Rhodes.

of Hieronimus, that he did not subdue all these Cities, but by the coast of Pamphilia and Cilicia, turne another way againste Darim. Perdiccas that succeeded Alexander in Macedonia, did put to death Ariarathes, ruler of Cappadocia, eyther for that he reuolted, or would haue made it for the Macedonians, and appoynted for these nations Eumenes of Cardia. When Eumenes was destroyed, being iudged an enimie to the Macedonians, Antipater that after Perdiccas ruled the Countries that Alexander had gotten, sente Nicanor to rule Cappadocia. And the Macedonians not long after beeyng at ciuill debate, Antigonus gotte Syria, and expulsd Laomedonta. Mithridates beeyng hys familiar, and of the bloud royall of Persia, Antigonus dreamed that he did solue the grounde wyth golde, and that Mithridates dyd carrie the golde to Pontus, when it was reaped, wherefore hee tooke hym, and would haue kylled hym, but he fledde wyth hys horse, and fenced a place in Cappadocia, many reuolting to hym.

Dream of Ant  
gonus.

In this tumulte of Macedonie by little and little, he gotte Cappadocia, and the Palions conffynes to Pontus, and greatly enlarging hys Realme, hee lefte it to hys Chylozen. They reigned one after another, tyll the sixth after the fyrste Mithridates, whiche made warre with the Romanes. Of this stocke the Kynges of Cappadocia and Pontus comming, I thynke it to be known who diuided the Kingdome, some reigning in Cappadocia, and some in Pontus.

Euergetes be-  
neficent.

Whys Mithridates was first a friend to the Romanes, and sente Shyppes and some little helpe agaynst the Carthaginians, that was called Euergetes, whiche ouerranne Cappadocia as a straunger. And Mithridates hys soune succeeded, who was named Dinisus and Eupater. The Romanes commaunded hym to gyue place in the Kingdome of Cappadocia and to Ariobarzanes, that fought to them, and thought himselfe to be nigher to that Kingdome, than Mithridates, or else bycause they suspected the Kingdome of Mithridates growyng so greate, and vnder the hande, would diuide it into moze partes, and hee suffered it, but agaynst Nicomedes, that was of Nicomedes Prussia hys soune, and by the Romanes appoynted to reigne, as in his

his fathers kingdome, he sent Socrates, brother to Nicomedes, that was called Chrestus, with an armie, & Socrates toke the kingdome of Bythinia to himselfe. At this tyme, Mithrias and Bagoas, expulsd Ariobarzanes whom the Romanes had set in the kingdome of Cappadocia, put Ariarathes into it. The Romanes did restore bothe Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes into their proper kyngdomes, sendyng certayne Embassadors for that purpose, whereof Manius Acilius was chiefe: and commaunded Lucius Cassius that had a litle armie in Pergamo in Asia, to helpe to it, and also Mithridates Eupator. But hee beeyng offended with the Romanes for Cappadocia, and by them beeyng put from Phrygia, as wee haue shewed in the Greeke matters, did not helpe. Cassius and Manius with that armie they had, and gatheryng a greater of the Galatians and Phrygians, sent Nicomedes into Bythinia, and Ariobarzanes into Cappadocia, and perswaded them bothe, beeyng neyghbours to Mithridates, to molest hys countrey, and prouoke hym to warre, and the Romanes would be their mayntayners in it. But bothe they alyke affected, durst not prouoke Mithridates fearyng hys mighty power. But the Ambassadors bygyng them, Nicomedes, that had promised to gyue the Embassadors muche money for hys restitution, and to the Souldiours, which yet he ought, and beeyng in debte further to the Romanes for money sente hym for hys other matters, vnwillingly hee invaded Mithridates lande, spoyled as farre as the Citie Amastria, none resistyng hym, or meetyng with hym. For albeit Mithridates had hys armie ready, yet hee refrayned, to haue the moze and iuster cause of warre.

Chrestus, good  
or profitable.

Amastria, the  
chiefe citie so  
called of a yuo-  
man of Persia,  
before beeyng  
named Cronna.

When Nicomedes was returned home with a great pray, Mithridates sente Pelopida to the Roman Capitaynes and Ambassadors, not ignorant that they were his enemies and causes of this inuasion, yet he dissembled, & sought moze manifest causes of the warre to come. Pelopida told them that Phrygia was taken from them, and Cappadocia, that had alwaies bene his auncestours and left him of his father: Phrygia was giuen him of your general, as a rewarde for the victorie gotten of Aristonico, & neuertheless redeemed of the same generall with a great summe of money.

The Embas-  
sador of Mithri-  
dates to the  
Romanes.

So we you see (sayde he) that *Nicomedes* shutteth the mouth of *Pontus*, and spoyleth his land as farre as *Asmastris*, and carried a way so great a bootie as your selie well know. By layng, hauing power & will, sufficient to reuenge, doth suffer that you may be witnessers of sight of his iniuries. The which bycause you know and see, *Mithridates* desireth you, friends and confederates, as a friende and confederate, for so do the covenants tearme vs, that you would helpe vs against *Nicomedes* that dothe vs wrong, or forbid him to do vs any moze. Thus sayd *Pelopidas*.

*Nicomedes* Embassadors making aunswere to the contrarye, sayde, that *Mithridates* had long layd traynes for *Nicomedes*, and sent *Socrates* with an army for that kingdome, which would haue bin quiet, and iustly suffered his elder brother to raigne. Thus did *Mithridates* againste *Nicomedes*, whome you (*Romanes*) appointed King of *Bithinia*. Whereby it is manifest, that these things be done not moze againste vs, than against you. By the like authoritie, it being commaunded to the Kings of *Asia*, that they should not meddle with *Europe*, he hath taken much of *Chersonesus*, and these be his actes against you, of despighte, disobedience, and disobedience. His great preparatio and so great furniture, as to a great and notable warre, as well of his owne armye, as of confederates of *Thracia* and *Scythia*, and other nigh nations. He hath married with the King of *Armenia*. He hath sente into *Egypt* and *Syria*, to allure those Kings. He hath three hundred armed Shippes, and is making moze. He hath sent for maysters and gouernours of Shippes into *Phenicia* and *Egypt*. All this is not against *Nicomedes*, but against you (*Romanes*) done by *Mithridates*, disceyning encre. Since you haue commaunded hym to leaue *Phrygia*, as no right possession, which by decepte he bought for money of one of youre Generals. Being greued also that *Cappadocia* is giue by you to *Ariabazanes*, fearing your increate, and taking occasion against you by vs, and if he can, to deceyue you. It is wisdomer not to tarrise, till he confesse to make warre against you, but rather to looke to his actes than to his wordes, nor to be deceyued with his counterfet name of friendship, and to forsake youre true and firme friends in decaye, neyther to let

Embassadors  
of *Nicomedes*.

*Chersonesus* a  
land and an  
Island, as this  
was at *Pontus*.

your iudgemente of our Kingdome to be despised of him that is an enimie both to vs and you. Thys sayde *Nicomedes* Embassadors.

*Pelopidas* came agayne to the *Romanes* audience, once moze accusing *Nicomedes* of the things that were done of old, and prayd the *Romanes* to be Iudges. These things that now be done (sayde he) he hath done in your sight. *Mithridates* Kingdome he hath diminished, the Sea he hath shutte, spoyle he hath carryed a way. This needeth no debating or consultation, but we once agayne pray you, eyther to correct that is done, or to help *Mithridates* that hath suffered the wrong, or lastly (*Romanes*) not to forbidde hym to reuenge himselfe, but let them two trye it out. This aunswered *Pelopidas*.

It was certayne that the *Romanes* fatioured *Nicomedes*, and for a fashion heard their controuersies: but somewhat they were moued at the wordes of *Pelopidas*. And bycause *Mithridates* was yet in league with the *Romanes*, and stood in doubt what to aunswere presently, and hauing with wisdomer considered the matter, they answered thus. Neyerther will we haue *Mithridates* suffer any thing wrongfully of *Nicomedes*, neyther suffer warre to be made upon *Nicomedes*, for we thinke it not good for the *Romanes*, that *Nicomedes* should be hurt. When they had thus sayde, and *Pelopidas* would haue made aunswere to their sentence so doubtfull, they wente from the seate. When *Mithridates* sawe that he was manifestly iniured of the *Romanes*, he sent his souldier *Antiochus* with a great army, to reigne in *Cappadocia*, and he expelled *Ariabazanes*, and had the kingdome. *Pelopidas* comming agayne to the *Romanes* officers, said thus:

What *Mithridates* hath borne at your hands (*Romanes*) being spoiled of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*, you haue heard. What hurt *Nicomedes* hath done him, you see, & let it passe. We appealing to your amitie and leage. And as though we were the accusers, and not accused, you aunswere, that you thinke it not profitable for the *Romanes* state, that *Nicomedes* should be hurte, as though he were iniured. You (*Romanes*) are the cause that things be done in *Cappadocia*, againste the state of *Rome*. For thorough youre con-

The *Romanes*  
aunswere.

tempt of vs, and your subtill aunsweres, *Mithridates* hath done this, and now he sendeth Embassadours againste you to your Senate, to whome he sendeth you worde to aunswere: and that you attempt not begin any thing to kindle this warre, withoute the common consent of the *Romanes*. And that *Mithridates* hath in his fathers kingdome conteyning in length twenty thousand furlongs, gotten many nations about hym, *Colchos* a warlike nation, and the *Greekes* that dwel at *Pontus*, and the *Barbarians* that be next them. He hath friends ready to do his commaundement, *Scythians*, *Taurians*, *Basternians*, and *Sarmatians*, and all that be about *Tanis*, and *Hiffer*, and the fenme of *Mæotis*, *Torbanes* of *Armenia* is his sonne in lawe, and *Asaces* the *Parthian* his friende. He hath a nauie of *Shippes*, whereof some be readye, and some to be made, and a furniture conueniente in all poyntes. The *Bithinians* dyd not nowe saye vntruely to you, of the *Kinges* of *Egypt* and *Syria*, who be lyke, not onely to take oure parte, if warre be made, but also *Asia*, that you haue lately gotte. *Grecia* and *Libya*, and many nations of *Italy*, that can not beare youre ambition, do make an endlesse warre wth you, whych bycause you can not ceasse, you sette *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* vppon *Mithridates* by turne. You say you are friends and confederates, and you aunswere so, but you vse hym as an enimie. Nowe then go to, if of things past you repente yet, eyther forbode *Nicomedes* to molest your friendes, and if you doe this, I promise you that *Mithridates* shal ayd you against the *Italians*, or breake that sayd friendship, or let vs goe to be iudged at *Rome*. This sayde *Pelopidas*. And because it seemed too presumptuous, they commaunded that *Mithridates* shoulde not deale with *Nicomedes*, nor *Cappadocia*, and that they woulde sette *Ariobarzanes* in his kingdome agayne, and that *Pelopidas* shoulde depart frō their Camp, and no more returne as Embassadoure, except the King woulde stand to this order. Thus they aunswere, and sente hym away wth keepers, that he shoulde corrupte none as he wente.

When this was sayde, not tarrying the Senates wyll for the warre, or the peoples consente, they gathered an army of *Bithinia*, and *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*, and *Galatia* in *Asia*. They

Eight of these furlongs make a mile.

Also is the great fenme in *Scythia*.

The Embassadours make wth out the consent of the Senate.

alone armye which *Lucius Cassius* had in *Asia* was ready, and all their confederates gathered together, whyche they diuided into diuers Campes. *Cassius* in the middest of *Bithinia* and *Galatia*, *Manius* that way that by *Bithinia* was against *Mithridates*. *Appianus* with another army at the hylles of *Cappadocia*, hauing horse and footemen, to the number of fortie thousand. They had a nauie of *Shippes*, whyche *Minutius Rufus*, and *Caius Papirius* gouerned, keeping the mouth of *Pontus*. *Nicomedes* came to them wth fiftie thousand footemen, and sixe thousand horsemen. So greate an army had they ready. *Mithridates* had of his owne two hundred and fiftie thousande footemen, fortie thousande horsemen, three hundred armed *Shippes*, and a hundredeth Gallies, wth munition accordingly. His chiefe Captaynes were *Neoptolemus*, and *Archelaus* brethren, the greatest parte he ledde himselfe. His sonne *Arcadius* brought the ayd of tenne thousand horse out of *Armenia* the lesse. *Dorilaus* ledde the that were in order of the mayne footemen, and *Craterus* broughte a hundred and thirtie Chariots. So greate prouision was on both sides, when the *Romines* and *Mithridates* began the warre, the *C.A.E.* *Diexpiade*. In the large field at the floud *Ammeum*, did *Mithridates* and *Nicomedes* Captaynes see one another, and prepared for the fight. *Nicomedes* set al in order, *Neoptolemus* & *Archelaus* the light harnessed only, and y horsemen y *Arcathias* brought, & some Chariots. The footemē wer yet coming. They sent a few to take a stony hill y was in y playne, y they shoulde not be compassed of the *Bithinians* which were the greater nūber. Whē they saw them beaten frō the hill, *Neoptolemus* fearing to be enclosed, came to the rescue wth spēde, calling wth him *Arcathia*. *Nicomedes* seeing that, set vpon them, and there was a great fight and slaughter. But *Nicomedes* fiercely following, *Mithridates* men fledde, till *Archelaus* coming on the righte side, did repulse the chacers. When they coming all vpon him, he gaue place a little, that *Neoptolemus* & his might returne frō the flight. And whē he saw that to be done in dede, he set the armed Chariots vpon the *Bithinians*, which wth their violence, did teare some of the into two partes, & some into more. This acte dyd muche discourage *Nicomedes* host, when they saw men cut asunder yet breathing, or tozne in many peeces, or

The Romanes force.

*Mithridates* forces.

*Ammeum* a floud.

The fights

b.ij.

violently

violently carried of the Chariots. The vnpleasantnesse of the fighte, rather than losse by the fight, disordered their battell for feare. Upon them being thus broken, came *Archelaus* on the front, and *Neoptolemus* and *Archias* returning from the flight vpon the backe. They resisting on both sides, defended themselves a good whyle, but after many of them were slayne, *Nicomedes* fledde with the rest into *Paphlagonia*, the folowen of *Mithridates*, not being at the fight. The Camp, and the money, and many prisoners were taken, all the which, *Mithridates* vsing gently, gaue them conduct money, and sent them home, making a shew to his enemies of humanitie. This first feate of the great warre with *Mithridates*, affrayd the *Romane* Captaynes, as begunne rashly, without the common consente. For a fewe did ouertome many, without any help of the place, or fortune of the fighte, but by the vertue of the Captaynes, and valiantnesse of the Souldyours. *Nicomedes* Camped, by *Manius*. *Mithridates* wente to the hill *Scoroba*, that is, the boundes of *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*. His frontes being a hundreth horsemen of the *Sauromatanes*, meetyng with eyght hundreth Horse of *Nicomedes*, toke diuers of them, whome *Mithridates* agayne suffered to goe to their Countrey with money for the way. *Manius* going backe, *Neoptolemus* and *Nemanes* an *Armenian* meetyng with him, about the towne *Pachius*, constrained hym to fighte, *Nicomedes* being gone to *Cassius*, hauing four thousand horsemen, and tenne times so many footemen, of whome they killed tenne thousande, and toke three hundred prisoners, whome *Mithridates* being brought to him, did let goe, to winne the heartes of his enemies. *Manius* campe was taken, he fledde to the floud *Sangarus*, and passed ouer by night, and saued himselfe at *Pergamo*, *Cassius* and *Nicomedes*, and the *Romane* legates, sette their Camp at *Leontocephale*, which is a very strong towne in the further part of *Phrigia*, and trayned the people that they had of new husbandmen or artificers, and ioyned more to them of the *Phrigians*. And when both these people were vnwilling, they durst not meddle with men expert in battell, therefore they licenced the, and departed, *Cassius* into *Apamea* with his army, *Nicomedes* into *Pergamo*, and *Manius* to the *Rhodes*. They that kept

*Nicomedes* fleeth

*Mithridates* vs-  
eth cōsuetudine.

*Scoroba*,

An other coun-  
sell of *Mithri-*  
*dates*.

*Pachius* a towne  
at *Propontis*.

A third curtelle  
of *Mithridates*.  
The *Romane*  
discontented.  
*Sangarus* is o-  
therwise called  
*Coralus*.  
*Leontocephale*.

kept the mouth of *Pontus*, hearing of this, forsooke it, and the keyes & ships that *Nicomedes* had in *Pontus*, were deliuered to *Mithridates*. Thus he at one bunt, getting all *Nicomedes* land, went to it, and set order in the Cities. Going into *Phrigia*, and coming to an Inne where *Alexander* rested, he toke it for a lucky toke, that *Mithridates* might lye where *Alexander* had lodged. And he got the rest of *Phrigia*, and *Misia*, and *Asia*, that the *Romane*s had lately wonne. And sending to the places there aboute, he got *Lycia* and *Pamphilia*, & so as farre as *Ioni*. And to the *Laodiceans* that inhabit about the floud *Lycus*, and resisted, for *Q. Oppius* a *Romane* Captaine hauing Horsemen and some footemen hyred, got into the Citie & kept it. He sent his Trumpet to the walles, commanding hym to say, that King *Mithridates* did giue surtie to the *Laodiceans*, if they would bring *Oppius* to him. When they heard this procla- mation, they lette the hired Souldiours goe freely, and brought *Oppius* to *Mithridates*, with his mace-bearers in frocke: and *Mithridates* did no hurt to him, but ledde him lose aboute with him, syc- wing he had a *Romane* Generall in Captiuitie. Not long after, he toke *Manius Acilius*, that was best of the Embassadors, & chiefe cause of this warre, and ledde him about, being set vpon an Asse, and telling them that looked vpon him, that he was *Manius*, till he came to *Pergamo*, wher he put molte gold in his mouth, reproving the *Romane*s for taking of giftes. Appoynting rulers in the coun- trey, he came to *Magnesia*, *Ephesus*, and *Mitelen*, euery one recey- uing him without resistance, and the *Ephesians*, throwing away the Images of the *Romane*s that were there, for the whiche they were punished afterward. Going from *Ionia*, he toke *Stratonicea*, and punished it in money, and set a garrison in the Citie, and see- yng a fayze mayde, he made hir one of his wifes, and if any man be desirous to know hir name, it was *Monime*, the daughter of *Phili- ppenos*. The *Magnesians*, *Paphlagonians*, & *Lycians*, yet resisting, hee ouercame by his Captaynes. And thus did *Mithridates*. The *Romane*s hearing of this first force, and invasion of *A-* *sa*, determined warre against hym, although they were troubled with ciuill strife incessantly in the Citie, and it was occupied with great warre at home almost in euery place. The Consuls b. iiij. taking

*Mithridates* lieth  
in an harbo-  
rough, where  
great *Alexander*  
once did lye.

*Lycus*.  
*Q. Oppius*.

*Laodiceans* be-  
tray *Oppius*.

*Oppius* ledde  
prisoner.

*Manius* is de-  
spighted of *Mi-*  
*thridates*, and  
cruelly handled.

*Mithridates* ta-  
keth a wifely at  
*Stratonicea*.  
*Monime* is made  
a Queene.

C. Silla appoynted to the rooms.

V. Want of treasure in Rome.

Mithridates decree of murder.

taking their charge, *Asia* fell to *Cornelius Silla*, and the warre agaynst *Mithridates*. And where they had no store of money, they enacted to sell the things, that *Numa Pompilius* the kyng had appoynted for the Sacrifices of y<sup>e</sup> Goddes. So great want was ther then, & so great ambition. Some of these things were sold, whereof was rapled ix. thousande pounde waight of golde, and gaue no moze to so great a warre. But *Silla* was long kept with sedition, as we haue shewed in the ciuill dissentions. In this meane time, *Mithridates* made many shippes agaynst the *Rhodiens*, and wrote secretly to all Princes and rulers of Cities, that they shoulde at the thirtie day, beyng obserued, kyl all *Romans* and *Italians*, men, women and chyldzen that were free, and when they had killed them, to caste them out vnburi'd, and to diuide halfe theyr goodes to the kyng *Mithridates*, and halfe to themselves. He appoynted a payne to them that buried any, or hidd them, and a rewarde to them that bewrayed or killed them that were hidd. To seruauantes, libertie, to kill their Masters: to debtours, halfe their debte, to kill their creditours. These *Mithridates* sente secretly to all at once. The daye beyng come, diuerse calamities were scene in *Asia*, whereof these were some.

The *Ephesians* dragged them that were fledde into the Temple of *Diana*, and embraced the images, and killed them. The *Pergemians*, shotte them to death that were fledde into the temple of *Aesculapius*, and woulde not be pulled from the images. The *Adramiteans* killed them that swamme into the Sea, and drowned their chyldzen. The *Cauneans* beyng made tributarie to the *Rhodiens* in the warre of *Antiochus*, and restored by the *Romanes* a litle before, pulled the *Italians* out of their holy common place, whether they were fledde, and first killed the chyldzen before the mothers faces, then the mothers, & laste the fathers. The *Trallians*, to keepe themselves from the infamie of murderers, hired *Theophilus* of *Paphlagonia* a cruell man, to do this acte. And *Theophilus* killed them beyng shutte in the temple of peace, & cut of the hâds of some, that embraced the images there. The *Italians* and the *Romanes* suffered these calamities in *Asia*, men, women, chyldzen,

*Adramite*, a cite of the coaste of *Myra*. Cruelly in *Asia*, agaynst the *Romanes*. *Caune*, now *Cana*, a towne of *Caria*.

chyldzen, free & bonde that were of the *Italian* generation. Neither in it was euident that *Asia* did not this, so much for feare of *Mithridates*, as for hate of the *Romanes*. But they suffered double punishment, *Mithridates* shortly after vsing them cruelly contrary to his sayth, and after him, *Cornelius Silla*.

*Mithridates* sayled to *Coo*, the *Coanes* receyuing him willingly: and he toke the sonne of *Alexander* that reigned in *Aegypt*, lest he inco with much money of his grandmother *Cleopatra*, & brought him v<sup>y</sup> princely. And of *Cleopatras* treasure, he sent much riches, workes, stoncs, womens aray, and plenty of money into *Pontus*. In this time the *Rhodiens* fortified their walles & their portes, & prepared al defence, some *Telmisians* and *Lycians* being conserued with thē. All the *Italians* y<sup>e</sup> fledde out of *Asia*, came to the *Rhodes*, among whom was *L. Cassius*, the gouernour of *Asia*. *Mithridates* coming thither, they pulled downe their suburbs, that y<sup>e</sup> enimie shoulde take no profite by thē, & prepared for the fight by sea, some at the front & some at the sides. *Mithridates* coming with his gallees, commaunded his men to extend themselves into winges a fote, that by their swifte rowyng they mighte inclose their enemies which were fewer. The *Rhodiens* being afraid of compassing, gaue place a litle, then turned & fledde to their porte, & shutting it with barres, they resisted *Mithridates* from the walles. He encamping at the Citie, & drawing nigh the porte, & attempting the same, tarried for seutemen to be brought out of *Asia*. And there was shotte and continuall skirmishing with them at the walles, in the which the *Rhodiens* hauing the better, were a litle encouraged, and had their ships at hande to encounter the enemy when occasion shoulde serue. A great shippe of the kings passed vnder sayle, the *Rhodiens* sent a litle galie agaynst it, and either side helping o<sup>r</sup> ther diligently, a great fight began on the sea, *Mithridates* beyng superiour in anger of minde, & multitude of shippes, the *Rhodiens* with arte setting v<sup>y</sup> his naup, & disordering thē so, as they toke one galie with the men, & much munition & spoyle, & brought hir into the hauen: and bring ignorant y<sup>e</sup> a great Galie of theirs was taken of the enimie, they sent vi. of their swiftest to recouer hir, & *Damagoras* their admiral met with thē. *Mithridates* sent xlv. after him,

The *Romanes* hated.

C. I. and now *Logo*.

Of *Caria* and of *Lyria*.

The warre of *Mithridates* agaynst the *Rhodes*.

him, who gaue place till it was night. Marring darke, the kings shippes returned, and he set vpon them and toke two, and chased other two into *Lycia*, and returned by nighte. This was the ende of the fight betwene *Mithridates* and the *Rhodians*, done against all hope to the *Rhodians*, for their seewarre, and to *Mithridates* for his multitude. In the fight the king sayling aboute to encourage his men, a shippe of *Chio*, in hys name, crushed the kings shippe in the confusion, the whiche the King not dissembling, punished both the Captaine and the Quarter, which offended all the *Xians*.

At thys time, the kings footmen being brought in great ships, & a Perry rising vpon them, they were driven to *Rhodes*, & the *Rhodians* quickly coming vpon them, being yet troubled with the storme, they toke some, they crushed some, and some they burned, and toke four hundred prisoners. *Mithridates* preparying for to fight by sea againe, and to force the towne, he made a certaine engin called *Sambuca* carried in two ships. The fugitiues tolde him, there was a side of an hill that might be scaled, where the Temple of *Iupiter Talyrim* was, with a weake wall. He put his army in the ships by night, to other he gaue scaling ladders: he commaunded both to goe with silence, till a fire was made from the Temple, and then with a crye as loude as coulde be made, some to assaulte the towne, and some to force the Porte, and they with silence drewe nigh. The watche of the *Rhodians* knowing this, made a fire, and the army of *Mithridates*, thin king this had bin the fire at the Temple, from deepe silence they cried all together, as well the Scalers, as the Barringers. The *Rhodians* cried as fast chearefully, and came together to y wal, so as the Kings men did nothing that night, and in the daye, were putte backe, althoughe the *Sambuke*, affraid the *Rhodians* much, casting out at once, many dartes, arrowes and shotte, being broughte againste the Temple of *Isis*, and the Souldiours with many scaling ladders, from their shippes, came forth as they woulde haue giuen an assaulte. The *Rhodians* defended themselves manfully, till the engine brake for waight, and a vision of *Isis* was thought to calse a greate fire vpon it. *Mithridates* del

pairing

The Kings  
Shippe crushed  
by chance.

*Sambuca*, was  
an engin used  
at the siege of  
Cities, by cause  
the ropes were  
to stretch in it  
as the strings in  
the instrument  
of Musike that  
is so called.

The *Rhodians*  
put the kings  
men awaye.

*Isis* is a Godde  
dwelle in *Egypt*.

paying of this enterprise, sayled from the *Rhodes*.

Being at *Patara* at siege, he cut down the holy worde of *Latoe Patara*, a Citye of *Lycia*. to make engins, till he was feared with a vision: then he left the towne. Leauing *Pelopida* to continue the warre in *Lycia*, he sente *Archelous* into *Grecia*, to winne it by force or friendship so much as was possible, and committing many things to his Captains, he trayned and furnished his army, and passed the time with his woman of *Seratonicea*. He sate in iudgement of them that were thought to watch him, or make any mutinie, or helpe the *Romaines*. And whiles hee was thus occupied, these thinges were done in *Grecia*. *Archelous* sayling with a great nanie well equipped, he toke *Delos* that was reuolted from *Athens* and other places, by violence and power, killing twenty thousande men, of the whiche the moste were *Italians*, the places he appointed to the *Athenians*, by the whyche, and by other meane they extolling *Mithridates*, and greatly praysing hym, he brought them and other to his friendship. He sent the haly money of *Delos* to them by *Ariston* a man of *Athens*, and two thousand with him for y gard of the mony, the whiche *Ariston* bring to his purpose, played the *Tiranne* in his country, and some of the *Athenians* he killed oute of hand, as fauourers of the *Romaines*, and some he sent to *Mithridates*: yet was he a scholer of *Epicurus* learning. And not he alone in *Athens*, nor *Critias* that was before him, and they beyng professours of Philosophie with *Critias*, were tyrannes, but in *Italy* they of *Pythagoras* schoule, and in the other *Grecia*, they that were called the seau'n Wise men, when they had rule, they toke vpon them and used tyranny moze cruellie, than y vnlearned tyrannes. Wherefore there is a doubt and suspition of other Philosophers, whether for vertue, or for pouertie, or for lacke of experience, they comforted themselves with Philosophie: Of the whiche now, many being priuate & poore, & couering neede by sapieere, they speake bitterly againste rich men and Princes, not for contempt of riches, and rule in their opinion, but rather for enuy being carried there vnto. But they that bee slandered of them, do moze wisely contemprne them. This one maye thinke to bee spoken of *Ariston* the Philosopher, as by occasion of matter

*Delos* an Ile in  
the *Agian* sea.  
*Ariston* by occasion  
of money  
playeth the tyrant.

Philosophers  
Tyrannes.

c.

moued

*Theſſia* a free  
Towne in  
Boetia.  
*Magnetia* in Ionia  
*Demetriades* in  
Theſſalie.

moued by him. The *Acheans*, and *Lacedemonians* did relent to *Archelous*, and all *Boetia*, except *Theſſia*, whome he beſeaged.

At this time *Metrophanes* being ſente of *Mithridates* with another armye, did make warre vppon *Eubea* and *Dimetriadis*, and *Magnetia*, that reſiſted *Mithridates*. And *Britium* coming from *Macedonia* with a ſmall nauie did fight with him by Sea, and ſinking one greate ſhippe and a ſoyſte, he killed all that were in them. *Metrophanes* beholding it, he being afrayde, fledde, and hauing a good wind, *Britium* could not ouertake him, but toke *Scythus* that was a receypt for the *Barbarian* rowers, he hanged by the ſnaues, and cutte off the hands of the free men. Then turning to *Boetia*, a thouſand other Horſemen and footemen coming out of *Macedonia*, at *Chirona* he foughte three dayes with *Aristion* and *Archelous*, with equall and indifferent fortune on both ſides: but when the *Lacedemonians* and *Acheans* were come in ayde to *Aristion*, and *Archelous*, *Britium* thinking himſelfe too weake to match with them all, went to *Pireo*, till *Archelous* came and kept it.

*Sylla* being choſen generall for the warre againſte *Mithridates*, then toke his iourney out of *Italy* with fyue legions, and ſome other bandes and companyes, and arrived in *Grecia*, gathering money and men and victuals from *Acetolia* and *Theſſalia*. When he thoughte he was ſufficiente, he wente into *Attica* againſte *Archelous*, and as he came, all *Boetia* ſauing a few reuolted to him, and ſo did the greate Citie of *Thebes*, very lightly taking *Mithridates* parte againſte the *Romanes*, and nowe moze ſwiftly turning from *Archelous*, to *Sylla*, befoze they came to tryall. He went to *Attica*, and ſending one parte of his armye againſte the Citie to beſeage *Aristion*, he wente to *Pireo*, where *Archelous* was within the walles, the heygth whereof, was foztie cubites, being the worke of *Pericles*, made of greate ſtone and ſquare, when the *Athenians* made warre with the *Peloponneſians*: and bycauſe he putte all the victozy in *Pireo*, he made it the moze ſtrong. *Sylla* being come to the wall, gaue the aſſaulte forthwith, where muche hurte being done on both ſides, the *Cappadocians* manfully defendyng, being weary, he wente to *Elefina*, and *Megara*, and made engines againſt *Pireo*, by mountes

*Scythus* an Ile.

*Chirona*.

*Pireo*, nowe  
Porto Leone,  
The port of  
*Athens*, able to  
hold four hun-  
dred ſhippes.

*Thebes* in *Boetia*.

*Pireus* was  
made of pi-  
nacles, vualled  
euen myles of  
length.

*Megara* is in  
*Achaia*,  
*Eleufina* in *Aſ-  
tica*.

and rampires. Artificers, and ſtuſſe, yron, and ſlings, and ſuche other, were broughte hym from *Thebes*. He cut downe the wodde of *Academia*, and made greate engines, and toke away the long ſides, to caſt ſtones, timber, and earth vppon the rampire.

*Academia* was  
a ſhadowie  
place, a mile  
from *Athens*.

There were two ſnaues of *Athens* in *Pireo*, fauouring the *Romanes*, or forſekyng theyr ſafetie if anye thing ſhoulde happen: they wrote in pellets of leade euer what ſhoulde be done, and theyns them to the *Romanes* with their ſlings.

Fidelitie of  
ſnaues to the *Romanes*.

Thys being often done, and come to knowledge, *Sylla* hauyng regarde to the matter, founde it thus wrytten, To moze rowe, the footemen ſhall come vppon the face of youre labourers, and the Horſemen ſhall ſette vppon the ſydes of the *Romanes*. Wherefoze he layde an ambuſh ready, and when the enemy had thought to haue come on, ſuddayne, he moze ſuddayne lyed vppon them, kyled many of them, and droue the other into the Sea. And thys was the ende of thys attempte.

Nowe many greate towres being ſette vpon the mounte, *Archelous* dyd make the lyke on the other ſide, furniſhed wyth weapons. He ſente for moze power out of *Chalcidonia*, and other Ilandes, and armed hys mariners, as he that woulde haue harde all. *Archelous* hadde a greater armye than *Sylla*, and nowe it was muche bigger. At midnighte he iſſued wyth lyghtes, and burned one of the greate engines, with all that belonged to it. *Sylla* in tenne dayes made another, and ſette it where the other was, and *Archelous* crected a Tower agaynſt them on the wall. Another army being come vnto hym from *Mithridates*, whiche *Dimoxetes* ledde, he brought them all forth to the fight, wyth whome he mixed hys ſhotte, and ſtoode vnder the wall, that the warders myghte throlwe vppon the enemies. Other ſtoode at the gates wyth fyze, lokyng for the token to ſallie forth. The fyghte was a long tyme equall, and nowe one and then another gaue place. The *Barbarians* beganne to ſiege, till *Archelous* commyng vppon them, made them turne agayne, whiche greatly afrayed the

16.

*Romanes*.

Romaines flee  
and returne as  
gayne.  
The reproved  
forte, were no-  
ted o. some co-  
vvardinesse,  
and called  
vntiperati.

Romaines, so that they fledde from them, but *Murcus* met them and returned them, and an other bande was come from foragine with them, they that were reproved, which seeing the sight so hotte, gaue a couragious on-set vpon *Mithridates* menne, and killed two thousand of them, and droue the other into the walles. *Archelous* would haue tourned them backe againe, and in the fyght tarrying long bycause of his earnestnesse, he was shutte oute, and taken in by a rope. *Sylla* released them of rebuke that were noted, bycause they had fought valiauntlye, and rewarded the souldiours wyth gyftes accordingly.

Eleusine.

Winter being come, hee placed his army in *Eleusine*, and made a ditche from the highe places to the Sea, that the enimies horsemen shoulde not easilye bycake vpon them. The whiche hee working euerye daye, there were diuerse skirmishes sometime aboute the ditche, sometye at the walles, the enimies commyng & vsyng stones, dartes and pellets. *Sylla* wanting shippes, sente to the *Rhodes*, and where the *Rhodes* coulde not passe, bycause *Mithridates* helde the Sea, hee commaunded *Lucullus* a Noble manne of *Rome*, and Generall of this warre after *Sylla*, to goe priuilye into *Alexandria* and *Syria*, and to gather an armye of the *Kynges* and *Citties*, and to sende it to the *Rhodians*. Hee not fearing the Sea besette wyth shippes, toke a light vessell, and chaunging shippe after shippe, to be unknowne, he came to *Alexandria*.

Lucullus diligence

The bewrayers at *Pireo*, tozote againe in the pellets, that the night following *Archelous* would sende to *Athens* being in want, cozne vpon soldiors backs. *Sylla* laying in wayte, toke the cozne and carriers.

Chalcide nowe  
Negropontey,  
chiefe cite of  
Euboi.

The same daye *Minutius* didde hurte *Neoptolemus* an other Captaine at *Chalcide*, and killed a thousand six hundred, and toke moe prisoners.

Not long after in *Pireo* in y night, y watch being asleepe, the *Romaines* brought their scales fro y next mounts, & got the wal, and killed the watch y was next: wherfoze some of y *Barbarians* leapt down, forsaking the wall, as though al had bene take: other turning to force, killed y leader of the that scaled, and slung downe the

the other headlong: other getting out of the gates, hadde nere hande burned one of the *Romaines* Towers, had not *Sylla* come with the army, and fought wyth them all that nyght, and the day after, and with greate labour saued it. *Archelous* made an other tower at the wall against the *Romaines*, that they might fight together vpon the towers, whiche they did so oft and so furiously, as it was harde, tyll *Sylla* did caste twentye greate pellets out of his sling, and killed many, and so beate *Archelous* tower, as it was vnprofitable, & *Archelous* was fayne to lie behind the wall for feare. And they in the *Cittie* being moze & moze pressed with hunger, the flames signified againe in the pellets, that victuall shoulde be sent that night into the *Cittie*. *Archelous* suspecting some treason in bewraying the carying of the victuals, sente the victuall, and set some at the gates with fire, to runne vpon the *Romaines* if *Sylla* would force the victuall: and both happened, for *Sylla* toke them that carried the cozne, and *Archelous* burned certaine of the engines.

At this time *Arcathias*, *Mithridates* sonne inuaded *Macedonia* with an other army, and easily ouercame the selue *Romaines* that were left there, and subdued all *Macedonia*, and appointed rulers, then he marched against *Sylla*, and falling yet sicke at *Tideo*, died. At *Athens* the cite being in great daunger of famine, *Sylla* made many forts about it, that none shoulde flee, but remaining there, be the moze vexed for the multitude, and erecting the mount at *Pirao* very hygh, he planted his pieces vpon it. *Archelous* digging vnder the mount, and taking away the earth long before it was knowne, they made the mount to sincke, whiche being sone perceived, the *Romaines* toke away the engines, and filled vp the earth againe: and they vsing the like waye in vndermining the wall, they met together, and fought with their short weapons as much as might be in such a darknes. Whiles this was a doing, *Sylla* went against the wall with many engines, till parte of it fel, and made way to burne the next tower, and carried many lightes to caste vpon it, and commaunded the boldest men to go to the assault. Much being done on bothe sides the tower was burned, and *Sylla* had cast downe a parte of the wall, to the which he set a garde by and by. The foundations of the wall being cast

*Arcathias* dieth  
at *Tideo*.

A fight in the  
night.

c. iij.

down

downe which was bound with woode, and being ful of sulphure, pitche & flare, al was sone burned, one p[ar]ce fel after an other, and ouerthrew them y<sup>e</sup> fwood vpon it. This tumult beyng soden and great, troubled all the warders, as though that had fallen also wher v[er]y they were. Wherfore turning euerywhere hastily, being doubtful in minde for feare, they resisted their enemies faintly. And *Sylla* came vpon the skil being thus affected, & chered his owne mē, euer putting fresh to them that were weary, & he went to the assault, giuing thē courage by voyce & person, & threating thē that were vnwilling, y<sup>e</sup> in this short labour they might make an end of all. *Archelous* likewise came forth with freshe men for them y<sup>e</sup> were afrayd, exhorting & stirring all, as by y<sup>e</sup> onely paine to worke their weale. The great courage & boldnesse being againe on either side, great slaughter on both sides was equall & alike, till *Sylla* comming forth & very wery, blewe the retreat, & payzed the soldiours vertue. *Archelous* by & by in the night repayed the breaches, making by y<sup>e</sup> was broke, against the which *Sylla* brought his whole army, thinking he might easily beate downe y<sup>e</sup> which was new made & soft. But being tyed againe in that straight place, & beaten both at the face & the side, as in slippery places, lest of the getting of *Pireos* by assault, & intended to winne it by famine, & to continue the siege. And when he vnderstode that they in the citie, were in greater want, & had spent all their beastes, & sodde their skinnes & hides, and v[er]y the both for meate, & that some did eate dead flesh, he commaunded his army to compass the citie, that not one should escape: & when this was done, he went straight to the assault, & wonne the wall. And the weake men being fledde, he entred the Citie. And againe great slaughter & murder was in *Athens*, for they coude not flee for weakenesse, there was no pittie, neither of childe[n] nor women, *Sylla* commaunding to kill euery man that they mette, for anger, that so sone, without cause, they had reuolted to the Barbarians, & resisted him so obstinately. In so much as many hearing the proclamation, did cast themselues willingly to be killed. A few went no great pace into the castle, & among them *Aristio*, the place of pastime being first burned that *Sylla* should make no matter of it, for to force the fort. He would not suffer y<sup>e</sup> citie to be burned,

The assaulte of  
*Pireos*.

*Athens* gotten  
by assaulte.

*Sylla* v[er]yeth the  
*Athenians* cru-  
elly.

*Odeum* was the  
name of the  
place, in the  
whiche they  
sang and daun-  
ced, & reherfed  
their verses, and  
went v[er]y to it,  
as to a vied  
Theatre.

but gaue the spoile to the soldiours. They found mans flesh ready dressed for sustenance in many houses. The next day *Sylla* sold the seruants to the freemen, that escaped fro the murder by night, which were very few. He sayd he gaue libertie, and that libertie their posteritie should haue, & also in free elections which he forbade to thē that were aliue. Thus was the citie of *Athens* filled full of miserie. *Sylla* besleged the castle, the which he easily toke, *Aristio* & they y<sup>e</sup> were fled in with him, being ouercom with hunger & thirst. Of the whiche, *Sylla* put to death *Aristio*, & thē that serued him, & such as had bozne any office, or done any thing contrary to the Romanes order, since the taking of *Grecia*. The other he pardoned, & appointed lawes to al, the same almost that were giuen them befoze of the Romanes. He toke out of the castle, xl. pound waight of golde, & of silver, 600. This was done at the castle a litle after. *Sylla* immediatly after the citie was take, not delaying to take *Pireos* by siege, he brought engines & munition, and many men y<sup>e</sup> should vndermine the wall with their instruments and beate downe many of them that kept the wall by shooting & darting vpon them, and ouerthrew the bowing part of the wall, which was moyst & weake, being new made. Which *Archelous* thinking befoze, made many y<sup>e</sup> like within, that *Sylla* might euer haue somewhat to do, finding a new one like y<sup>e</sup> other. But he v[er]y continual assault w[ith] incessable violence, going among them, & exhorting thē to y<sup>e</sup> mater, as a thing of great importace & praise, in y<sup>e</sup> which al the hope that they had done, did lie. They of themselves being redy enough, for y<sup>e</sup> glory of so great a feat as to win y<sup>e</sup> wal, wet to it so fearcelly, y<sup>e</sup> *Archelous* being astonished at their vehement motion beyond reason, left the wall vnto thē, & ranne to the strongest parte of *Pireos*, that was compassed with the sea, the whiche *Sylla* for lacke of shippes coude not attempt. From thence *Archelous* sayled into *Thessalia* by *Boetia*, and gathered at *Thermopyle* the rest of all his owne army, and that was brought of *Syndromichate*. He called also those that came into *Macedonia* with *Archaius* the Kings sonne, a freshe bande and full, beside them that *Mithridates* continually sent, for he neuer leste sending: and this was done with great vehemencie.

*Sylla* burned *Pireos*, whiche was greater labour to him than *Pireos* burned,  
the

Mans fleshe  
dressed for sus-  
tenance.  
Libertie given  
to the posteritie  
of the *Athenians*  
not to themselves.

*Aristio* put to  
death.

*Thermopyle* is  
the greates hill  
that diuideth  
*Grecia*, & be the  
streight of it  
v[er]y note v[er]y  
ters.

Phocis a little re-  
gion of Grecia.

the little not sparing, naup, munition, nor other preparation and then he went against *Archelous* into *Boeotia*. Being nigh together, they went from *Thermopylae* to *Phocida*, they being *Thracians*, and *Scythians* of *Pontus*, and *Cappadocians*, *Bithynians*, *Galatians*, and *Phrygians* and al other that fauored *Mithridates*, al the which were *Cir. 80*. euery one had their chiefe captaines, & *Archelous* was the generall ouer all. *Sylla* hadde *Italians*, *Greekes*, and those *Macedonians* that were reuolted from *Archelous*, and some other of the borderers, not the thirde parte of the enemies number. Being encamped together, *Archelous* setting his men in order, alwayes prouoking to the battayle, *Sylla* delayed, considering the places and multitude of the enemies, and followed *Archelous* that went into *Calicide*, expecting time and place, when he sawe him encamped at *Cheronea* in hilly places, from the whiche they that wer overcome could not flee. He being in a plain very nigh, set his men redy, to prouoke *Archelous* to fight against his wil, the playne being for him commodious to marche forth, or to retire at his pleasure, wheras *Archelous* was beset with the hills, so as he could not vse his men as he would, nor altogether place them for the inequalitye of the ground. And if they should turne, the harde place woulde hinder their flight. We waying the matter with these difficulties, gaue the onset, knowing that that great multitude would litle profit *Archelous*, who did not thinke the *Romanes* would haue fought, therfore kept his campe negligently. When the battel was begon, then he felte the hardnesse of the place, and persequed it to late, and sente his horsemen to kepe him of, but they returning, and being driuen to the hills, he sent out his armed Chariots, to see if he could, by their violence, breake and cut the maine battel of the *Romanes*, the which they failed to passe the front to the ende, diuising themselves where they were ouerthrowen of the shot, they being vnweldy to turne again. And though *Archelous* might thus haue kepte his campe, being sene at the hills for their defence, yet he set the whole multitude in order, & came vpon *Sylla* on the sodayne in these streight places, because now he was at hand. First he brought forth the horsemen with great violence, and cut asunder the *Romanes* battayle, and easlye compassed both, for their small number.

They

They fighting very valiantly, kept themselves in a ring. They were in greatest danger that fought vnder *Galba* and *L. ortensius*, against whom *Archelous* fought himself, and the *Arabians* in his sight, shewed great manhood, till *Sylla* came thither with his horsemen. *Archelous* thinking *Sylla* was hee that came, by the shewe of the Ensignes, and the raising of so much duste, leaping his compassing, went to his battayle. But *Sylla* brought his horsemen that were beste, and two newe bandes that lay in ambush, and charged vpon them as they were setting themselves in order, (for they were not yet al come from compassing, nor in due forme at the fronte,) and brake them, so as they were confounded, and turned to flee, the whiche he followed. Beginning the victory thus, *Murena* in the lefte wing, furthered the same, very lustily, and with encouraging of his men, manly followed the chace. When the wings of *Archelous* were turned, the middle battayle did not holde, but fledde also. And then all that *Sylla* had foresene, fell vpon the enemy, for not having a free place to turne them, nor a playne to flee, at the hilles they were slayne of them that folowed them: some fell into his haues, some that were wiser, got to their campe, whom *Archelous*, ignorant of the seates of warre, commaunded to turne vpon the enemies, when there was no way. They obeyed readily, but waiting captaines, to set them in order, not knowing their proper Ensignes, and being fouly disordered, wanting place bothe to fighte and to flee, beeing driuen into a straighte by them that chased, they were killed with ease: some of their enemies, whom they could not kill againe: some of themselves, as in a confusion in so straight a place. They went againe to the gates, and there gathered together, rebuking them that shutte them out, rehearsing their countrey Goodes, and other naturall familiaritie, that not so much of their enemies, as of their disdayne they were destroyed, till *Archelous* seeing the neede, opened the gates too late, and receyued them running in with disorder. The *Romanes* perceiving this, calling one another, with vehementie & swiftnesse gotte into the cape with the that fled, & brought the victory to an end. *Archelous* & the other fledde as they could, & saved themselves at

The overthrow of *Archelous*.

*Calicide*.

*Sylla* taketh the  
advantage of  
the place.

The armed  
chariots defeat  
him.

D.

*Calicide*.

Calceide, of a hundred & xx. M., not many more than .x. M. remaining of the *Romanes*, they say there died but .xx. & two of them returned, this was the end of the field betwene *Sylla* and *Archelous* captain general of *Mithridates* at *Cheronea*, chiefly by y<sup>e</sup> wisdom of *Sylla*, & the foolishnesse of *Archelous*, this happe had they both, *Sylla* hauing got much armure & speyle, & taken many prisoners, y<sup>e</sup> vnprofitable things gathered on an heape, being girded after the *Romane* manner, he burned to the Gods of warre. Acteing his army a while, he went to *Euripus*, with y<sup>e</sup> light horse against *Archelous*, who waded the *Ilandes* without dread, the *Romanes* hauing no ships to folow him, & toke the coast townes. And going to *Zacynthus* he cāped, as to besiege the citie: & where certen of y<sup>e</sup> *Romanes* cāpe, came vpo him by night, departing in hast, he went to *Calceida*, more like a Rouer thā a warrior. When *Mithridates* heard of this losse, he was troubled againe, & afrayde, as in such a case he might, & gathered an other army of all natiōs about him in hast. And thinking y<sup>e</sup> many would now forsake him for th<sup>e</sup> ouerthrow, or for some other occasion, he gathered together all th<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> he had in suspitiō befoze the warre did ware sharper. First he killed the gouernours of the *Galarians*, which were with him as frendes, & not yet subiect to him, with their wives & chyldzen except th<sup>e</sup>re that fled. To some he layd traynes, some he killed in a night at a banquet, thinking none woulde keepe their sayth, if *Sylla* came, & confiscating their goodes he made *Eumachus* president of that nation. The rulers that escaped gathereng an army of their tenants of the countrey, droue him & his garrisons out of *Galatia*, so as *Mithridates* had nothing of that nation but money only. And being angry with y<sup>e</sup> *Chians*, euer since their ship crushed the kings shippe in the battaile at the *Rhodes*, he came secretly vpon them, & first leasde vpo their goodes that were fled to *Sylla*. When he sent to inquire of them that toke the *Romanes* parte in *Chio*. And *Zenobius* that ledde the third army, as though he would haue hasted into *Gretia*, came to the walles of *Chio* & other naked places by night & toke them, and setting a garde at the gate, proclaimed that strangers should not stirre, & assembled the *Chians*, as to say somewhat to them from the king. Whē he was come he sayd

*Cheronea* is a towne in *Beothia* where *Platarch* was borne.

*Euripus* is the stret in sea that floweth ten times a day.

*Zacynthus* an Ile of the Ionian sea.

Crueltie of *Mithridates* against the *Galatians*.

*Chio*, now *Scio*.

*Mithridates* spite against the *Chians* for a fund cause.

sayde the king had the citie in suspition bycause they fauoured the *Romanes*. Your ease must be, to deliuer your armure & your best chyldzen for pledges. They seing they<sup>e</sup> citie already taken, deliuered both. The which *Zenobius* sente by & by to *Erythea*, commanding the *Chians* to farrie for the kings letters. *Mithridates* letter came to this effect. You be yet frends to the *Romanes* with whom many of your Citizens be, & you enioy the *Fermes* that they haue let you, for the which you pay nothing to vs. Further a Galley of yours at the fight at *Rhodes* did shake and crush my shippes, which fault I would put onely vpon the guyders of the ship, if you could be recovered by loue. But secretly you haue now sent your chief men to *Sylla*, & you haue accused none of th<sup>e</sup>, as doyng it without cōmon consent, nor you haue punished any of them, as not praiue to their doyngs: and whereas I might punish you by death, beyng so counsayled by my frendes, as seekers of my life, and traytours to my kingdome, I punish you in two thousand talents. This was the tenor of the letter. They would haue sent Embassadors to him, but *Zenobius* woulde not suffer them. And when their armure was gone, & their chiefe chyldzen taken away, & so great an army of *Barbarians* at hād, with heauy hearts they toke the treasure out of the temples, & their wimes Jewels, that they might make the .ij. M. talents. Whē they had done this, & *Zenobius* finding fault with the wayght, he called th<sup>e</sup> al into y<sup>e</sup> Theatre, & setting his soldiours about y<sup>e</sup> Theatre with their weapons dꝛawne, & the waies downe to y<sup>e</sup> sea side, he called th<sup>e</sup> out seuerally & put them in the ships, the men by thēselues, y<sup>e</sup> womē likewise, & the chyldzen by thēselues, barbarously scoffing at th<sup>e</sup>. Thus being spoyled of their countrey, they were sent into *Pontus Euxinus* to *Mithridates*. After this sort were y<sup>e</sup> *Chians* vled. The *Ephesians* required *Zenobius* y<sup>e</sup> was come to th<sup>e</sup>, to leaue his army at y<sup>e</sup> gate, & to come in with a few. He did so: and went to *Philopamena* father to *Monime*, whō *Mithridates* loued, & had made ouerseer of the *Ephesians*, & willed the *Ephesians* by proclamation to come together in their assembly. They lokyng for no good at his hāds, deferred it till the next day. And in y<sup>e</sup> night gathering together & exhorting one an other, they toke *Zenobius* & killed him.

*Erythea* is a cite of Asia, not far from *Scio*, of the which was one *Sylla*.

*Mithridates* letter to the *Chians*.

The lamentable destruction of the *Chians*.

The *Ephesians* kill *Zenobius*.

in prison. They fenced their walles, they put their people in order, they gathered in their coyne, & kept all the Citie by strength. The *Trallians*, *Papenians*, and *Mesopolitans*, and some other afraped by the calamitie of *Chio*, did as the *Ephesiāns* had done. *Mithridates* sent his army against them that reuolted, and vsed them cruelly whom he took, and fearng the rest, he made the cities of *Greece*, free. He proclaimed forgiveness of debts, and the seruours he made Citizens, & the bondmen, free, hoping, as it was in dede, that the released of debt, the new made citizens & freemen, would be sure unto him, thinking these things could not be sure unto them, but by *Mithridates* rule. In the meane season *Mynio* and *Philotimus* of *Smyrna*, and *Clisthenes*, and *Asclepiodotus*, *Lesbians*, all frāndes to the king, and *Asclepiodotus*, sometime captayne of the straungers, did make a conspiracie against *Mithridates*. Of the which *Asclepiodotus* was the beuzaler: & for the more credite, he bzought to passe, that the kyng, vnder a bedde, hearde what *Mynio* sayde. The cōspiracie being betwzayed, they were cruelly killed. The like suspicion was vpon many moe. Tho *Pergameneans* doyng the like, foure scoze of them were takē, and other, in other cities, *Mithridates* sending searchers to euery place, who finding out his enemies, killed a thousand six hundred men, the accusers of the which, not lōg after, were some punished of *Sylla*, some killed themself, & some fled to *Mithridates* into *Pontus*. Now had *Mithridates* gathered an army of. lxxx. M. the which *Dorilus* did leade into *Grecia* to *Archelous* that had. x. M. left. *Sylla* had his army nigh to *Archelous* at *Orchomeno*, & when he saw so great a nūber of horsemen, he digged many pittes in the plaine, & fote bzoad. And had his army in order to receyue *Archelous*. And when the *Romanes* did sayntly come to y fight for the multitude of horsemē, he rode about, & exhorted them, & beside threathened thē. But whē he could not so bring them to the matter, he leapt of his horse and took the Ensigne & ranne to the enemies with his garde, crying: If any man slye you (O *Romanes*) where you betrayed your generall, *Sylla*, say, when he fought at *Orchomeno*. The Capitaines ranne frō their bandes to hym beyng in this daunger. When the multitude beyng ashamed, chaunged their feare into courage.

And

*Trallians*, at the  
floud *Mondraus*,  
Papenians of *Trois*  
*phylia*.

*Mithridates* red  
leasth debres,  
maketh free.

A conspiracie  
betwzayed.

*Orchomenus* at  
the floud of that  
name.

The boldnesse  
of *Sylla*.

And when the victory began to appeare, he mounted on horse and gayne, and rode about the host, prayng them, and in euery place exhorting them, till he had brought it to end. There dyed of the enemies aboute fiftēne thousande, whereof the most part were horsemen, & among them *Digenes*, that was *Archelous* son. The souldiers fledde to the *Campe*, and *Sylla* fearing least *Archelous* woulde flē againe to *Thalcida*, he hauing no *Shippes*, all that night he set watches in y playne, and in the day, not fully a furlong frō *Archelous*, he cast a trench (he not comming forth,) & exhorted earnestly his army to finish the rest of al this battel, seing their enemies durst not come out, and brought them to the trench of *Archelous*. The like mutation was among the enemies, for necessitie the Captaynes running aboute, shewing the presente daunger, and rebuking them, if they woulde not defende theyr Camp against their enemies that were fewer than they. Force and crye being made on eyther side, there was great might shewed on both parts. The *Romanes* couering themselves with their shields, did now digge downe a corner of the *Campe*, but the defendours put them backe with their shorthe weapons, and none durst enter, till *Basillus* the Captayne of that legion firste leapt in, and killed him that resisted him, al the army followed, then flight and slaughter was made of the *Barbarians*, of some as they went, of other being driuen into a lake that was nigh, and where they coulde not swimme, made prayers in their *Barbarian* tongue to the killers of them that vnderstode them not. And *Archelous* was hode in a fenne, where getting boates, he sayled to *Chalcida*, and gathered together all the rest of the Kings army with diligence. *Sylla* the nexte daye gaue *Basillus* a garland, and rewarded others with giftes accordingly, and then spoyled *Beotia* that was cur wauering. And being come to *Thessalia*, wintered, and tarried for the *Shippes* that *Lucullus* hadde. And bycause he could not tell where *Lucullus* was, he made other *Shippes*. In this time, *Cornelius Cinna* and *Gaius Marius* his enemies in *Rome*, proclaymed him Rebell, spoyling his house and his Villages, and destroying his friends. He not withstanding did all thinges as with an hostile, hauing an army valiant and obedient. *Cinna* chose *Flaccus* for his

The victory of  
the *Romanes*.

The valiantnes  
of *Basillus*.

This garland or  
croune was  
called *Palladis*,  
which was gi-  
uen to him that  
first scaled the  
trench.

*Sylla* is proclay-  
med Rebell at  
*Rome*.

*Flaccus*.

his.

feilow

fellow in the Consuls office, and sente him into *Asia* with two legions in the place of *Sylla* that was declared an enimie to be ruler of *Asia*, and make warre with *Mithridates*. *Flaccus* being expert in the warres, a man of the Senate, of good will, and beloved of the army, named *Fimbria*, wente with him. They sayling from *Brunduse*, many of their shippes were lost by winters weather, and a nauie sent of *Mithridates*, burned their shippes, that went in esptall. All the army forsooke *Flaccus*, being a malicious, couetous, and cruell man, and part of them that were sente into *Theffaly*, turned to *Sylla*. The rest, *Fimbria* being thought of them a better Captayne, and of a moze gentle nature than *Flaccus*, stayed from reuolting, and chancing that there was a cōtention for a lodging betweene him & a treasurer, and *Flaccus* leauing the matter vnudged, and somewhat touching the honoz of *Fimbria*, he being disoeynefull, thzeatned to returne to *Rome*, and *Flaccus* appointed a successour to him for y things that were to be done. When *Fimbria* wayting him as he went to *Calcida*, first toke the maces from *Thermo*, whom *Flaccus* had made officer against him as so receyuing the charge by the cōsent of the army, & following *Flaccus* with anger, til he droue him into an house, out of y which escaping by night, he fledde first into *Calcide*, & then into *Nicomedia*, and shut the gates. But *Fimbria* came vpon him, and killed him, being crept into a pitte, being Consull of the Romanes, and generall of the warre, where he was but a priuate mā, and was come with him as his friend at his request. He cut of his head, and thzeue it into the Sea, his carcashe he cast out vnburied: so making himselfe Generall, he foughte diuers fightes valiantly with *Mithridates* his sonne, and droue the R. himselfe fro *Pergam*, whither he followed him to *Pitane*, where he beseged him, till by shippe he fledde to *Mitylene*. *Fimbria* invading *Asia*, punished y faction of *Cappadocia*, and spoyled the lands of them that woulde not receyue him. The *Ilans* being beseged of him, fledde to *Sylla*, who promised the to come, and willed the to say to *Fimbria*, that they were yelded to him. When *Fimbria* heard this, he prayed them as friendes to the Romanes, and desired them to receyue him as a *Romane* also, testingly shewing that the *Ilans* and the

Fimbria,

Fimbria killeth  
Flaccus,A rare crueltie  
of a Romane,Fimbria a Citie of  
Asolide,Ilum, where  
Troy was,

the Romanes were of asintie. Being entred, he killed all that he mette, and burned euery thing, and the Embassadors that were sente to *Sylla*, he tormented byuers wayes, neyther sparing holy things, noz them that were fledde into the Temple of *Minerua*, whome he burned in the Temple.

Crueltie of a  
Romane,Troy worse v-  
ted of a Romane,Palladium the  
Image of Miner-  
na sente from  
Heauen.

The next day he bet downe the walles, and went about to see, if any thing stode in the Citie, which was worse vted by him a man allied, than it was in *Agamemnon*s time, no house, no temple, no image being left. The Image of *Minerua* which they called *Palladium*, sent from heauen as they thinke, some suppose was vnbroken, being couered with the walles that fell, excepte *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* carried it away at the warre of *Troy*. Thys did *Fimbria* against *Ilia*, the CIII. Olympiad the ending, which some thinke was a thousand and fifty yeares after *Agamemnon*.

When *Mithridates* heard of the losse at *Orchomeno*, considering the multitude he hadde sente into *Grecia*, and the continuall and greate ouerthowes, he sent to *Archelous*, to make truce in as good manner as he could, and being come to the parley, sayde to *Sylla*. *Mithridates* being an auntient friend to you (*Sylla*) hath made warre for the couetousnesse of other Generalles. He is content to leaue warre for thy vertues sake, by the which thou wilt commaund him that shall be iust. *Sylla* for wante of Ships and money, none being sent him bycause of his enemies that had iudged him a Rebelle, hauing gathered money of the *Pythians*, *Olympians*, and *Epidaureans*, and given them, by reason for their holy things, halfe the *Thebans* land that so oft rebelled, and hauing an army valiant and experte, to leade agaynst the Rebellion of his enemies, he was bent to peace, and sayd:

Archelous to  
Sylla,

If *Mithridates* had bin iniured, he should haue sent Embassadors, but doyng iniurie, he hath invaded many lands of other mens, he hath slayne very many, the common and holy thyngs of Cities, and the proper goddes of them he hath spoyled, beeyng a like vnfaithfull to his friendes and to vs, of whome he hath killed many, and slayne the Princes that were at a banquet with him in the night with their wiues and children, and hath shewed to vs rather crueltie of nature, than necessitie of warre, and

used

Take of peace.

Howe a copie of  
Paphlagonia.

bled the *Italians* in *Asia*, with all kindes of cruells, destroying and murthering men, women, children, and slaues that were of the nation of *Italy*, so great an hate had he againste *Italy*. He alleadgeth now auncient amitie for a fashion, but not before he hath lost a hundred and threescore thousand men by me, he maketh a ny mention of it. Wherefore reason would, we should take him for vnfaithfull, yet for thy sake, I will vnder take to get him for giuencesse of the *Romanes*, if he repente his doyngs: but if he dissembleth now also, loke thou wel to it *Archelus*, and consider the present state, as well for thy selfe, as for him. Consider howe he hath vled his friends, and how we haue vled *Eumenes*, and *Masini*. Hee speaking thus, *Archelus* discyngressfull brake his tale, as spoken to proue him, and sayde, that he woulde neuer betray the army that was committed to him, yet hope I for peace at thy hand, if thou makest reasonable condicions. *Sylla* ceassing a while, sayd, *Archelus*, if *Mithridates* doe deliuer vnto me all the prauie which thou hast, and deliuer our Captaines, Embassadors, prisoners, fugitiues, and slaues fledde fro vs, and let go the *Chians* beside forth, and all other that he hath made Captiues in *Pontus*, and take his garrisons from euery place, except those which he had before the breaking of peace, and defray the charges of the warre whereof he hath bin the cause, and conteyne himselfe within the limits of his fathers dominions, I trust to persuaade that the *Romanes* will no more remember what he hath done. Thus he said. *Archelus* by and by toke his garrisons from euery place, and of the rest sent to the King. *Sylla* to do somewhat in this vacation, spoyled the *Eneates*, *Dardaneans*, and *Euntians*, nations nigh the *Macedonians*, and alwayes molesting *Macedonia*, he exercised his souldyours, and gotte money likewise. Embassadors were nowe come from *Mithridates*, who agreed to all things, hauing then excepted *Paphlagonie*, saying that *Mithridates* mighte haue more, if he would make peace with the other generall *Fimbria*. *Sylla* was angry at that, and said, he would punish *Fimbria* well ynough, and whē he was come into *Asia*, he would see whether *Mithridates* hadde more neede of warre than peace. When he had said thus, he went into *Cypsel* by *Thracia*, and sent

Lucullus

*Lucullus* afoze to *Abidus*, whether he was now come, being in daunger of rouers many times. He brought a prauie of *Schypps* from *Cyprus* and *Phenicia*, fro *Rhodus* and *Pamphylia*, spoyling many coastes of the enimies, and skirmishing with the Kings *Schyppes*. *Sylla* from *Cypselos*, and *Mithridates* from *Pergame*, mette agayne to talke, and commyng both into the playne with a fewe. *Mithridates* recozded his, and his fathers amitie and confederacie, and accused the *Romane* Embassadors and Lieutenantes, whiche hadde bled him vniustly, setting *Arriobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, and taking *Phrygia* from hym, and winking at *Nicomedes*, that dyd hym open iniurie. And all this they did (quoth he) for money, taken as well of me as of them. In this thyng (*O Romanes*) are you most to be blamed, bycause you will be corrupt with money. The warre being broken by youre Generalles, what soeuer I haue done in defence, it hath bin rather of necessity, than of will. When *Mithridates* had sayde thus, hee ceassed. *Sylla* thus answered. Although thy coming is for peace, and yet doest reueue other matter, I will not refuse to speake briefly of it. When I was lieutenant of *Cilicia*, I sette *Arriobarzanes* into *Cappadocia*, by decree of the *Romanes*, and thou diddest obey. Thou shouldest then haue spoken against it, and not wangled afterwarde, or swarued from the order. *Manius* gaue thee *Phrygia* for money. The iniustice is indifferente to you both, and by this thou doest confesse, that thou gottest it vnlawfully, by giuing of money. *Manius*, both in this, and other things done for money, was reproued of vs, and the Senate dissolved all that he had done, by reason whereof, they woulde not make *Phrygia* tributarie vnto them, beeyng gyuen vniustly to thee, but leste it free. When by what reason doest thou blurpe the things that we haue taken by warre, and wyll not yet haue thee to rule? *Nicomedes* accuseth thee and *Alexander* for woundyng his bodye, sendyng *Socrates Chrestus* into his kynge dome. He to reuenge this, inuaded thy Realme. If he dyd thee wrong, thou shouldest haue sente Embassadors, and haue tarried for aunswere. If thou dydest make speedy reuengeance at *Nicomedes*, why dydest thou inuade *Arriobarzanes* that hadde

Take of peace  
betwene Sylla  
and Mithridates.Manius ad es  
reproued.

e.

done

done thee no wrong, for when thou hadst begunne with him, the Romanes were compelled by their covenantes to restore hym, and being restored, to defend him. Thou madest warre, being thus perswaded, and in hope, that if thou didst overcome the Romanes, thou shouldest reigne ouer all, making these pretences of thy purpose, of the whyche we haue thys coniecture, that before there was any warre, thou madest league wyth the Thracians, Scythians, and Sarmatians, and sendest to the Kings thy neybourers. Thou madest Shippes, and gatheredst maisters and mates, and the time doth bewray thyne intente. For when thou hardest that Italy was reuolted fro vs, wayting for our trouble, thou didst inuade Ariobarzanes, Nicomedes, the Galatians, and Paphlagonia. Thou dydst inuade Asia our lande, and when thou hadst got it, what didst thou against the Cities, ouer which thou madest slaues and fellows in debt, rulers, by giuing of libertie, and releasing of debt, and agaynst the Grecians, of whom, for a small occasion, thou didst kill sixtene hundred: or the princes of Galatia, whome being at a feast with thee, thou dydst murder. And the Italian nation, in one daye thou dydst kill and drowne, with their wiues and childre, not sparing them that were fledde into the holy places. Howe greate crueltie, how great impietie and extremitie of hate, dydst thou shew agaynst vs, gathering a very many mony? Thou dydst sayle into Europe with greate armyes, we forbidding all Kyngs of Asia, to enter into Europe. When thou wert come, thou dydst overcome Macedonia our prouince. Thou tokest from the Grecians theyr freedom. After ther dydst thou repente thee, or make Archelous the meane for thee, tyll I hadde recovered Macedonia, and deliuered Grecia from thy violence, and slayne a hundred and sixtie thousand of thyne army, and taken thy Campes with theyr munition. Therefore I maruell now thou doest iustifye thy selfe in those thyngs, which thou desirest to be forgyuen by Archelous, whyche I being farre off, thou dydst graunte, but being nigh, thou doest call into question whose tyme is past, thou making warre, and we resisting mightily, and will resist thee to the ende.

Sylla speaking this with anger, the King was afrayde, and

granted and confirmed the conditions made by Archelous, and deliuering the Shippes, and all other things, he went into Pontus his fathers Kingdome: onely. Thus the first warre betwene the Romanes and Mithridates ceased.

Sylla encamping two furlongs from Fimbria, commaunded hym to deliuer the army whiche he helde agaynst the lawes. He taunted him again, that he did not rule lawfully, and being besieged of Sylla, and many openly forsaking him, he called the rest to a counsell, and exhorted them to tarry: and when they sayde they would not fyght with their Countreymen, he toze his garments, and besoughte them: and when they refused that also, and many still went from him, he went to the tentes of the Captaines, and winning some with money, he called them agayne to a counsell, and commaunded them to sweare: and when the Eneians cryed, that he must call them to sweare by name, he called them that had bin benefited by hym, and first Nonius, that was ppyse to all his doings. But when he refused to sweare, he dydwe his sword, and threatned to kill hym, tyll a crye was made of all, and then he ceased for feare, and hyed a slauie, for hope of libertie and money, to goe as a fugitiue and kyll Sylla: He being about the thyng, and troubled, being thereby suspected, was taken, and confessed it. And Syllas army with rage and diligence, standing aboute Fimbrias tynche, dyd reuile hym, and call him Atheniona, who a fewe dayes was a King ouer the seruantes in Sicilie that rebelled. By the which Fimbria despairing of all, came to the wall, and desired to speake wyth Sylla. He sente Rutilius in his place, that chiesly greened Fimbria, that he would not speake with him, which is not denyed to enemies, and desired pardon, if he hadde offended, being yet a yong man. Rutilius sayd, Sylla would let him goe quietly to the Sea, if he would giue place in Asia, in the which Sylla was Lieutenant. He sayde, he would find a better way, and went to Pergamo, and in the Temple of Aesculapius kylled hymselfe, and the wounde not being sufficiente, he hadde his Page dispatche, who kylled his spallier syffe, and then himselfe.

VVarre betwene Fimbria and Sylla.

Fimbria la sonne.

Nonius refuseth to sweare.

Athenion.

Sylla wvill not speake vwith Fimbria.

Fimbria killeth himselfe.

e. 15.

Thus

He had the legi-  
on to be bury-  
ed otherwile  
than at Rome.

The rewardes  
of the faithfull  
people.

The punish-  
ment of the re-  
belling people.

Sylla to the  
Ephesians.

Italy a floud,  
running out of  
Italy.

Thus ended *Fimbria*, doing muche mischief in *Asia* after *Mithridates*, whom *Sylla* gaue to his freemake nie to bury, say-  
ing, he woulde not follow *Cinna* and *Marinus* in *Rome*, who kyled  
many men, and woulde not suffer them to be buried, receyuing  
*Fimbria* armye that came vnto hym, and sette them with hys  
owne, and commaunded *Curio* to restore *Nicomedes* and *Arriobar-  
zanes* into *Cappadocia*, and wrote to the Senate of all thyngs,  
not seemyng he was declared a Rebelle. When setting his pro-  
uince, he recompensed the *Ilions*, the *Chians*, the *Lycians*, the *Rho-  
dians*, and the *Magnesiens*, and others that were confederates,  
or that for their good will, had suffered, for the whiche cause he  
dismissed them free, and registred them friendes of the *Romanes*.  
To the rest, he sent his army, and proclaymed that all seruantes  
that hadde freedome by *Mithridates*, shoulde be restored to theyr  
maisters. Whereof manye disobeyng, and some Cities rebel-  
ling, there followed great slaughters, of free, and bond, for diuers  
occasions, the walles of many were pulled downe, and made ser-  
uile people very many. They that were of the *Cappadocians* fac-  
tion, both men & Cities were sharply punished, and chiefly the *E-  
phesiens*, which did impudently reuile the *Romanes* comandemets.  
After this, was there a proclamation made, that the chiefe of e-  
uery Citie should come befoze *Sylla* at *Ephesus*, who being come  
into the common hall, he thus sayd vnto them.

While first came into *Asia* with our army, when *Antiochus* king  
of *Syria* did ouerrunne you, and draving him away, and making  
*Asy* and *Tauris* the limits of his Kingdome, we toke not from  
you that was made ours by hym, but lefte it free, excepte some,  
which we gaue to *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodes* our confederates, not  
to be tributaries; but tenants. In prowe whereof, we toke the *Li-  
cians* from the *Rhodians*, making their complaynt. Thus did we  
for you. And you did help *Arifonicus* four yeares against vs, af-  
ter *Attalus Philometer* had left his kingdome to vs by testament,  
till *Arifonicus* was taken, and many of you came againe for ne-  
cessitie and feare. Thus doyng, and in foure and twenty yeares  
comming to great riches and substance as well publike as pri-  
uate, thoroough peace and abundance, you wyngale agayne,  
and

and wayting our trouble in *Italie*, some of you brought in *Mi-  
thridates*, and some receyued him when he came. He the moste  
cruell of all men, in one day killed all the *Italians* with the chyl-  
dren and mothers. And you did not spare them that fledde into  
the temples to your Goddes: For the whiche some punishment,  
you haue had by *Mithridates*, beyng vnfaithfull to you, and fil-  
lyng you with murders and banishments, making diuisions of  
your landes, and releasing of debtes, and libertie of slaues: and  
to some putting tyrannes, and causing many robberies both by  
sea and land, that by your experience you may know, by compa-  
rison, what gouernour you haue receyued, & what reiectes. The  
beginners of these things haue bene partly punished by vs, but  
the payne must be publique to you that haue done the lyke, that  
it may be correspondent to that you haue done. But the *Romanes*  
will not vse wicked murders, or sudden confiscations, or risings  
of seruants, or other barbarous things which the minde abhor-  
reth.regarde shalbe had to the nation and name of *Greece*, and  
to the glozie of *Asia*, & to the frendes of the *Romanes* for honours  
sake. We put vpon you the tribute of five yeares onely to be  
brought presently, and the expences of the warre which I haue  
bestowed. For the rest I will take order, and make the diuision  
accorpyng to the Cities, & I declare frendship to them that shall  
keepe these orders, and to them that will not, I appoynt punish-  
ment, as to enemies.

When *Sylla* had sayde thus, he diuided the payne to the Em-  
balladours and sente them for mony. The Cities beyng poore &  
oppressed with debte, some did let to ferme their Wheatres to  
creditours, some their common houses, their wals and portes,  
and any other thing that was publique, not without despite of  
the Souldiours that gathered it. This money was brought to  
*Sylla*, and *Asia* had inough of euils: for it was full of manifest  
robberies, rather like to armies thā to pirates. For *Mithridates*  
not long befoze had set the in the sea, when he wasted al things,  
as not long to keepe it, then beyng moste abundant, not onely  
troubling men on the sea, but spoyling portes, towne and cities  
evidentlye. *Iassus*, *Samos*, *Clazomene*, and *Samosthracia*, *Sylla* being  
there,

Inconueniences  
in *Asia*.  
*Iassus*, an Ile of  
*Cana*.

there, were taken, and the Temple of *Samothracia*, was robbed of the value of a thousand Talents. He eyther willingly, or leauing to punish the offendours, or bycause of the sedition at Rome, wente into *Grecia*, and from thence to *Italy*, with all his army, & what he did, we haue wrytten in þe booke of *Ciuit* dissentio.

The second warre with *Mithridates* beganne of this occasion:

*Murena* being lesse of *Sylla* with two legions that were *Fimbrias*, thewed certayne formes of warre for desire of *Triumph*. *Mithridates* being gone to *Pontus*, made warre vpon the *Colchians* and *Bosphorians*. The *Colchians* desired his sonne *Mithridates* might be giuen them for king, whome when they had receyued, they obeyed forthwith. But the king hauing his sonne in suspicio, that he coueted the whole kingdome, sent for him, and held him with cheynes of gold, & after killed him, when he had done him muche good seruice in *Asia* against *Fimbria*. Against the *Bosphorians* he gathered a gret army, and made a great nauie. The mightinesse of the whiche preparation, raysed an opinion, that it was not against the *Bosphorians*, but against the *Romanes*, for he had not restozed all *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, but kepte parte of it still, and had *Archelom* in suspition, that he granted more in *Grecia*, than he needed to *Sylla*, in making the peace: the which *Archelom* perceyuing, and fearing, fledde to *Murena*, whome he incensed, and perswaded againste *Mithridates*. *Murena* by and by entered thzough *Cappadocia*, to *Comana*, the greatest Citie vnder *Mithridates*, hauing an holy temple and treasure, and killed certayne hostes mē of *Mithridates*: and when the Embassadors alleaged þe leage, he answered he had none such, for *Sylla* did not wryght it, but confirmed it by word, and so left it. Whē *Murena* had sayd thys, he fell to spoyle by and by, not refrayning from the holy money, & wintered in *Cappadocia*. *Mithridates* sent to Rome to the Senate, & to *Sylla*, to cōplayne of *Murenas* doings, who in þe tyme passed the floud *Ally* that was great, and the very deepe, because of þe raine, and spoiled 400. of *Mithridates* townes, the king not yet meeting with him, but loking for his Embassadors from Rome. Hauing got a great bootie, he went into *Phrigia* & *Cappadocia*, whither *Calpurnius* came to him from Rome, touching *Mithridates* complayntes, but

The seconde warre with *Mithridates*. *Colchus* is next *Pontus*.

*Mithridates* killeth his sonne.

*Archelom* fleeth fro *Mithridates*. *Comana*, a Citie dedicate to *Helion*. *Murena* cauil- leth.

*Calpurnius* comes from Rome with counters for commaundment.

but brought him no decreē, onely sayse vnto him in the midst of the hearers, that þe Senate cōmanded him to spare the king their confederate. When he hadde said thus, he was faine to speake to him alone. And *Murenas* ceased not of his inuasion, but still molested þe land of the king, who evidently perceyuing that he was vsed as an enemie of the *Romanes*, he had *Gordius* to take the night townes. He gathered many beastes of cariage & munition, & priuate men and souldyours, and camped at the floud ouer agaynst *Murena*. Neither of them began þe fight, til *Mithridates* came with a great army, then was there a mighty fight at the floud. *Mithridates* by violence passed the floud, being otherwise too good for *Murena*, who fled the kings force into a strong hill, and hauyng lost many, departed by the mountaynes withoute anye way into *Phrigia*, being followed & oppressed. This victory being euident & quickly gotten, was sone spred abroade, and turned many to *Mithridates*. He putting out *Murenas* garrisons of euery place to great spede, did make his sacrifice to *Iupiter* þe warrior, after þe manner of his countrey, in þe top of an hil, wher they make a great pile of wood, to þe which the kings bring the first stick. When they make another lesse in a circle. Upon the higher, they put hony, milke, & wine, & oyle, & all kind of perfumes, they giue bread and meate of the best to them that be present. And they make þe pile after þe fashio of the *Persian* kings sacrifice in *Rarsardin*, the which for the greatnes, is evidently sene to many, a thousand furlongs off, and þe one cā not come nigh the place many days after, þe aire is so hote. This sacrifice did he make, after the custome of hys countrey. *Sylla* not content þe *Mithridates* being in league, shoulde haue war made vpo him, sent *Aulus Gabinus*, to cōmand *Murena* not to molest *Mithridates*, and that he shoulde agree *Mithridates*, & *Ariobarzanes*. *Mithridates* at þe meeting, making sure a soime of *Ariobarzanes* of. iiii. yeares of age, and by þe meane holding still that he had in *Cappadocia*, & getting more, sealed all, & put gold in þe cup, and þe meate for the iesters & singers, & al other, as his vse was, of þe which only *Gabinus* touched none. Thus þe second war of *Mithridates* did end at þe thirde yeare. Being now at quiet, he subdued *Bosphorus*, & appointed the his son *Archarxus* for their king.

*Murenas* fleeth.

The manner of the sacrifice of the kings in *Asia* made by *Mithridates* for the victory.

*Gabinus* refuseth *Mithridates* gold.

He invaded the *Acheans* that be about *Calchos*, (which seme to be of them that fledde from *Troy*, and lost theyr way) and losing two partes of hys armie with fighte and colbe, and deceiptes, he returned, and sente to *Rome* to haue the league ratified. *Ariobarzanes* sente also, eyther of hymselfe, or stirred of others, that he had not receyued *Cappadocia*, but that *Mithridates* kepte yet the better parte from hym. *Sylla* commaunded *Mithridates* to geue place in *Cappadocia*, and hee did so, and sente other Embassadours for to haue the conditions of peace registred, but *Sylla* being dead, and the Senate not to be assembled, bycause of the vacation, he sent to *Tigranes* his sonne in law, to invade *Cappadocia* as of himself. This cautele was not vnknoen to the Romanes. The *Armenian* compassing *Cappadocia* as with a nette, ledde away thre hundreth thousande men into *Armenia*, and made them dwell with other at a place, where he first toke the Crowne of *Armenia*, and of hys name called it *Tigranocertos*, whiche is, the Citie of *Tigranes*. And these were the doyngs in *Asia*.

*Sertorius* a Captayne in *spayne*, dyd stirre it, and all the places about it, against the Romanes, and made a Senate of them that were with him, for to counterfeyte the Romanes. Two of his faction, *Lucius Manius*, and *L. Fanius*, perswaded *Mithridates* to toyne with *Sertorius*, putting him in hope of a greate parte of *Asia*, and the nations about him. He being perswaded, sent to *Sertorius*. He ledde the Embassadours into his Senate, and made a glorious tale, that his renoume spredde as farre as *Pontus*, and that he besieged the Romanes from the West to the East. He couenanted to geue *Mithridates* *Asia*, and *Bithinia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Cappadocia*, and *Gallagrecia* & sent him a Captayne *Marcus Varius*, and *Lucius Manius*, and *L. Fanius*, that were of that counsel. With these dyd *Mithridates* begin the thirde and last war with the Romanes, in the which he lost all his kingdome. *Sertorius* being dead in *spayne*, and Generalls, sent from *Rome*, first *Lucullus* that was admiral of *Syllas* flauie, then *Pompey*, vnder whome, all that *Mithridates* had, and all that was nigh it, to the floud *Euphrates*, by the pretence & violence of the war against *Mithridates*, did fall to the Romanes.

Mithri-

*Mithridates* hauing proued so oft what the Romanes were, and thinking that this war, made without cause, and of the sodaine, would not be appeased, made al the preparation that hee coulede, as now to try the whole, and the rest of the somer, & al y winter, he made shippes and armour, he brought to the sea, ij. C. M. Medimnes of grayne, and got confederates, beside hys former power, the *Chalibians*, the *Armenians*, the *Scythians*, the *Taurians*, *Achaians*, *Heniochans*, *Leucosyrians*, and all that inhabite about the floud *Thermodon*, that was called the land of the *Amazones*.

These had he gotte in *Asia*, to them he had befoze, and going into *Europe*, the *Sarmatians*, *Basileans*, *Iazygeans*, and *Coralleans*, and al the nations of the *Thracians*, that inhabite aboute *Hister*, *Radape*, and *Aemos*, and the *Bisternans*, a most valiaunt people.

These hadde *Mithridates* in *Europa*, he hadde gathered an hundred and fortie thousande footemen, and sixtene thousande horsemen, another great number of venturers, pioners, & victualers.

When the Spring was come, he viewed his nauy, and sacrificed to *Iupiter* warriour, the vsuall sacrifice, and to *Neptunus*, he did cast into the sea a Chariot of white horses, and wente to *Paphlagonia*, *Taxilus*, and *Eumocrates*, being his Generalls. When he was come, he made a solempne oration to the armye, setting forth his progenitozs and hymselfe verie highly, that he had enlarged his kingdome from little to great, and was neuer overcome of the Romanes, being presente, whome he accused for their ambition and vsatiableness, by the whiche, (saide he) they haue made *Italy* and their Countrey seruaile. He repeated the last conditions, whiche they would not subscribe. Seeking tyme to invade him againe, and making this the cause of the warre, he extolled his power and prouiso, and shewed the Romanes troubles, being molested in *spayne* by *Sertorius*, and at home in *Italy*, by ciuil warre. Therefore (saide he) thorough their negligence, the Sea hath long tyme bene full of Pyrates. Confederates haue they none, nor willingly anye wil be vnder them. Do you not see these noble men, (sayde hee) shewing *Varius* and the *Lucians*, to be enemies to their Countrey, and friends to vs?

When he had said thus and stirred his armye, hee wente into

f.

Bythinia

*Medimnus* was a measure that containd sixe *Medis*, & *Modius* containd syxe *Sextares*, whiche is commonlye called a Bushell. *Calybes* people in *Pontus* that dig yron naked. *Heniochi*, people of *Pontus* luring by theft. *Thermodon*.

*Mithridates* to his fouldeuils.

*Cochineus*, came from *Troy*.

*Tigranes* by perswasion of *Mithridates* invaded *Cappadocia*.

*Mithridates* sent death to *Sertorius*.

The thirde warre vnder *Mithridates*.

Nicomedes lea-  
ueth his king-  
dome to the  
Romanes.  
Cotta fleeth.

Nudus cometh  
to Chalcide  
ywhere the port  
coloyse is lette  
dovene, & ma-  
ny Romanes  
slayne.

Bythynia, Nicomedes beyng dead, without a chyld, and leauyng his kingdome to the Romanes. And Cotta that was presydēt there, a man of litle skill in warre, fledde to Calchida with his power, and Bithynia was agayne vnder Mithridates, all the Romanes fledde into Cotta into Calchide. And Mithridates comming thither, Cotta for lacke of experience came not forth. Nudus his admirall, with part of the army, toke the stronger parte of the fiede, from the whiche beyng driuen, hee fled to the gates of Chalcide, by many hedges, with great paine. At the gate there was great thrust of them that would get in, so as no darte was caste in vayne, of them that folowed. Wherefore the keepers beyng afrayde of the gates, they let the barres fall from the tower, and toke by Nudus and other Capitaynes by ropes. The other did perishe by twōne their frēdes and their enimies, holdyng by their hāds to the other. Mithridates vsing the course of good fortune, brought his shippes that day to the porte, and breakyng the barre that was of yron, he burned foure of the enimies shippes, and toke the other thre score, neyther Cotta nor Nudus resistyng, keepyng theselues within the walles. Thre thousand were slayne of the Romanes, & Lucius Manlius a Senatour. Mithridates losse twentie of the Basternians, that first wente into the porte.

Lucullus is gene-  
rall.

L. Lucullus, beyng Consull and chosen generall of this warre, brought one legion from Rome, and had two of Fimbrias, and beside them, two more, hauing in all thirtie thousand footemen, and sixtene hundred horsemen, and encamped agaynst Mithridates at Cyzico. And vnderstandyng by the fugitiues, that the king had thre thousand men, and his victuals brought by the foragers, and from the sea, he sayde to them that were aboute him, that he would take his enimies without any payne, and bad them remember it. He espied an hill very fitte for his campe, from the which he might get forage, and keepe it from his enimie. He intended to get it, as by it to winne victorie without daunger. Being but one way very straight to it, Mithridates kepte it with strength. For so did Taxiles & the other Capitaynes aduise him. Lucius Manius that came fro Sertorius, and made league with Mithridates, Sertorius being now dead, reuolted secretly to Lucullus, &

Lucullus espieth  
his aduantage.

sayth

sayth beyng receyued, he perswaded Mithridates, to lette the Romanes go and campe where they would, for the two legions that were Fimbrias, would straight reuolt and come to the kyng: then what neede he vse force and slaughter when he might overcome without fight? Mithridates consenting to this very vnwisely and vncircumspectly, suffered the Romanes to passe the streight without feare, and to encampe at the hyl, by hauyng of the whiche, they might haue victuals behinde them brought without feare, and Mithridates beyng shut with fennes, hilles and floudes, could haue none by lande, but very litle, neyther hauyng way to do it easily, nor by force to compell Lucullus for the hardenesse of the passage, whiche when he had in his power, hee neglected, & winter beyng at hande, the commyng of it by Sea would be fayne. Which when Lucullus perceyued, hee put his frēdes in remembrance of his promise, and that hee spake, to bee as it were performed. Mithridates mighte then peraduenture haue passed thorough the myddes of his enimies with his multitude, but hee lette that passe also, and gaue himselfe onely to the gettyng of Cyzico, thynkyng by that, to remedy bothe the wante and hard way, and hauyng plentie of Souldiours, wente aboute it by all meanes possible. His nauie hee enclosed with a double wall, and entrenched the rest of the Citie, and set by many rampiers and engines vpon them, and towers, and rammes couered, and one called Helepolis, of an hundred cubites, vpon the which another tower was set, casting arrowes, and stones, & diuerse weapons. At the portes two Gallies ioynd together, bare an other tower, from the which, bridges were caste from the engine nigh the wall. When all this was ready, hee sente thre prysoners to Cyzico in shippes to the citie, holding by their hands, and prayyng them to spare the people that were in daunger, till Lysistratus their Capitayne, came to the walles, and by a trumpetted exhorted them to beare patiently their mischaunce. When Mithridates was deceyued of this purpose, hee brought the engine by shippes, which threw sodenly bridges vpon the wall, and foure men ranne vpon them, at the whiche the Cyzians amased, for the straungers gaue place, but no more commyng forth, they toke

Mithridates abused.

Errours of Mithridates.

Cyzico, an Island and citie in Propontide of great renouynce.

Helepolis, is an engine to beate the vvall.

Lysistratus.

f. v.

courage

courage againe, and killed those foure without, and threw fire and pitch vpon the shippes, and made them tourne with their engine. This at this enterpryse of the sea the *Cyzians* had the better. That day the third time, he brought all his engines by land at once, they within labouring and putting them backe for all their violence. The rammes they bet with stones, or put them by with collars, and brake their dint with peltes of woll. The fierie dartes, they quenched with vinegar and water, and other with clothes cast against them, or with sayles wapped together stopped the throwe. They leste nothing vndone, that menne might doe: and although they suffered all labour, and resisted the euill, yet at night parte of the wall was burned and fell: but no manne durste enter for the heate, and the *Cyzians* made it by again in the night. And not long after, a great storme of wind did brake the reste of the kings engines. It is reade that this Cittie was in dowrie, of *Iupiter* to *Proserpine*, and the *Cyzians* honour hir most of all gods. When their feast day came, that they should sacrifice a blacke cowe, they not hauing one, made one of paaste, when as a blacke cowe came to them by sea, whiche going vnder the barre of the haue, raine into the Cittie, & came to the temple and stode at the aulter. The which the *Cyzians* sacrificed with good hope. *Mithridates* friends counselled him to go from the Cittie being holy, but he would not. He went to *Dindymus* an high hill, and made a trench from it to the Cittie, and set it with towres, and with mines digged the wall. He sente his hostes, leane for lacke of meate, and lame for labour, into *Bythinia*. *Lucullus* mette with them as they wente to *Rindacus*, and killed and toke many prisoners, of men fiftene thousand, and many beasts of burden.

The valiantnes  
of the *Cyzians*.

A sacrifice to  
*Proserpina*.

*Eumachus* kills  
both the *Romanes*  
*Isauri*, a people  
of the lesse  
*Asia*.

At this time, *Eumachus* a Captaine of *Mithridates* ranne ouer *Phrygia*, and slew the *Romanes* both women and children: then he invaded *Pisidus* and *Isaurus* and *Cilicia*, till one of the Princes of *Galatia*, *Deiotarus*, stopped his course and killed manie. And this was done in *Phrygia*. Winter being come, *Mithridates* was without his victual that was wont to come by Sea. Wherefore all his armye was famished and many dyed.

Some

Some ate dead men barbarously. Other ate hearbes, and were sicke, and casting the dead bodies vnburyed, brought pestilence with hunger. But *Mithridates* continued, hoping to get the Cittie with the engines that he had at *Dindymus*: but when the *Cyzians* defeated his purpose, and burned his engines, and made many salyes vpon their enemies, being feeble for hunger, *Mithridates* intended to flee, which he did in the night with his shippes to *Paro*, and his armye wente by land to *Lampsacus*. When they came to the floud *Aesepus*, whiche was growen high, *Lucullus* set vpon them as they were passing, and killed many. Wherby the *Cyzians* did escape the greate preparation of the King, both by their owne manhode, and by the helpe of *Lucullus* that oppressed him with famine, for the whiche cause they make playes at this day, whiche they call *Lucullus* playes. *Mithridates* conueyed alway his army that was come to *Lampsacus*, and besieged of *Lucullus*, and the *Lampsacians* also with shippes that he sente them. And he committed tenne thousande of the best to be guided of *Varius*, that was sente to him from *Sertorius*, and *Alexander* a *Paphlagonian*, and *Dionisio* an Eunuch: he with more, sayled to *Nicomedia*, and winter weather destroyed many of them.

*Dindymus* the  
hill of *Idea*.

*Aesepus* a floud  
in the lesse *Asia*,  
flowing from  
the hill *Idea*.

*Lucullus* playes

Wherby *Lucullus* had wrought this feate by lsd through famine, he gathered shippes out of *Asia*, & betwke them to Lieutenants. *Triarius* toke *Apamea*, and killed many that were fledde into the Temples.

*Apamea* in the  
coast of *Bythinia*.

*Barbas* toke *Prusade*, builded vnder an hill, and *Nicea*, the garisons of *Mithridates* fleeing.

*Prusias* called  
before *Chius*.

*Lucullus* toke of the enemies shippes thirtene, at the portes of *Achaia*. He ouertoke *Varius*, *Alexander*, and *Dionisius*, at *Lemnus* a desert Ile, where the alter of *Philoctetes* and the serpent of brasse, the bowe and the breastplate, tyed about with bandes, is sene, as a shewe of his calamitie. He sayled vpon them wpyth great haile and contempte. They remayning still, he sente forth two shippes at once, and stayd the rest, to prouoke them to come out, but they not coming out, but defending themselves from the land, he sayled about the Ile with other shippes, and set footemen a lande, whiche made them to take their shippes.

*Lemnus* now  
*Staimene*.  
The monument  
of *Philoctetes*.

f. iij.

But

*Lucullus overcame three Captaynes of Mithridates.*

But they woulde not come asfote, fearyng *Lucullus* army, but sayling by the lande, & being folowed both by lande and sea, they were hurte, and great slaughter and flighte was among them, *Varus*, *Alexander* and *Dionysius* the Eunuche were taken hidde in a caue, of the whiche *Dionysius*, hauyng dronke poyson, as it is thought, died by and by. *Lucullus* commaunded *Varus* to be killed, for it was not seemely to bring a *Romane* Senatour in triumph. *Alexander* was kepte for the pompe. And *Lucullus* wrote of his victorie, letters wrapped in Laurell to the *Romanes*, as the manner is in victories. And he wente to *Bythinia*.

*Letters in Laurell.*

*Mithridates hath tosse by sea, and is fared in a rowers barke. In scope was an ynnuente.*

As *Mithridates* sayled into *Pontus*, he had two tempestes and lost about ten thousande men, & thre score shippes, the rest were scattered as the winde droue them, his owne shippe falling in a leake, he went into a rowers barke, his friends being against it, and going with the rowers they set him safe at *sinope*, fro whence he went to *Amiso* to trie all, and to his sonne in law *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, and to *Machares* his sonne regning in *Bessphero*, he sente, that bothe shoulde prouide helpe. And to the *scythians* that were confines, he sente golde, and many giftes by *Diocles*; but he fledde to *Lucullus* with hys golde and his giftes. *Lucullus* goyng forwarde boldly after the victorie, ouercame every thyng as he wente, and winnyng a wealthy countrey that had bene long without warre, a slaue was solde for foure drammes; an Ore for on; Soates, sheepe and garments, and al other things after the like value. *Lucullus* besieged *Amison* and *Eupatoria*, whiche *Mithridates* buylded next *Amiso*, and named *Eupatoria* of himself, and made it a kings palace, and with an other army, besieged *Themiscyra*, that had the name of one of the *Amazones* at the floudde *Themodonta*. They lying at *Themiscyra*, sette vp towres and made trenches, and wrought so great mines, that there was fighting vnder the grounde. The *Themiscyrians* opened them aboue, and threw in Beares and other wilde beastes, & swarmes of Bees vpon the workemen. They at *Amison* went an other way to worke, the *Amisians* defendyng themselves, and many tymes issuyng out, and prouokynge also to fight hande to hande. *Mithridates* sent them much viual, armure and munition from

*A dramme was a Romane penny.*

*Eupatoria.*

*Themiscyra a region of Pontus.*

*Cabeira,*

*Cabeira*, where he wintered and gathered his army. He had of footemen fortie thousande, and of horsemen foure thousand.

*Cabeira a towne of higher Asia.*

When the Spring was come, *Lucullus* wente against the king by the mountaynes, whyche he hadde garded to keepe off *Lucullus*, and to make continuall fires if any happe shoulde be. A man of the kings bloud named *Phœnix*, was chiefe of this gard, who when *Lucullus* appoched, made fires to *Mithridates*, but peeled himselfe and all his power to *Lucullus*, so as he without stoppe, went to *Cabeira*, and hauing a fighte of horsemen with the king, and being overcome, he retired to the hilles, and when *Pompeyus*, the Captayne of his horsemen was taken, and broughte to *Mithridates* wounded, he asked him what thanke he woulde giue him if he were saued. He answered, if thou art a friend to *Lucullus*, I will giue thee very great thanke, if thou beest his enimie, I will not deliber of it. Thus answered *Pompeyus*, and the *Barbarians* woulde haue had the king to haue killed him. The king sayd, he woulde not hurte vertue that was destitute of Fortune: Preparing continually to fight, and *Lucullus* refusing it, he sought a way to come vpon him on the hill. There was a certaine *scythian*, named *Olcabas*, that hadde bin a long fugitiue with *Lucullus*, and bycause he hadde saued many at the fight of horsemen, hee was admitted to *Lucullus* table, and prouide to his counsell and secretes. He came to his tent at midde day when he was at rest, and woulde haue gone in by force (being girded only with a short sworde after the manner) and being angry that he was kepte backe, saying he hadde an earnest thing to tell him, and therefore woulde haue them awake him, they aunswering, that there was nothing so good for *Lucullus* as his health, he took hys horse by and by, and fledde to *Mithridates*, epyther meaning euill, and suspected for hys doyng, or for anger, compting himselfe dishonored. And he accused another *scythian* called *Sobadacus*, that he woulde flee to *Lucullus*: therefore *Sobadacus* was taken. Whereas *Lucullus* woulde not goe into the playne, bycause the enimies horsemen were the better, and could see none other way, he found in a caue an Hunter of wilde beastes, that was expert in vnknown wayes, by whome he passed by secret wayes, and came vpon the

*Lucullus is once come in one fight of horsemen.*

*Pompey the general of horse, brought before the King, answered boldly. A princely saying of the king.*

*Olcabas fleeth from Lucullus.*

*Nothing so good as health of a ruler.*

the head of *Mithridates*, and came downe, surveying the fieldes, for the horsemen encamped at a flash of water, at the enimies face. Wanting victuals, he sente into *Cappadocia* for corne, and skirmished with the enimies, and made them to flee, till the king came out of his Camp in hast, and amazed them, and made them to turne, and so afrayd the *Romanes*, as they fledde by to the mountaynes, and did not perceyue when the enimies ceased, but thoughte them that fledde with them, their enimies, as well as they that chased them, so greatly were they made afrayde. *Mithridates* sent letters euery where of this victorie. A great part of his horsemen, and they of the best, lay in awaite for them that brought victuall to *Lucullus* from *Cappadocia*, hoping to bying the to famine, as they themselves were at *Cyzico*. And it was a great argument so to be, because *Lucullus* had only from *Cappadocia*, fro the which, he might be shutte. The Kings horsemen meeting with the first of the forragers in a streight place, and would not tarry, till they came to an open place, they made their horses in that streight unprofitable vnto them. The *Romanes* therefore being quickly in order by the helpe of the place, came forth to the fight, and killed the kings men, being holpen by the streyghie way, as souldiers, they droue some vpon their fellows, and some they made flee by heapes, and slong them downe. A few escaping by night, ranne to the Camp, and affirmed that they onely were saved, and as the nature is, made the losse greater than it was. *Mithridates* before *Lucullus* shoulde knowe of this losse, and thinking that *Lucullus* for lacke of horsemen woulde by and by haue sette vpon him, determined to flee for feare, and told his friends in his tent. They before warning was giuen, sente away their geare hastily by night, and their cariage made a great thursting together at the gates. The whiche the armie perceyuing, knowing them that carried, and coniecturing worse for feare, and being greued that no token was giuen, they brake by their trench, and fledde aboute the field confusedly, euery man as well as he coude without Captaynes, or staying for warning.

When *Mithridates* hearde of these hasty and disorderly doings, he ranne from his tent among them, and would haue sayd

The *Romanes* in great care flee.

*Mithridates* wroughten of his victory.

A sight of the *Romanes* forragers, and the Kings horsemen in a streight.

The Kings feare.

The Kings army decaying.

somewhat to them, but no man giuing care to hym, and being thruste of the people, he had a fall, and getting to his horse, he fledde to the mountaines.

*Lucullus* vnderstanding of the feate of y forragers, and seeing the flight of his enimies, sent many horsemen to follow them, bringing his souldiers to the cariers, and the rest that were in the campe, he commaunded them not to spoile, before they had kyled al. But they seeing the vessels of gold and silver, and costly garments, forgot the commaundement, and where they had taken *Mithridates*, and chauced to cut the burden that one of the Mules bare, and the golde falling out, they were so busy about it, that they let the King go, who fledde to *Comana*, and from thence to *Tigranes*, with tenne thousande horse. He woulde not see hym, but commaunded to vse him like a King in his Townes. Wherefore *Mithridates* being in desperation of his kingdome, sente *Bacchus* an Eunuch to his Palace, to kil his sisters and his wiues, and his concubines. They wer dispatched, some with the sword, some with poyson, some with halters pitifully. When the captiues of *Mithridates* garnisons sawe this, the moste parte peried to *Lucullus*. He setting things in order, sayled aboute the cities of *Pontus*, and tooke *Armas*, *Heraclea*, and other. *Sinope* helde out lustily, and by sea fought valiantly. But whiles they were besieged, they burned their great ships, and fled with their small. *Lucullus* leste the citie free againe, by reason of a dreame, whych was this. They say *Antolycus* didde make warre with *Hercules* againste the *Amazons*, and being driuen by tempest to *Sinope*, he tooke the Cittie, and ruled there, and the *Sinopeans* had his Image in greate veneration. The whiche when they fledde, they wrapped it in linnen, and bound it fast, to cary with them.

*Lucullus* knowing nothing of this, nor hauing hearde of it, hee thought he sawe hym call him, and the nexte daye, commaunding them that carried that Image, to shewe what it was, hee saide it was the same that he did see in the night. This was his dreame, and he caused *Sinope* to bee still inhabited, and *Amysus* also, oute of the whiche they fledde by sea. For vnderstanding that it was inhabited of the *Athenienses*, when they were Lords

*Mithridates* thrust downe & flyeth.

The fourtieth chapter giuen to poyse.

*Mithridates* fled to *Tigranes*, who woulde not see hym.

The king sedeth to kil his sisters, wiues & daughters.

A dreame of *Lucullus* saith the Citie of *Sinope*. *Antolycus* was one that liued by their.

*Sinope restored to libertie.*

of the sea, and made a populare state of it, it sometime obeyed the Persian Kings. And being restored to their libertie by Alexander, were subiects againe to the Kings of Pontus: and he taking pittie of them, and desirous of honour, after the example of Alexander, and the Athenienses nation, hee leste it in libertie, and wyth all speede reuoked the Sinopeans to their owne Cittie.

When he had thus restored them after their taking, he made league with Machare, Mithridates sonne, king of Bosphorus, offering him a crowne of golde.

Then he soughte Mithridates that was with Tigranes, and being come into Asia, whyche dydde owe the fourthe parte of the fruits that Sylla putte vpon them for a payne, hee toke a taxe of their houses and seruantes, and made the sacrifices of victorie, as though the warre hadde beene synished.

When the sacrifice was ended, he marched with two choise legions, and five hundred horse, against Tigranes that woulde not deliuer Mithridates. And passing Euphrates, requyzing on lye money of the Barbarians, he wente on. The men made no warre vpon him, as they that thought not good to intermedle betwene Tigranes and Lucullus.

Roman durste tell Tigranes, that Lucullus was commynge: for he that tolde it fyrste was hanged, as one that troubled hys Cities.

But when he hearde it, he sente Mithrobarzanes wyth two thousande horse, to stoppe Lucullus course. Hee appointed Mancaeo to keepe Tigranocerta, the whiche Cittie, as I haue sayde, the King builded in his owne honor, to the whiche he called his nobles, and appointed a paine, that whosoener broughte not hys goodes thither, shoulde be confiscate. Hee made a wall aboute it of fiftie cubites hygh. The bottoms of whyche, were full of stables for horse, and in the Suburbes, hee hadde builded hys Pallace, and Gardens verie faire, with Parkes and fisherpondes: and hard by, hee made a strong fozte, all the whiche committing to Mancaeo, he rode aboute his countrey to gather men.

*Lucullus*

Lucullus at the first conflict ouerthrowe Mithrobarzane and chased him. And Sextilius shut Mancaeo in Tigranocerta, spoyling all the places that were without wall, and entrenched the fozte and the Cittie, and broughte his engines, and vndermined the wall. Thus was Sextilius occupied.

Tigranes, gathering two hundred fiftie thousand footemen, and fiftie thousande horsemen, sent five thousande horse afoze to Tigranocerta. They passing thorough the Romanes, carried away the Kinges Concubines that were taken. The rest of the armie, Tigranes sente agaynst Lucullus. When Mithridates commynge fytte into hys sight, counselled hym not to fyghte with the Romanes, but to range with hys horsemen, and waste the countrey, to driue them to famine, if he coulde, by the which mean, he was bled of Lucullus at Cyzico, and losse hys feeble armie. Tigranes laughed at this counsell, and came forth in order of battle: and seeing the little number of the Romanes, sayde: If these bee Ambassadors they be too many, but if they be enimies, they bee too fewe.

When Lucullus hadde perceiued a fytte hill beyond Tigranes, he commaunded hys horsemen to giue a charge on the front, and then to tourne and giue place of purpose, to bring the armye oute of order. He in the meane tyme ledde his footmen to the hill, not perceptied. And when he sawe the enimie disordered, and runnyng by partes as though they hadde the victorie, and all their carriage vnder the hill, he cried: We haue gotte the victorie (my fellowes.) And fyrste hee sette vpon the carriage.

They slepyng with confusion, came vpon the footemen, and the footemen vpon the horsemen, so as there was a fowle slepyng oute of hande. And they that were gone farre to pursue the Romanes, were killed of them tournyng vpon them, and the other disordered with the carriage, that they came as driuen among the, al being afflicted, & none knowing the truth, how the onerthrow began, there was exceeding slaughter, without anye spoile, for Lucullus had forbiddē that with threats. Therfore treadyng vpon bracelets and chaines, they continued & murder an hundred & twenty furlōgs, til night came vpon the.

*G. V.*

*When*

*Lucullus vvyth a small armye against a greate King.*

*Telling of truth endres vvyarded.*

*Mancaeo keepe the chiefe Cittie.*

*The defence of Tigranocerta.*

*Tigranes laugheth at Mithridates. A quicke saying of Tigranes.*

*Lucullus vvieth an hill.*

*Lucullus hath the victorie.*

The valiantnes  
of the Greeke  
souldiers.

then in their returne they spoyled, for *Lucullus* was contente. After this victorie, *Manceus* that was lefte at *Tigranocerta*, was armed al the Greeke mercenarie souldiours as suspected. They fearing to be taken, got them staues and went together, and wer quiet.

But when *Manceus* came vpon them with the Barbarians armed, they wrapped their cloakes aboute theyr armes in stead of tergates, and with courage fought against them, and euer as they killed any, they kepte their armour, and diuided it between them. And when they thought they had got sufficient, they toke some of the little Tents, and called the Romanes, and receyued them in. Thus was *Tigranocerta* taken and spoyled, being verie riche, and new builded, and inhabited moſte honozably.

*Tigranes* and *Mithridates* went about gathering another army, of the whyche he made *Mithridates* Generall, the other thynkyng it fytte, beeyng taught with his owne losses. He sente also to the *Parthians*, requiring aide of them. And when *Lucullus* sent his Ambassadors also, requiring the kynge eyther to help him, or not to medle with either, he secretly promysed both, but performed with none.

*Mithridates* gathered armour in euerye Cittie, and had in a manner all the *Armenians* in Campe, of the whyche hee chose thysescore tenne thousande footemen, and halfe of the horsemen, and lette the other go. These being diuided into bands and companies after the *Italian* discipline, he toke them to be trayned of his men of *Pontus*. *Lucullus* comming towarde them, *Mithridates* helde all his footemen, and halfe his horsemen vpon an hill. The reste of the horsemen *Tigranes* ledde, and making wyth the *Romaine* foragers, was overcome: after the whiche the Romanes foraged more safely, euen in the places next *Mithridates*, and encamped there.

By rapſyng of muche duſte, it was perceyued that *Tigranes* came, whose purpose was to haue shutte *Lucullus* in the middſt of them both. Which when he perceyued, he sent his best horsemen, to encounter with *Tigranes* as farre off as they coude, and to compell him to leaue his raungyng, and keepe his campe.

He

He prouoked *Mithridates* to fight, and encamped about him, but he could not moue him, tyl famine oppreſſed him, and diſolued al their purpose. *Tigranes* went into the furtheſt parte of *Armenia*, *Mithridates* into *Pontus* with the reſt of hys owne army, hauyng foure thousand, and as many of *Tigranes*. *Lucullus* ſolowed him, being dzyen also for want. *Mithridates* outgoing him, he mette with *Fabio*, that was leſte there of *Lucullus*, and ouerthrew hym, killing ſiue hundred: *Fabio* taking freſh ſeruauntes that were in the campe, foughte againe the whole day, and the fight was doubtfull, till *Mithridates* was hurt on the knee with a ſtone, and vnder the eye with a darte, and was caried away with ſped, and many dayes the one refrayned from fight, for feare of the kings health, the other, for the multitude of them that were hurte. The *Agarians* a nation of *Scythia*, did cure *Mithridates*, vſing the popſon of Serpents for their medicines, and for that cauſe be euer about the king. To *Fabius* came *Triarius* another Captaine of *Lucullus* with his owne army, and receyued the power and authority of *Fabio*: and not long after *Mithridates* and he comming to the fight, there was ſuch a winde as neuer was felt. It toze the tentes of them both, it beate the beaſtes abroade, and ſtroke downe ſome men, and thus both went backe. When it was told that *Lucullus* was comming, *Triarius* deſirous to fight beſore he came, he ſet vpon the ſomer watch by night, and the fight being equall, the king with his wing, got the better, and diſperſed the enimies, dzyuing the footemen into a ſoule mire where they wer killed, by cauſe they could not ſtirre. The horsemen he ſent to be chaſed in the playne, vſing valiauntlye the brunt of the victorie: til a Captaine of a *Romane* band, running by him as his ſervant, gaue him a great wounde on the thyghe, by cauſe he thought hee could not ſtrike throught his harnesse on the backe. They that were next, ſtreight killed him. *Mithridates* was caried out to y hinder part. The kings frends cauſed their retreat to be blowe, the ſoldiours hauing a maſtifeſt victorie, and ſolowing it egrely, and by cauſe it was ſtraunge to be called from it, they wer much troubled, and in feare leaſte ſome other inconuenience hadde bene.

*Tigranes* and  
*Mithridates*  
flyeth.

*Mithridates* ouer  
throveth  
*Fabius*.

*Fabius* ouer-  
throveth *Mithridates* which  
is for hurt.

*Agarones* the  
kings philiſions,

A maruelous  
wynde, brea-  
keth the fight.

*Triarius* for haſt  
is ouerthrovven.

A *Romane* cap-  
taine like a ſer-  
uant, vvoideth  
the king.

The King is  
shevved to the  
souldiours.

The Romaynes  
forake their  
campe.  
A great number  
of Romayne  
captaines slaine.

Artius is killed  
of suspicion.

Dissentio vvyth  
the Romaynes.

Lucullus lefte  
alone.

*Timotheus* that was the Kings Whisition, stopped the wound, & shewed the king vnto the, from aboue, that were come into the field & stode thzonging aboute his bedye, euen as *Alexander* in *India*, when the *Macedonians* were astrayde for him, shewed him selfe to be cured in a Shyppe. When *Mithridates* came to hym selfe, he blamed them that caused the fight to ende, & that daye led his army against the Romaynes campe. They were fled from it fearfully. Whē y dead were spoiled, the were found. xxiij. Tribunes, & Cl. Centurians, such a number of Captaines as seldome hath bin found slaine in a Romaine army. *Mithridates* went into *Armenia*, which the Romaynes call *Armenia* the lesse, taking with him the victuall that coude be carried, and that that could not, he burned, that *Lucullus*, whome he thoughte did follow hym, shold haue none of it. A Romane Senator named *Artilius*, fled from his countrey, bicause he was condemned, and in great credite & fauor with *Mithridates*, was then taken as one that would betray him: & bicause he was a Senator, the king would not put him to the torture, but killed him. They that were of his counsell he toymented cruelly. His fre made men he suffered al to departe vnhurt, bicause they did but their maisters comandement. *Lucullus* now was encamped nigh to *Mithridates*, when the Lieutenant of *Asia* sent about & proclaimed to the army, that the Romaynes accused *Lucullus*, bicause he made war longer than he oughte to do, & that his army shold go from hym, they that didde not obey, to haue their goodes confiscate. Whiche beeing tolde, the army went al away saue a fewe, which being very poore, & not fearing the paine, tarried stil with *Lucullus*. Thus the war betwene *Lucullus* and *Mithridates*, not surely ended nor finished, was broke vp. For *Italy* being rebelled, & they molested, & the sea being full of theues, & they with famine oppzessed, they did not thinke it good for them to take another so great a warre in hande, till they were deliuered of those incommodities. When *Mithridates* heard of this, he went into *Cappadocia*, & fortified his own kingdome, the Romanes winking at his doings, till they had scoured the seas: whiche when it was done, and *Pompey* that was y worker of it, was in *Asia*. The war with *Mithridates* began againe, & *Pompey* was sent to be the General. Therfore bicause y acts that *Pompey*

did in the sea, before hee came againste *Mithridates*, is a parte of *Pompeys* feats, and can be put into none other proper wzing, I will shortly repeate & run them ouer. When *Mithridates* made his first war againste the Romanes, and ruled in *Asia*, and *Sylla* was busied about *Grecia*, thinking he should not long holde *Asia*, he spoiled euery place, as I haue saide, and set Pirats in the sea, the whiche at the first with a fewe litle boats, vexed such as they met. As the war grew, they were moze, & had gotten great ships, & taking of great gaine, they did not cease, though *Mithridates* were overcome, & had made truce, or was fled. For they y had losse their liuyngs and countries thozow the war, and were fallen into extreame pouertie, left the land, & sought commeditie by y sea: and first with brigandines & foists, then with little galleys they roued, the Archpirats being their leauers as generals of an army, vnto the Cities they spoiled, them that were walled, they undermined or beate downe, or got by siege & destroy. The best men they brought to the sea for their ransoms: and to auoide the infamy of their rauine, they called themselves hyered souldiours, in stead of sea-rouers. They hadde workemen in chaines to do their businesse, & carying matter of woode, brasse, & yron, they neuer rested. Being proude of their gaine, & not thinking to leaue their piracie, they thought they were lyke Kings & Tirans or gret generals, & supposed y if they gathered together, they shold be vncōquerable, they made ships & all kind of armoz, specially aboute *Cilicia*, that is called (the hard,) the which they made their common receptacle, or used it, as their campe, hauing manye forts & towers, & voyde Islands & shipping in euery place. Their chiefe trade was at *Cilicia* the harbe, beyng without ports, & ful of great hills, of the which, by a common name, they were called *Cilices*, the whych euill begun there, of the hard part of *Cilicia*, brought vnto them *Syrians*, *Cyprians*, *Pamphilians* & *Pontians*, and almost al the nations of y East, the whiche in the time of *Mithridates* war, rather chosing to do, than to suffer, they used the sea for the lād, that in short space they were many thousands, and they were not Lords only of the east seas, but all that which is within the pillours of *Hercules*. For they had overcome some of the Romane Admirals in sea-fight, and some in *Sicilie*.

*Mithridates* fil-  
leth the sea  
wvith Pirats.

The myshappes  
of the Romes.

*Cilicia*, full of  
rockes and  
Mountaynes on  
the coaste.  
*Cilices* were  
compted rouers.

In *sicilia*, no mā durst saile, & the land wanted their labourers, bycause of their robberies, and the Cittie of *Rome* found this inconvenience mosse of all, all their subiectes being in want, and they, for their great multitude, in grievous famine. This matter seemed great and harde unto them, to dispatch so many armies of men and shippes, diuided by the whole circle of the lande and sea, easie to flee with their promise, and not to be set vpon from their countries, or euident places, not hauing any house or portie, but al that euer came to hande. So that the consideration of this warre was farre beyond the rest, hauing no certentie, no suretie, nor euidence, it wrought a doubt with a fear. *Murenas* being sent against them, did nothing, nor *Seruius Isauricus*, after *Murena*: but nowe they were come to the coaste of *Italy*, and the rowers were byagge at *Brundise* and *Toscane*, and had taken noble women, and two armies with their ensignes. Therfore the *Romanes* no longer suffering this losse nor shame, did choise by law, *Pompey*, a man of so great fame, to be chiefe Admirall for thre yeares, of al the Seas within the pillours of *Hercules*, and foure hundred furlongs of lād from the sea, they sent al kings, princes & Citties to helpe *Pompey* with all things, & gaue him authoritie to gather armies & money. They sent also a great army of their owne ordinarie, and as many shippes as th. y had, and sixe talents of *Athens*. So great & difficult a thing did they thinke it to be, to ouercome so many armies in so great a sea, lurking in so many holes easily, and fleeing safely, and appearing againe of the sodain. Fewer was there man before that, was set with such a power as *Pompey* was. To whom an army was giuen of cr. thousande footemen, sixe thousande horsemen, shippes with smal vessels two hundred lxx. and ministers, whiche being of the Senate, they call legats, xxb. to whome *Pompey* deuided the sea, and gaue them shippes, and horses and footemen and ensignes of war. So was euerie man an absolute ruler of that parte that was committed to him: and he as king of kings, went about to see if they kepte the order that he appointed: neyther would he haue the chased so, as they should be carried from one to another without profite, but to mixe with them, as they mighte

*Murenas.*  
*Seruius Isauricus.*

*Pompey* chosen  
a Admirall against  
the Pyrates.

serue one anothers turne, and shut them by within the compasses. *Pompey* hauing thus ordered all, he appointed *Tiberius Nero*, to *Spaine* and the pillers of *Hercules*, & with him *Manlius Torquatus*, *Marcus Pompeius*, to the *Ligurian* and *Celrican* sea: *Lentulus Marcellinus*, and *Publius Attilus*, to *Lybia*, *Sardus*, *Cyrrus*, and al the nigh Islands aboute *Italy*. He appointed *Lucius Gellius*, and *Gaius Lentulus*, *Plotius Varius*, and *Terentius Varius*, to *Acarnania*, and to keepe *Sicilie* and the *Ionian* sea. To *Lucius Cinna*, *Peloponessus*, and the coast of *Africa*, with *Eubrea*, *Thessalia*, *Macedonia* and *Bæotia*. To *Lucius Cullio*, the *Islandes* and all the *Aegean* and *Hell-spont*. To *Publius Piso*, *Bithynia*, *Thracia*, and *Pelopida*, and the mouth of *Pontus*. To *Metellus Nepos*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cyprus* and *Phænitia*. Thus he appointed his Captaines to make their courses and their onsets, and to keepe their places, and to receiue, when they fledde from the other, that in their chase, they should not exceed too far, nor be caried aboute in their fighting, that it mighte be speedily done: and he sayled to them all, and hauing ouersene all in the West in foitie dayes, he came to *Rome*, and from thence to *Brundise*, & from *Brundise* into the East, so long a way, he asrayde them all with his sodayne and quicke passage, and great preparation, and feare of his glozy, insomuche as the Pirates that hoped to haue him too good for him, or truely to haue put him to paine ynoughe, being afraid by and by, left their expugnations of other citties, and resorted to their wonted holdes and holes. So that the Sea was scowred by *Pompey* without any fight, and the Rowers were taken of the Captaines in euerie place by parts. He wente into *Cilicia*, with a great army and many engins, thinking he should haue hadde manie fyghtes and besiegings, at their rocky Towers: but he needed none, for his glozy and greate power, making them asrayde, and thinking that if they came not to fyght, they should finde the more gentlenesse: for if they deliuered *Cragus* and *Anticragus* the greatest forts they had, then the mountaine men of *Cilicia*, and in order all yelded themselves, and also muche armour, some ready, some to be made readye, they deliuered: and shippes, some vpon the stocks, some apte to sayle: brasse and yron gathered for that purpose, and sailles, cables and other

The maner of  
the appointmēt.

The diligence  
of Pompey.

The Pirats  
gyue ouer.

*Cragus* and *Anticragus*, hills of  
*Lycia*, parte of  
*Taurus*.

b.

dyuerse

diuerſe matter, and a number of priſoners, ſome being in bands for their ranſome, and ſome for to worke. Their ſuffe Pompey burned. Their ſhips he toke. The priſoners he ſente into the Countreys, of the which, manie ſcoute their grama made, by cauſe they were thought to be dead. The Pirates that came to this warre, not of malice, but for lacke of living, he commaunded them to inhabite *Mallu*, *A dana*, *Epiphania*, or any other place, deſolate, and boyde of men, in the hard parte of *Cilicia*: ſome of them he ſent to *Egma* in *Achaia*. Thus the Pirate warre that was thought to be moſt dangerous, was ended in ſeu dayes of Pompey. Of ſhippes he toke. lxxij. Of the that were deliuered thre hundred and ſix. Of Cities, Fortes, and other ſtrong places. 120. Of the Pirates were ſlayne in fight. 1000. Theſe things being done ſparely, and beyonde opinion, the Romanes highly extolling Pompey being yet in *Cilicia*, choſe him the Generall of the warre againſt *Mithridates*, with like authoritie of a ruler alone, where he would inuade, and make warre, and to make friends or foes of Rome, whome he thought good, and of all the armye that was out of *Italy*, gaue him the authoritie, whiche was neuer ſo giuen to none befoze him, and perauenture for this, they called him Great, for the warre of *Mithridates* was now ended by other Captaynes.

Pompey gathering hys armye out of *Aſia*, dyd encamp in the conſynes of *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* hadde a choyce army of hys owne, of thirtie thouſande footemen, and thre thouſande horſemen, and he defended the place, whiche being waſted befoze by *Lucullus*, he had want of victuall. Wherefoze many fugitiues wet from him, ſome of the which, he threwe downe headlongs, ſome he pulled out their eyes, and ſome he burned, therefore the ſeuere fugitiues wet fro him for feare of puniſhment. He was coumed with want, & therefore he ſent Embaſſadoz to Pompey, to knowe with what condition he might make peace: he answered, if thou deliuer our fugitiues, and commit thy ſelfe to vs: which when *Mithridates* heard, he asked y fugitiues what they thought, and when he ſaw them afraid, he ſware, he would neuer make peace with the Romanes, for their couetouſneſſe: and he deliuered none,

Many reſtored beyond hope.

The Pirates appointed to inhabite hard places in the coaſt of *Cilicia*.

The large commiſſion that Pompey had.

Anſwere of Pompey to *Mithridates*.

nor did nothing, but they were prouye to it. Thus diide he.

Pompey laying an ambuſhe of horſemen, bad other go to the front of the Kings battaile, and prouoke them. And if they came forth, to giue place as though they were overcome, and bying them to the place of the ambuſhe, at the which, they retournyng, they mighte gette into the Kyngeſ Campo with them that fledde: Which hadde beene done in dede, if the King fearyng it, hadde not broughte oute hys footemen: and ſo they retired.

Fight of horſemen.

Thys was the ende of the fyrſte attempt of the horſemen betwene Pompey and *Mithridates*.

The King being moleſted with want, was compelled to go backe, and ſuffer Pompey to come into that parte, thinking that being in that waſted place, he ſhoulde ſuffer many inconueniences: but he had prouided victuall to come behind hym, & going eaſtwarde againſt *Mithridates*, made many Towers and trenches againſt him, and compaſſed him in the ſpace of fyue hundred furlongs, that he coulde not nowe eaſily come by victualls. And the King did not ſtoppe his entrenching, eyther for feare, or for ignorance, or for that all euils were nowe to come vpon him: and being oppreſſed againe wth want, he killed all beaſts of cariages, onely horſes he ſpared, whiche ſcarcelye ſeruing for ſyſety dayes, in the night he departed with great ſilence by harde wayes, whome Pompey coulde hardly ouertake in a day, ſauing the taylor. When the King being counſeled by his friends to ſet hys men to the battell, would not fight, but with his horſemen onely keepe backe them that approached, and in the night hyd himſelfe in thicke wodes. The day folowing, he toke a rocky place, to the which, was one way only to come, and there he was kepte with foure bandes. And the Romanes kept on the contrary ſide, that he ſhould not eſcape. The next daye, eyther of the armed their men. The forewarders of either part, at the ſide of the hyl ſkirmiſhed, and the horſemen of the Kings were commanded to help their ſelloes without horſes. Upon whom, when the Romanes came with their horſemen, the Kings men ran on heaps to the ſap, to get their horſes, & to match with the Romanes equally.

The Kings ſceth.

b.g.

They

A discomfiture  
vpon an errour.

They that were aboue and armed, seeing them come running with shoultr, and not knowing what was done, but thinking they hadde fledde another way from the Campe that was taken, theyelwe alwaye their armour and fled, and the place being hard, one fell vpon an other in the thruste, til they fell from the rocks. Thus the army of *Mithridates*, thozow the lacke of them that woulde without order take vpon them to helpe their former fellows, falling into a confusion, was losse. The reste of the matter was easy to *Pompey*, killing and taking the vnarmed, and being shut in the rockes, of the which tenne thousand were slain, and all the Campe with the treasure of gold was taken. *Mithridates* with his garde onely, fleeing thozoughe the rocky places, met with some of the hyed horsemen, and thre thousande footemen. They conducted hym to *Sinoregia* a castle, where he had laid vppe muche money, and giuing gyfts and a yeares wages to the companions of his flight, he carried with him ffre thousande talents, and wente to the fountaines of *Euphrates*, minding to goe from thence to *Colchos*; and vsing continuall speed, passed *Euphrates* the fourth daye. Carrying there thre dayes, he toke them that were with him, or came to him, and wet to *Chotena* of *Atmenia*, there ouerthrowing the *Cotenians* and *Iberians* that kepte hym off by slings and barts, he wente to the floude *Aspares*.

*Sinoregia*.

*Cotenians*.

*Iberians* of *Asia*  
*menia* & *Spaine*.

*Dios* was a citie  
in *Colchide*,  
where some  
tyme occupied  
three hundred  
nations of dy-  
uers language.

*Porus*.

These *Iberians* of *Asia*, some say were the progenitors, & some the posteritie, of the *Iberians* of *Europe*; and some say, they were onely of one name, for their maner and tongue is nothing like. *Mithridates* wintred at *Dioscuride*, which Citie they of *Chalcide*, thinke to bee a Monument of the trauaile of *Castor* and the *Argonauts*; and though he were yet slepyng, he conceyued no litle matter in his mynde, but to goe aboute all *Pontus* in a circle, and the *Scythians* beyond *Pontus*, and the *Fenne* of *Mordus*; and attempt *Bosphorus*, and to take the kingdome of *Machares* his sonne, as vnpropytable to him, and then to make open warre againste the *Romanes*, and to begin it from *Europe*, they being in *Asia*, and to put *Porus* in the middlest, whiche some thinke to be called *Bosphorus*, of *Lo* swimming ouer, when she was made a Cowe, and fled the selousie of *Io*.

They

Thus muche beyonde all reason didde *Mithridates* thinke to bring to passe. He passed by the *Scythian* nations both that were enemies or otherwise, eyther by perswasion or violence. Thus fleeing, and in miserie, he was honoured and feared. He passed by the *Heniochians*, they receyuing him. The *Achaens* that wold haue resisted hym, he put to flight. They as it is saide, came fro *Troy* to *Pontus*, being driuen by tempest, and there suffred muche of the *Barbarians*, bycause they were *Grecians*. And when they sent into their countrey for shippes, and were denied, they so hated the *Greekes*, that as *Scythians*, they sacrificed as many *Greekes* as came fyre all for anger, then the fairest onely, at laste, them to whome it fell by lotte.

*Achaens* of *Troy*

A sacrifice of  
men.

And thus muche of *Achaens* and *Scythians*. *Mithridates* coming to *Meotia*, of the which were many Princes, they all receiued him, and sent to him for the glozpe of hys actes, kingdome, and power, yet worthy to be honozed, bringing him many gifts and sending others. He made lignage with them, thinking to do strange feats, as to go from *Thracia* to *Macedonia*, from *Macedonia* to *Pannonia*, and so to *Italy*, and the mountains of the *Alpes*, and made marriages for his daughters, with the mightiest of his confederatours.

When his sonne *Machares* hearde that he had come so gret a way in so litle time, thozowe so many fierce nations, and the places called the Locks of *scythia*, that no man had gone before, he sent certaine Ambassadors vnto him, to excuse hym, that for necessitie, he obeyed the *Romanes*. And when he salve his anger extream, he fledde into *Ponto Cherron*, burning his shippes that his father shoulde not folow him. But he sending other to take hym, he kyled himselfe. *Mithridates* killed all his friends that he betooke to him, when he went to that kingdome. The familiars of his sonne, that were come by priuate friendship, he lette goe vnhurte. Thus did *Mithridates*.

*Machares* killeth  
himselfe for fear  
of his father.

*Pompey* followed hym slepyng as farre as *Cholcos*, not thinking good to follow him any further, nor to passe aboute *Pontus* or the *Fenne* of *Meotia*, nor supposing, that in that case he woulde attempt any great matter, he went to *Cholcos*, to see the hystorie of h.ii.

*Argo-*

*Argonante, overa the Gentlemen that vvent v. with Iason. Prometheus vvas tyed at the hyll Caucasus Streynes of goide. Ictus.*

*Artocus lyeth in wyte for Pompey.*

*Pompey destroyeth the enemies in a vvolde.*

*Women found vvoided.*

*Amazones vver the vwoman that cutte off one of their breastes.*

*Tigranes killeth tyvo of his children.*

*Pompey in great honor for iustice*

*Argonante, and Castor, and Pollux, and the iourney of Hercules, and chiefly to see the passion of Prometheus, which they say he suffered at the hyll of Caucasus. There be many springes that runne from Caucasus, that carry shredde of gold that can not be scene; and the inhabitants put flæses into the streame, where it is deepest, and so gather the gold sand that is conteyned. And peradventure such a one was the golden flæse that Actos bare on his backe. Whilest Pompey was beholding this stozzy, other nations that were nigh, sent vnto him: but Orazes the kyng of Albania, and Artocus, the king of Iberia, with 700. thousand, lay in wayt for him at Cirtus, the floud floweing into the Sea of Caspius with twelue monthes, many riuers running into him, & Araxos greatest of all. When Pompey hearde of the traynes, he passed the floud, and droue the Barbarians into the thickest wooddes. They are good fighters in wooddes, hiding themselves, and appearing suddainely agayne. He compassed the woodde with his army, and burned it, and chased them that fledde, vntill all sent hostages & giftes, of whom he triumphed in Rome. Among the hostages & prisoners, there were found women, hauing no lesse woundes than men, and they were thoughte to be Amazones, eyther by cause the Amazones that be a nation therby, were come to help them, or for that the Barbarians call all warlike women Amazones. Pompey going from thence, encamped in Armenia, accusing Tigranes for helping of Mithridates, marching to Artaxata wher the kings pallace was. Tigranes would not haue warre. He had children by Mithridates daughter, of the whiche Tigranes kyled two, one in fight making him warre, the other, because he would not take him by when he had a fall at hunting, and because he did set the crowne on his head. The third, because he lamented his father in that hunting, was crowned of him, but rebelling shortly after, he was overcome of his father, and fledde to Phraates, king of the Parthians, that now succeeded in the kingdom, to his father Sintrico. When Pompey was at hande, conferring with Phraates, and he agreying, and seeking private frendship with Pompey, the yong man humbly fledde to Pompey, being Mithridates daughters sonne. But great was the estimatiõ of Pompey among the Barbarians, for iustice and faithfulness, to the which*

which, his father Tigranes also trusting, came vnto him, without sending any messengers afore, submitting himselfe & all his, to Pompey, and the iudgement betwene him and his sonne. Pompey sent his chiefe Captaynes, commanding them to meete þ King with all honor: they that were with Tigranes, because they had not sent before, fledde, but Tigranes wet on, & honoured Pompey as the better, after the Barbarian fashion. Some say, he was brought by þ sergeants, whom Pompey had sent to fetch him. Whosoever he came, he made an accompt of his doynge, and gaue to Pompey five ʒ. talents, & to euery common souldioure. 50. drammes, & to a Captayne of a band a ʒ. and to a collonell tenne ʒ. Pompey forgauẽ all þ was passed, and agreẽd him with his sonne, and appoynted him to reigne in Sophene, and Gordene, (these be now Armenia the lesse) and his father, in the rest of Armenia, in the which his sonne should succede him. The land that he had conquered, he commanded him to leaue, and he left Syria frõ Euphrates to the Sea, for Tigranes had this, and a part of Cilicia, putting out Antiochus that was called the dutifull. The Armenians that forsoke Tigranes, when he went to Pompey, remayning in suspitiõ, persuaded his sonne, being yet with Pompey, to entrappe his father. He was taken and bounde, and in that time stirring the Parthians against Pompey, was brought in triumph, & dispatched. Pompey thinking all warre had bin ended, builded a citie, where he overcame Mithridates, and of þ acẽ, called it Nicopolis, & it is in Armenia þ lesse. He restored þ kingdom of Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, and added Sophene & Gordene which he had giuẽ to Tigranes sonne, the which now be subiect to Cappadocia. He gaue him also Cabala a citie of Cilicia, & others, þ which kingdom Ariobarzanes gaue vnto his sonne whiles he was aliue, in the whiche was manye mutations, till Augustus time, in the whiche it was made a province as other kingdoms were. Pompey passing ouer þ hil Taurus, made war vpo Antiochus Conagennus, til he was accepted to peace. He overcame Darius þ Median, either because he help Antiochus or Tigranes before. He overcame þ Arabians, þ he called Nabathe, Arera being their king, and þ Iewes þ revolted frõ their king Aristobulus, and toke Hierusalem þ is þ most holy city to the, & the rest of Cilicia þ was not yet subiect to Rome, and

*Tigranes submitte to Pompey.*

*The manifestaciõ of Tigranes.*

*Tigranes sonne is taken, & caried in triumph. Pompey buildeth Nicopolis.*

*Arabians.*

*Pompey taketh Hierusalem.*

A straight interpretation of right.

and that parte of *Syria*, that is aboute *Euphrates*, which is called *Cale*, *Phenice* and *Palestina*; and the *Idumeans*, and *Itureans*, and al other names of *Syria*, he brought vnder the Romanes dominion, without any warre, hauing no matter againste *Antiochus* the pittifull, being present and suing for his fathers Kingdome, but because he thought, that it being taken from *Tigranes*, who had put out *Antiochus*, it might wel be iudged to the people of *Rome*.

Whiles he was aboute these matters, Ambassadors came vnto him from *Phraates* and *Tigranes*, that were at warre. They that came from *Tigranes*, desired helpe as of their frende. They that came from *Phraates*, desired to be receyued into amitie with the Romanes. And *Pompey* not minding to make war vpon the *Parthians* without the decree of the Senate, sent arbiters to reconcile them. And thus he did.

*Mithridates* had nowe gone about *Pontus*, and hauing taken *Panticapæon*, that is the chiefe cittie of *Marthandise* in *Europa* at the entrie of *Pontus*, he killed hys sonne *Siphæes* at *Poro*, for hys mothers faulte, whiche was this:

*Mithridates* had a castle, in the whiche were hidde vnder the grounde in brasen vessels bounde with yron, muche treasure secretly. *Stratonice*, one of *Mithridates* wiues or women, whiche had the gouernement and keeping of this Castell, whiles *Mithridates* went about *Pontus*, deliuered the Castell to *Pompey*, and reuealed the treasure that was vnknoone. Quely wyth this condition, that if *Pompey* toke hir sonne *Siphæes*, he should saue him. He hauing the money, promised to saue hir sonne, and gaue hir leaue to carie awaye hir owne things. When *Mithridates* knew wh it was done, he killed *Siphæes* at the narrowe sea, and threw hys bodye vnburyed, hys mother keeping it on the other shoare. Whis he killed the childe, to be reuenged of the mother.

He sent Ambassadors to *Pompey* being in *Syria*, & not hearyng whether he were alieue or dead, that hee might enioy his fathers Kingdome, and pay Tribute for it to the Romanes. *Pompey* bad him come, and speake for himselfe as *Tigranes* had done. That he saide he woulde neuer doe, being *Mithridates*, but hee woulde sende some of his childezen and frendes.

Thus

Thus he sayd, and withall gathered an army togither of free and bond, bringing much armour, shot, and munition, sparing no mans wodde, nor labouring Dre, to make strings. He sette taxes vpon euery man, though he were but of small substance, the collectors whereof did much spight, which he knew not of. And being sick in his face of a bile, he was healed of by Eunuchs, and only sene of the. When he was whole, and his army gathered, there was threescore choyce bandes, with sixe hundred in a company, and there was another great multitude, and shippes, and places which his Captaynes had got whilest he was sicke. He sent a part of his army to *Phanagorea*, whiche was another mart towne at the mouth, that he mighte haue his entrie on both sides, *Pompey* being yet in *Syria*. *Castor* of *Phanagorea* being iniured of *Triphon*, an Eunuch of the Kings, he killed *Triphon* as he entred, and called the people to libertie; and they because the Castell was holden of *Artaphernes*, and other sonnes of the Kings, did bring wodde, and burned the tower, by the whyche seare, *Artaphernes*, *Darius*, and *Xerxes*, *Ozethres*, and *Eupatra*, *Mithridates* childezen, gaue themselves to be taken. *Artaphernes* was about fortie yeares olde, the other were faire yong men. There was another daughter of *Mithridates* called *Cleopatra*, who carried skill, whome the father louing for hir noble heart, sent diuers floytes, and toke hir away. Other Castells there about lately taken of *Mithridates*, following the boldnesse of the *Phanagoreans*, revolted from *Mithridates*, *Xerronesus*, *Theudisia*, *Nymphæon*, and all other that were fitte for the warre aboute *Pontus*. He seeing these many reuoltings, and hauing his army in suspition, not faithfull, being compelled to serue of necessitie, and for the great tributes, and the infidelitie of armies alwayes toward the Generalles that be in miserie, he sent his daughters by his Eunuchs, to be married to the princes of *Scythia*, requyring an army to be sente him with speede, sending fise hundred shuldoures with them. They, being not very farre off, *Mithridates* killed the Eunuchs, because they were euer iniured of the Eunuchs, that might do most with *Mithridates*, and led the maydes to *Pompey*. *Mithridates* being spoyled of so many childezen, Castells,

*Mithridates* sick in the face.

A murther at *Phanagorea*.

The Kings childezen taken.

Cities reuolte.

The Kings Eunuchs be killed.

Participation a cittie at *Bosphorus* *Comensis* *Mithridates* kyleth his sonne.

Castles, and of his whole kingdome, and not fitte no wese for to make battell, nor loking for any helpe of the *Scythians*, yet not conceyving any small matter, as one that was in calamitie, but sent to the Frenchmen, whome he hadde made friends long before, intending to go to them, and invade *Italy* with them, thinking many of *Italy* were weery of the *Romanes*, and hearing that *Anniball* began the warre in *Spayne*, and was most fearefull to the *Romanes*. He knew that of late almost all *Italy* rebelled from *Rome*, and kepte a long warre with them, and that *Spartacus* a swordplayer, was stirred by of them, a man of no regard. With this opinion he marched toward *France*. This most bold enterprise the army disappoynted, being not content with so great a boldnesse, nor so long a journey, to be ledde into a strange countrey, against men, whom they could not overcome in their owne countrey, thinking *Mithridates* to be in despaire of all things, and would in labour and like a king end his life, rather than in rest. Yet awhile they abode, and were quiet, for he was no singular king, and not to be contemned euen in aduersitie. They standing thus, *Pharnaces*, that was most deere to him of all his sonnes, whome he had many times declared to be the successeur of his kingdome, eyther for feare of his kingdome by this army, being yet like to obteyne pardon of the *Romanes*, but if his father shoulde make warre in *Italy*, like to lose all his heritage, either for other causes and reasons, and desires, he laide wayte for his father. The conspiratoures being taken, and put to the racke, *Menophanes* perswaded *Mithridates* not to kyll his sonne that was so much esteemed now in his voyage, for (sayde he) suche mutations happe in warre, whyche beyng ceased, they be stayed also. He being perswaded, granted pardon to his sonne: but he fearing the remembrance of it, knowing the army was weery of the journey, in the night went to the fugitiues of *Rome* that served next his father, and shewed what daunger they shoulde be in if they wente into *Italy*, whiche they evidently sawe, and promising them many benefites if they woulde farrie, brought them to rebell from his father. When he had perswaded them, *Pharnaces* sente to the other that were next in the army, they also

*Pharnaces* the kinges sonne.

*Menophanes* said to *Pharnaces*.

The army revolteth from the King, by the practise of his legues.

consenting, the fugitiues were the firste that departed in the morning, that forsooke the king, and other that were euer nexte, made a great shoute, and the *Paule* answered them, not being all alike disposed peradventure, but readye to mutations, and despising him that was in aduersitie, alwayes hoping for better at euery change. Other being ignorant of that was done, thinking all other to be corrupted, and that they alone shoulde be despised of the more part, for feare and necessitie, rather than of good will, agreed to theyr purpose.

Princes forsake in calamitie.

*Mithridates* being stirred by the crye, sente some to knowe what they meante by theyr crye, they not dissembling, sayde, they required the sonne to reigne for the father, a yong man for an olde, that was ruled by his Eunuches, and that had killed so many children, Captaynes, and friends. Whiche when *Mithridates* hearde, he came forth to say somewhat to them, and euen then a number of his gard fledde to the fugitiues. They sayde they would not accept them, vnlesse they did some notable feate, and withall shewed *Mithridates*. They killed his horse, and now as obteyning their purpose, saluted *Pharnaces* King, and one brought a broad paper out of the Temple, and crowned hym with it in stead of a diademe. Whiche when *Mithridates* did see from aboue, he sente one after another to *Pharnaces*, to requyre safe flighte, no man of them that were sent returning, fearing least they shoulde be giuen to the *Romanes*. He praysing the gard, and such friends as yet farried with him, sent them to the new king, and the army killed some of them without any cause, he taking out of his sword a poyson that euer he dyd carrie aboute hym, tempered it. Two of his daughters, named *Mithridates* and *Nissa*, espoused to the Kinges of *Aegypt* and *Cyprus*, that were brought vpp with hym, desired they myghte take the poyson firste, and were verie instante, and woulde not lette hym drynke it, tyll they hadde taken it: and the position some dispatched them, but it woulde not worke vpon *Mithridates* hymselfe, though hee swallowed fast for the purpose, because hee used to eate other medicines, whyche he took euer agaynst the violence of poyson, whyche

The kings horse killed by his gard.  
A crowne of paper in stead of golde.

Two of the kings daughters die constantly before him.  
The poyson would not worke in the king, because he had used dayly medicines against poyson, which of his name he called *Mithridatum*.

6.ij.

medicines

com.

medicines at this day be called *Mithridatum*. Being then one *Nicator*, a Captaine of the Frenchmen, he sayde vnto him, I haue had much profite of thy right hand against mine enemies, I shall now receyue greatest pleasure, if thou wilt take me away, that am in danger to be carried to the pomp of a triumph, that haue bin a ruler and a king of so many and so greate a dominion, and can not dye of poyson, bycause of the continuall receipts of other medicines. But the greatest and most ready poyson whiche kings alwayes feele, is the treachery of armye, children, and friends, I did not foresee, but all things, concerning my dyet, I did foresee and keepe. *Bitatus* weeping, obeyed the necessitie of the king. Thus *Mithridates* dyed, the eleuenth after *Darius* last king of *Persia*, and the eyght from *Mithridates* that forsooke the *Macedonians*, and possessed the kingdome of *Pontus*. He liued eyght or nine yeare aboue threescore, and had reigned fiftie and seauen yeares: for being yet an *Olympe*, the kingdome came to him. He subdued the nigh nations of the *Barbarians*, and ouercame many of the *Scythians*, and made a sharpe warre against the *Romanes* forty yeares, in the whiche he ofte conquered *Bithinia* and *Cappadocia*. He ouerranne *Asia*, *Phrygia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, and *Macedonia*, and sayling into *Grecia*, did manye greate actes, and was Lord of the sea from *Cilicia* to *Ionia*, till *Sylla* shutte hym againe within his fathers kingdome, ouerthrowing 140. M. lii. and after so great a losse, renewed the warre easily, fighting with the best Captaynes. Being overcome of *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, he had many times the better hande of them. *Lucius Cassius*, *Oppius Quintus*, and *Manius Acilius*, he take prisoners, and ledde them about with him, til he killed him that was the cause of the warre, and the other he deliuered to *Sylla*. He ouerthrew *Phimbria*, *Murena*, and *Cotta* the Confull, and *Fabius* and *Triarius*. He had cuer a great heart, and cuer in his miserie was mighty and paynefull. He left nothing vnattempted against the *Romanes*, no, not when he was ouerthrowen. He was confedered with the *Martians* and *French*, and sente to *Sertorius* into *Iberia*. He was wounded many times in his person of his enemies and others by treason, yet not resting then, though he were olde. Neyther

The words of  
*Mithridates* be-  
fore his mis-  
erable ende.

Treachery the  
greatest poyson  
to Kings.

The actes of  
*Mithridates*.

The courage of  
the King.

was any of the conspiracies hidde from him, no not in his last dayes, but where he willingly let it passe, he was destroyed by it, so vntankefull a thing is malice obteyning pardon. Bloudy he was, and alwayes cruell. He killed his mother and his brother, and of his children three sonnes and three daughters. Hys body was bigge, as his armour do declare, whiche he sente to *Nemea* and *Delphos*. He hadde good strength, and cuer to the last, could ride and throw his dart. He ranne in one day a thousand furlongs by changing of horses. He guyded a chariot with xviij. horses. He was learned in the *Greeke* letters, and thereby dyd vnderstand the *Greeke* Ceremonies. He loued musicke. He was temperate and paynefull in all things, and onely he was ouercome of pleasures with womē. Thus *Mithridates* called *Eupator* *Dionysius* dyed. When the *Romanes* heard of it, they made great ioy, as deliuered of a sore enemy. *Pharnaces* sente his fathers corpe to *Sinope* to *Pompey* in *Gallies*, and them that toke *Manius* & other many pledges, as wel of *Grecia* as *Barbaria*: he desired his fathers kingdome, or to be king of *Bosphorus* only, the which kingdome *Machares* his brother had of *Mithridates*. *Pompey* gaue allowance for the burying of *Mithridates* body, and appointed them that looked to it, to burie it royally, and to place it in *Sinope* among the kings Sepulchres, louing him for his noble heart, as a king most worthy in his time. He made *Pharnaces* that had deliuered *Italy* from great trouble, friend and confederate of the *Romanes*, and gaue him *Bosphorus* for his kingdome, *Phanagorea* excepted, which he left free, and of their owne iurisdiction, which were the first that resisted *Mithridates* after he renewed force, and had gotten ships, and another army, and places of receipt, and were leaders of rebellion to other, and causes of his destruction. He in this one war ouerthrew the pirates, and subdued the mightiest king, and being brought to fight withoute the warre of *Pontus*, the *Chalcians*, *Albanians*, *Iberians*, *Armenians*, *Medians*, *Arabians*, and *Ioues*, and other nations of the East, he subdued, and limited the Empire of the *Romanes* vnto *Aegypt*, into the whiche he would not enter, though they were at diuision, and the king calling him, and sending him giftes, and money, and garments, &c.

Malice obtey-  
ning pardon  
vntankefull.  
A cruell King.

*Nemea* the place  
where teates  
were sheved  
in the honor of  
*Hercules*.  
The strength  
of the King.  
The learning  
of the King.  
He loued  
Musicke.

The body of  
the King buried  
at the charges  
of the *Romanes*.

*Phanagorea* free.

to all his armye, epyther fearing the greatnesse of that kynge dome yet flourishing, or auoyding the hate of his enimies, or oracles, forbidding it, or for other reasons whiche I will shewe in the story of *Aegypt*. Of the nations that he wanne, some he left free, bycause they were of the Romanes amitie. Some he made subiect to the Romanes, some he gaue to be kingdomes, as *Armenia* to *Tigranes*, *Bosphorus* to *Pharnace*, and *Cappadocia* to *Antiochio*, *Comaginesa*, and al the other that he had got in *Mesopotamia*. He appoynted *Tetrarches* of *Gallogrecia*, whiche be nowe *Galatians*, borderers vpon *Cappadocia*, *Desotaro*, and others. *Attalus* had power ouer *Paphlagonia*, and *Aristarchus* of *Colchus*. He appoynted *Archelau*, the holy minister of the Goddess in *Comagena*, which is as good as a kings dominion, and declared *Caesar* of *Phanagorea*, a friend to the Romanes, and he gaue to other muche land and money. He builded Cities in *Armenia* the lesse, *Nicopolis*, bycause of his victory, in *Pontus*, *Eupatoria*, whiche *Mithridates* *Eupator* builded, and named it of himselfe, and destroyed it, bycause it receiued the Romanes, and *Pompey* erected it againe, and called it *Magnopolis*. In *Cappadocia* he reedified *Mazaria*, that was vtterly destroyed, and others that were decayed or assailed he restored. In *Pontus*, *Palestina*, and *Calosyria*, and *Cilicia*, where he placed the Pirats. The Citie that of old time was called *Soleis*, is now *Pompeiopolis*. In *Talauris*, which Citie *Mithridates* had as a storehouse for his munition, were found two thousande cuppes made of precious stone, bound about with barres of golde, and pottes, & cannes, & lauers, beddes, and chayers most rich. There were bridles, saddles, and caparisons for horses, beset with golde and precious stone, the whiche were so many, as thirtie dayes was spent in the deliuerie of them. Part of them were given by *Darius Hystaspis*, some of y<sup>e</sup> king *Ptolomei*, which *Cleopatra* gaue to y<sup>e</sup> *Coans*, and they to *Mithridates*, and made and gathered more, being desirous of precious apparell. At the end of Winter *Pompey* distributed gifts to his army, to euery man five *C. drammes* of *Athens*, and to the Captaines accordingly. They say the summe came to *xviij. M. Talents*. He went to *Ephesus* and sayled to *Italy*, and

*Aegypt* not touched.

*Pompey* appoynteth kings and princes. The minister of *Comagena* equal to king. *Caesar*. Cities builded of *Pompey*.

*Magnopolis*.

*Pompeiopolis*. *Talauris* full of treasure.

Cities to the army.

and from thence wēt to *Rome*, leauing his army at *Brundis*, and sending euery man home: whiche acte being so accepted to the people, made the Romanes to wonder. There came to meete hym by seuerall companyes, the yong men furthest of, then in order as euery man could for age, last the Senate, extolling his actes, for there was no man that had ouerthrowen so many enimies, nor taken so many nations, and measured the *Romane Emperre* with the flood of *Euphrates*. He triumphed most gloriously as euery did mā at the *xxxv.* yeare of his age, which continued two dayes of many nations, from *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and all *Syria*, of *Albania*, *Heniochia*, *Achaia*, and *Syria*, and the *East Iberians*. And he brought into the portes seauen hundred sound shippes, and to the pompe of his triumph Chariots, and Cartes wrought with gold, and other full of diuers treasure, as a bedde of *Darius Hystaspis*, and the chaire and scepter of *Eupater*, and an image of golde of eyght cubites to the breastes, of siluer copned seauen thousand millions, five hundred and ten, an infinite number of cartes with armoure, and Armes of shippes, and a multitude of prisoners & pirates, none bound, but clad after their countrey. Before *Pompey* wente the Captaynes of the kings that were overcome, or their chidzen or generalls, some being captiues, some giuen for hostages, in number three hundred. *xliij.* When was there *Tigranes*, sonne to *Tigranes*, and five of *Mithridates*, *Artaphernes*, *Cyrus*, *Oxathres*, *Darius*, & *Xerxes*, and two daughters, *Orsabam* and *Eupatra*. There was broughte *Olthaces*, sceptre-bearer of *Colchos*, and *Aristobolus*, king of the *Iewes*, and the Tirans of *Cilicia*, and women of the kings blood of *Syria*, three Dukes of *Iberia*, and two of *Albania*, and *Menander* of *Laodicea*, that was generall of the horsemen to *Mithridates*. The Images of them that came not, were broughte: of *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* fighting, being overcome, and slaying: of *Mithridates* the beseging, and the night, when he was fledde was represented, and the silence: and last it was shewed howe bedged. The Virgines that chose to dye with hym were figured, and descriptions of his Sonnes and Daughters that dyed before him, the pictures of the *Barbarian Goddess*, and the

The receyuing of *pompey* of *Rome*.

The triumph of *Pompey*.

Here a *Milton* is ten thousande.

or na

ornamentes of their countrey. There was bozne a table shewing these things. The Shippes that were taken, were eight hundred, with beakes of brasse. Cities builded, eight in Cappadocia, in Cilicia and Calasyria twentie, and in Palestina. that whiche is now called Seleucia. Kings overcome, Tigranes of Armenia, Artoces of Hiberia, Orizes of Albania, Darius of Media, Artabanus of Nabathia, Antiochus Comagenus, all these did the picture shew. Pompey himselfe was in a Chariot full of precious stones, having on the cloke (as they saye) of Alexander of Macedony, if it may be beleued, that by like he had it in Mithridates Guarderobe, being broughte to Coo by Cleopatra. The Captaynes of the confederates followed the Chariote, some on horse, and some on foote. Being come to Capitolio, he killed none of the prisoners as other in triumphes had done, but sent them to their Countreys with the common expences, except the Kings, of the which only Aristobulus was streight killed, and shortly after Tigranes, this was the triumph.

The glory of Pompey.

Pharnaces n. 2. keth vvarre.

Pharnace besieged Phanagorea, and the borderours of Bosphorus, till the Phanagoreans driven by famine came forth and fought, & were overcome, of whome he hurt none but took pledges, and went his way.

Asander.

Not long after he took Sinope, and coueting Amisus, he made warre with Calvisio the Lieutenant, at the which time Caesar and Pompey were at debate, till Asander his private enemie drove him out of Asia, the Romanes being otherwise occupied.

He made warre with Caesar after he had overcome Pompey, returning from Aegypt at the hill Scotio, where his father overcame Trium, and being overcome, he fledde to Sinope with a thousand horsemen. Caesar having no leysure to follow him, sente Dimetrius against him, to whome he deliuered the Citie, and upon conditions of peace, went away with his horsemen, whose horse he killed, they being much grieved at it. Being conveyed by shippe, he fledde to Pontus, and gathering some Scythians and Sarmatians, took Theudocia and Panticapaea. His old aduersarie Asandro comming againe upon him, and his horsemen wanting horse, and not used to fight on foote, they were overcome, Pharna-

ces alone fighting valiantlye, till he was wounded, and died when he was fiftie yeares olde, and xv. yeares king of Bosphorus. This Pharnaces loste his kingdome, whiche C. Caesar gaue to Mithridates of Pergamo, that had holpen hym well in Aegypt. Powe they be free, but to Pontus and Bythinia, a president is sent every yeare.

Pharnaces slain by a private foe.

The other countries that Pompey had given, although Caesar blamed them for taking Pompeys parte against him, yet he let them have it, saving the spiritual office of Comagene. Which he translated from Archelom to Nicomedes: but not long after, bothe these and those that C. Caesar and M. Antonius gaue to other, were made provinces of the Romanes, by Augustus Caesar, when he hadde wonne Aegypt, the Romanes taking light occasions against every man. Therfore their dominion encreasynge by this warre of Mithridates, into Pontus Euxinus, and to the sandes of Aegypt, and the floude Euphrates from the Hiberians that be at the pillars of Hercules, it maye wel be called a greates Victorie, and Pompey the Captaine even so. They have also Affrica to Sirene, which Appion the king of the house of Lagida, beinge base, gaue them by his Testament: only Aegypt was left for the compasse of their inward sea.

Spiritual office of Comagene.

The ende of the Romaine ciuill  
vvarres with King Mithridates.

# The Romanes warre with the Spanyardes: by Appian of Alexandria.



Iberia that parte  
of Spayne on ey-  
ther side of Ibe-  
rus the floud  
nowv Ebro.  
Celtiberia that  
part vvhiche  
nowv is called  
Arragon.

Brittayne nowv  
Englande.

Spayne a great  
region.  
Eight furlongs  
maketh a mile.

Tartessus nowv  
Tariffa in Gers-  
mania.  
Arganthonius ly-  
ued a hundred  
and fifty yeares.

The mountaynes of Pyrene, stretch from the  
Toscane sea to the North Ocean. The Celtes which  
now be called Galles, do inhabit part of them to-  
ward the East. The Iberians, and Celtiberians  
from the Toscane Sea also, to the pilloures of  
Hercules, and the North Ocean, be towarde the  
West, so as Iberia is compassed with the Sea, except the moun-  
taines of Pyrene, which be the greatest and highest hilles of Eu-  
rope. The nations make a nauigation with this compasse, and  
come to the pillers of Hercules. They doe not go by the winter  
and West Ocean, but to passe into Brittainne wher they doe, by  
the comoditie of the tydes going and comming: and this pas-  
sage is made by sayling halfe a day. Other places of this Ocean  
neither the Romanes themselves, nor none of their Empire haue  
passed. Therefore the greatnesse of Iberia, which now is called  
Spayne, being confedered as one prouince, is almost incredible,  
for the breadth of it is tenne thousand furlongs, and the length  
as muche. Manye nations inhabite it, and be diuers in names,  
and there be many nauigable flouds in it. What people did in-  
habite first, or who got it after, and suche other matter, I am  
not minded to shew, but only so much as may apperteyne to the  
Romanes. Only this I will save, that I suppose the Celtes passed  
the Pyrenian hilles, and dwelled among the other inhabitants of  
the Countrey, of the whiche it is manifest, that the name of the  
Celtiberians came: and the Phœnitians long before, sayling often  
thither, I thinke did inhabite a part of it. Likewise other Grece-  
ans, that sayled to Tartessus, to Arganthonius king of the same, did  
stay in Iberia, for as I suppose, Arganthonius reigned then in  
Spayne at Tartessus, whiche was then a Citie at the Sea coast,  
that is now named Carptesse. And I beleue that the Temple

of Hercules, was builded of Iphenia, in that place which is called  
the pillers, in the whiche at this day Ceremonies be vsed after  
the manner of the Phœnitians, and he that was bozne at Tirm,  
not he that was bozne at Thebes, was counted the God of that  
Countrey. But we leaue this to them that haue care to search  
antiquities.

This coast so plentifull and rich, the Carthagies deuised to get  
before the Romanes, and subdued one parte, and vered the other  
with continuall inuasions, till the Romanes put the out, & posses-  
sed al their places. Other towne after ward came to their Em-  
pire by muche labour and long time, whiche reuolting diuers  
times, were againe subdued by the Romanes, who diuided that  
region into three parts, and sent so many presidents to it. Now  
they got every place, and what warre they kepte with the Car-  
thagies, and then with the Iberians and Celtiberians, I will shew in  
this volume. The Romanes first made warre with the Cartha-  
gies, but because that warre was made for Spayne, I must needs  
shew it in this historie, whiche I wright of Spayne, and for that  
cause I haue comprehended in the booke of the warre of Sicelie,  
what adoe was betwene the Romanes and Carthagies for that  
Islande, and that was, when the Romanes sayled into Sicelie to  
subdue that place.

The first warre with the Carthagies was in Sicelie, for the do-  
minion of that Island.

The second was in Spayne, for the possession of it, at the whi-  
cho tyme, eyther of them inuaded others lands wyth greate ar-  
myes and flauie. The Carthagies destroying Italy, and the Ro-  
manes Libya.

This warre beganne aboute the CXL. Olimpiad, when the  
Carthagies had broken the truce that was made in the warre of  
Sicelie, the cause whereof was this. Amilchar surnamed Bar-  
cha, promised great rewards to the Celtes and Libyans that were  
with him in Sicelie, the whiche rewardes being required of A-  
milchar when he was come to Carthage, was the cause of the  
warre with Affrike, in the whiche the Carthagies suffered  
muche hurte, for they deliuered sardinia to the Romanes.

There were  
diuers Hercules,  
vvhereof one  
was of Tirus  
borne of Affria  
another of  
Thebes borne of  
Alcumena.

The first warre  
of Carthage for  
Sicelie.

The olde ac-  
count of yeares  
was by the O-  
limpiades, vvvhich  
were playes  
made every five  
yeares, in the  
honour of Iupit-  
er, institute of  
Hercules at Os-  
limpia, a Citie of  
Elide.

Amilchar Barcha.

In the first war  
with the Car-  
thagies.

Hasdruball.

Hanno.

for the iniurie they had done to the *Romane Merchantes* in that warre. For these causes, when *Amilchar Barcha* was accused of the contrary faction, as by whome came so greate detriment of the Citie, he, by the fauoure of them that gouerned the common wealthe, whereof *Hasdruball* called the Greate, was one, to whome he had giuen his daughter in marriage, and well beloued of the people, was not only pardoned, but also chosen a Captayne, together with *Hanno*, that was called Greate, against the *Numidians*, the accusation yet depending, by the whyche, *Amilchar* muste gyue an accompte of his doyns in the warre.

When the warre of *Numidia* was ended, and *Hanno* called to *Carthage* for certayne complayntes, *Amilchar* remayned Captayne of the army alone, hauing wpyth hym *Asdruball* his sonne in lawe. And wpyth thys armye, he sayled to *Gades*, and did molest the *Iberians*, spoyling theyr lande, not that they hadde deserved anye such thing, but that he soughte occasion to be absente from hys Countrey, making that warre, to wyne the fauour of the people. For deuiding the pray, he gaue parte of it to the Souldoyours that were with him, and parte hee sente to *Carthage*, and parte he gaue to the chiefe of the Citie that fauoured hym.

Whylest he dyd thus, certayne of the greate men, and others of *Iberia*, conspired together, and kyled hym thus.

They sent certayne Cartes laden wpyth wodde, whyche they followed wpyth their armour. At thys the *Carthagies* laughed at the fyfte, not perceyuing the policie, but when it was perceyued, and the fyghte begunne, the *Iberians* sette the Cartes on fyre, whereby the Wren were dyuen vpon the *Numidians*. And when the fire was disperfed euery where, and the Wren ranne hyther and thither, it muche disordered the *Affricanes*, and brake their aray, whereby the *Iberians* came vpon them, and kyled *Amilchar Barcha*, and the rest that fought, but the *Carthagies* beeyng allured by the pray of *Iberia*, sente a nother army to *Asdruball* that was *Barcha* sonne in law, and committed the rule of that army to him. He toyned to him *An-*

Gades nowve  
Cales. They bre-  
e vvo lland: in  
the furthest part  
of Granata next  
the streight of  
Gillatar.

Stratageme of  
the Iberians.

Amilchar is  
dyne.

Asdruball.

*Anniball* that was sonne to *Barcha*, as his Lieutenant, and his wiues brother, who after got so great a name by his valiant actes, being very yong, but expert in the warre, and accepted to the souldoyours.

He wanne manye places of *Iberia* by saye wordes, as he was very apte to perswade, and when any thing was to be done by force, he did vse the seruice of the yong man. By thys meane, he wente ouer *Spayne*, from the *Occidentall Sea*, to the floud *Iberus*, and made all subiect to the *Carthagies* Empire, the which floud diuiding *Spayne* in the middest, floweth into the Ocean towarde the South, fise dayes iourney from the Mountaines.

But the *Saguntines*, an olde inhabitance from the *Zathinians*, which be in the middest, betwene the mountaynes and the floud, and all other that were come of the *Greekes*, aboute the place called *Emporia*, and all other that inhabited any part of *Iberia*, being afrayd, sent four Embassadors to *Rome*, wherfore the *Romanes* not willing the power of the *Carthagies* to growe too much, sent Embassadors to *Carthage*, where it was agreed, that *Iberus* should be the end of the *Carthagies* dominion in *Spaine*, and that the *Romanes* should not make warre vpon their subiects beyonde that floud, nor the *Carthagies* to goe beyonde that floud to moue warre, and that the *Saguntines*, and other *Graeke* people which were in *Iberia*, shoulde be free, and liue with their owne lawes, all the whiche were expressed in the league, that was made betwene the *Romanes* and the *Carthagies*. When this was done, a slaue killed *Asdruball*, whose maister he had cruelly kyled before, whilest he was taking order for that parte of *Iberia* that obeyed *Carthage*, and gone a hunting, whome *Anniball* after tormented most cruelly, and kyled. The army made *Anniball Barcha* their Captayne, a very yong man, and welbeloned of them.

The enimies of *Amilchar Barcha* in the Senate of *Carthage* agreed to it, who fearing the power of *Asdruball* and *Amilchar*, did laughe at *Anniball* as a yong man, and beganne to molest in lawe, the friendes of them, accusing them of

*Iberus* runneth  
from Biscay, to  
the sea of Ma-  
iorca, &c.  
*Sagunt* was be-  
yond the floud  
*Iberus*, nowve  
*Muride*, or *Nos-  
niendro*,  
*Zathin*, of an  
Iland of the  
Ionian sea.

The conditiō.

*Asdruball* killed.

the same faults that they accused the other that were deade, vsing the peoples fauour, whiche hated them for the losses they had, in the tyme of *Barcha* and *Asdruball*. They required those gifts that *Barcha* or *Anniball* sent to them, being of the spoyle of the ennimies. They sent to *Anniball* for helpe, shewing that he also would be despised of his fathers ennimies, except he hadde now some regard of them that might defend his matters there. This was not unknowne to *Anniball*, for he knew well ynough that the beginning of deceits would be vpon him, and thought it not good to suffer suche enmities continuallye with feare, as his father and grandfather had done, nor to liue all his lyfe, after the lightenesse of the *Carthagies*, vsing them vnthankesfully that were of their syde, and hadde done well for the common wealth.

*Anniball* was  
fyrst borne in his  
youth to bee an  
enmye to the  
Romanes.

There was a rumoz, when *Anniball* was a childe, and at hys fathers comandement, y he brought hym into the place where he made sacrifices, and made hym laye his hand vpon the Altare and sweare, that so soone as he had any rule in the common wealth, he shoulde bee a mortall ennemie to the Romanes. Therefore he purposed to put his country to great and continuall dangers, that by that feare, he might preserve hys owne & his friends matters from perill. Therefore, when he saw that *Affrica* was in good state, and the *Iberians* that were vnder the *Carthagies*, lyke to continue in obedience, he thoughte he shoulde winne immortall fame, if he made warre agayne vpon the Romanes, by the feare whercof, the *Carthagies* shoulde be occupied, and mighte, by god fortune, subdue to hys Countrey the Empire of all the worlde. For he hoped, that if the Romanes were broughte downe, that none shoulde be able to matche wth hym, but if it chaunced otherwise, yet hys enterpryse shoulde be honozable. And that the beginning myght breede his estimation, if he passed the floude *Iberia*, he caused the *Torboletanes*, whych be nexte the *Saguntines*, to come & complaine that the *Saguntines* had made rodes vpon them & done them other hurts: Which being perswaded by him, he set theyr Ambassadors to *Carthage*, and he wrote letters pryncipallye, in the whiche he signified that the Romanes practised with the *I-*  
*berians*

*Anniball* pres-  
sured the *Saguntines*  
with a quarrell as  
enemies.

*berians*, of the *Carthage* iurisdiction, to reuolte from them, and that the *Saguntines* shoulde procure the same from the Romanes, and that there was no deceit left vndone. And of this he wrote many letters, till the Senate appointed him to do with the *Saguntines* that shoulde be profitable to the common wealth. Hee hauing got this occasion, practised with the *Torboletanes* agayne, that they shoulde come to him and complaine againe of the *Saguntines*, who also sent fiftene Ambassadors to hym. And when *Anniball* wylled them to declare their controuerfies, and they answered, they would make the Romanes their Iudges, they were commanded of *Anniball* to go out of hys campe. And that night passing the ryuer, he inuaded that lande, and set hys artillerie agaynst their Citie, which, when he could not take, he compassed with ditche, wall, and trench. When placing many garrisons, he continued the siege, and in fewe dayes, wente and came by diuers tymes. The *Saguntines* being in great feare, with these so dauidic euils, sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, to whome the Senate toynded their Ambassadors, and sent firste to *Anniball*, to put him in remembraunce of the league, who, if he would not obey, they shoulde go to *Carthage*, and accuse hym. Wth these Ambassadors they went to *Iberia*, and when they came from their shippes to the Campe, they were commanded of *Anniball* to go no further: Wherefore they went to *Carthage* wth the *Saguntine* Ambassadors, where they shewed that the league was broken.

*Sagunt* besieged.

The Romanes  
Ambassadors  
forbidden to en-  
ter *Anniballs*  
Campe.

They on the other side accused the *Saguntines*, and saide they had done hurte to their Subiectes. The *Saguntines* on the contrary side, called them to the iudgement of the Romanes. They sayde the iudgement was in vaine, when the matter muste be tryed by force.

Whiche when the Romanes vnderstode, some thought ayde to bee sente out of hande to the *Saguntines*, some denyed it, affyrmyng the *Saguntines* not to be comprehended in the league, but lesse free. So as bothe the besiegers and the besieged, muste vse their owne lawes, whiche sentence pryncipallye.

The Romanes  
helpe not the  
*Saguntines*.

But the *Saguntines* being destitute of the help of the Romanes,  
and

and oppressed of famine, and continually assaulted of *Annibal*; for he (hearing the Cittie was riche and full of golde) gaue them no time to rest: they commaunded all the golde and siluer both publique and priuate to be broughte into the market, and mixed it with lead and yron, that it shoulde be vnprofitable to *Annibal*. And because they hadde rather dye by sword, than by hunger, at mydnyght, when it was most darke, they came out, and assailed the watch of the *Carthagies*, looking for no such thing, and killed many of them whiles some fought and some putte on their armour. The fight was long, many *Carthagies* were slaine, and all the *Saguntines*, whose decay beyng scene from the wals, some of the women leapt from the top of their houses, some hanged themselves, some killed first their little childre, & then themselves. This was the end of *Sagunt*, which was a great & mighty city. When *Annibal* vnderstode what was done with *Sagunt*, he took as many of the youth as was left, whom he tormented and killed. And not thinking it good for a Cittie situate at the sea, and in a fertile soyle, to be inhabited, he made it an habitation of *Carthage*, whiche now, as I thinke, they call *Carthage Spartagena*. The *Romaines* sent Ambassadors to *Carthage*, whiche shoulde require *Annibal* as a breaker of league, vnlesse they wold confesse it to be done with common consent, & except they wold deliuer hym, to denounce the war presently. They dyd so, and where the *Carthagies* would not deliuer *Annibal*, they gaue the despaynce, and they saide it was done after this sorte. The *Carthagies* scorned the *Romane* Ambassadors. Hee took vpp the skirt of his golwe, and saide: In this garment, O *Carthagies*, I bring you war and peace, chose which you wil. They answered, giue vs which thou listest, he giuing war, they cried al with one voice, and we receiue it: & by & by they sent to *Hannibal* to ouerrun al *Iberia*, for the league was broken. Wherefore he running euerye where, got some by flattery, some by threats, and some by force. He gathered many souldiours, not shewing to what purpose he didde it. Hys meaning was to goe into *Italy*, to sende Ambassadors to the *Galles*, to search the way of the Alps, to carry his army to *Rome*, & leaue *Asdrubal* in *spaine*. The

*Annibal*, nameth  
*Sagunt* *Carthage*  
*Spartagena*.

The manner of  
the *Romaines*  
defiance to the  
*Carthagies*.

*Romaines*

*Romaines* thinking they must make war with the *Carthagies* in *spaine* and *Africa*, not once suspecting their comming into *Italy*, sente *Tiberius Sempronius Longus* into *Africa* with one hundred, threescore and two ships, and two legions. What *Sempronius Longus* and other Generallcs didde in *Libya*, all is shewed in the booke of the *Libyan* warres. They sente into *spaine*, *P. Cornelius scipio* with threescore shippes, and ten thousande footemen and seauen hundred horsemen, to whome they ioyned for lieutenant, his brother *Cn. Cornelius scipio*. But one of them, that is, *Publius*, when he heard of the Marchants of *Masilia*, that *Annibal* was comming into *Italy*, and had passed the Alps, being afrade he shoulde haue taken the *Italians* vnprouided, he deliuered the army to hys brother, and in a Galley sayled into *Aetrumia*. What he or other Captaynes did, that succeeded hym in thys war, tyll *Annibal* was driuen out of *Italy* after sixtene yeares, it is shewed of vs in the booke that followeth, wherein also we shewe all *Annibals* actes, and therefore name the booke by *Annibals* name.

*Tiberius Sempronius*  
sente into *spaine*.

*Masilia*, *Massiles*  
in the p[re]s[en]ce  
of *Marbonen*  
*Fradiu*, & an  
antient Cittie, and  
sometime a fa-  
mous vniuersity

*Cneus* in this warre of the *Romaines*, didde nothing wort hy of wytyng, till his brother retourned vnto hym. For when hys tyme was expired, the *Romaines* sent the Consulls for hys successors, to make the warre againste *Annibal*, and hee was vnderconsull to them, and sent againe into *spaine*. And so the two *scipios* didde make warre agaynst *Asdrubal* in *spaine*.

The *Carthagies* being prouoked to fight, of *Syphax* kyng of *Numidia*, they called home *Asdrubal* in part of his armye, whereby the *scipios* did easily gette the reste of *spaine*, and manye Citties yelded freely. For they were apte to gouerne armyes, and also by perswasion, to winne Citties to their obedience. The *Carthagies*, compounding with *Syphax*, sente *Asdrubal* into *spaine* wyth moze menne, and wyth thyrtye Elephantes, adioyning other two Captaynes to them, that is, *Mago* and *Asdrubal*, Gyfons sonnes.

After that tyme, the *scipios* had sharpe warre, and yet were superiours, of the whiche, manye souldiours of the *Carthagies* and Elephants were consumed, till the winter beyng come, the *Carthagies*

l.

*thagies*

*thagies* went to winter at the *Turditanes*. And *Pub. Scipio* stayed at *Castulone*, and *Cnem*, at *Orsona*. To whom, when it was helde that *Asdrubal* was coming, he went out of the Citie with a few, to see his enemies power, but going too far unadvisedly, he was circumvented of the contrary hostemen, and killed, and all that were with him. *Cnem Scipio*, not knowing the chaunce of his brother, sent his souldiours to fetch artillery, with whom the *Africanes* made a fray. Whiche *Cnem* understanding, came forth in haste with the light harnessed to helpe his men, wherof the former being killed and putte backe, *Scipio* was driven into a Tower, the whiche they sette a fyre, and burned hym and his companye. Thus the two *Scipios* were killed, men certainly of great worthinesse, & greatly loued and lamented of the *Spaniards*, that had committed themselues for their sakes, to the Romanine obedience.

When this was knowen at *Rome*, the Romanes took it very grieuously, and sent *Marcellus*, which a little before was come out of *Sicilie*, and with him *Claudius*, with a navy and ten thousande footemen, two thousand horsemen, and many and viduall sufficient to make warre in *spaine*. Of the whiche, no notable thing being done, the *Carthagies* increased very much, for now they had wellnigh gotten all *spaine*, the Romanes being driven into a little freight, so as they were caste to the *Pyrene hills*.

The whiche when they at *Rome* hearde, they were more grieved and afraide, least, whiles *Annibal* wasted those Regions, whiche were at the sides of *Italie*, the other army shoulde invade another way: therfore thought they would neuer so muche, they coude not leaue *spaine*, fearing the warre of *spaine* woulde stretch to *Italy*. Therefore they appointed a day to determine a Generall for the war in *spaine*.

To the whiche prouince, when none now offered hymselfe, they were in more trouble and feare than before, for all the *Ratores* were still for feare, till *Cornelius Scipio*, sonne to *Publius* that was slaine in *spaine*, a yong man of xliij. yeres of age, but wise, & accounted noble in mind, did step forth & boldly spake lamentably the hard happe of his father & uncke, affirming that

*Scipio* killed.

*Scipio* killed.

*Cornelius Scipio* offereth his service in a thankfull manner.

he alone was left to reuenge both their deaths, and other things he added with great eloquence and vehemencie, so as it were by a diuine inflammation, he promised to restore, not onely *spaine*, but also to take *Carthage*: wherefore he was thought to boaste too muche lyke a yong man, but he got the fauoure of the people, whiche was broken with greatesse feare. For they that feare, when better hope is promised them, they be comforted. And so *spaine* was decreed vnto hym, as by a foresight, that he woulde do some thing worthy the noblenesse of his mynde, which the ancients did not call greatnesse of minde, but rashnesse rather of courage.

Which when *Scipio* perceyued, he spake to the people againe, after that sorte that he spake of himselfe before, adding this, that his youth shoulde be impediment to no man. He exhorted the Elders to take that prouince, if any of them woulde: he willingly gave place. But when no man was found to take it, he went with the more estimation and admiration of all men into his prouince, into the whiche he led with him. x. footemen, and five hundred horsemen. For *Annibal* vexing *Italy*, a greater number could not be spared. He had money for their wages, and other furniture, with eightene Gallies, with the which, he sailed into *spaine*, where retaining the footemen and horsemen that were left, he putte them to other, and mustered and purged his whole army, and then spake to them very nobly, so as his fame wente hostelye ouer all *spaine*, whiche was wearye of the *Carthagies* rule.

The vertue of the *Scipians* stucke in their mindes, and they thought the house of *Scipio* was sent to them, by the will of God. Whiche thing *Scipio* understanding, pretended he did all things by diuine instigation.

And when he vnderstande that his enemies were lodged in foure sundrye places, and that in euery campe was five & twenty thousande footemen, and two thousande horse, and further, that almony, & munition, as well for sea as land, and also the captiues and pledges of *spaine*, were in the Citie that before was called *Sagunt*, and nowe named *Carthage*, and that *Mago* was

The cornie of *Scipio*.

The modestie of *Scipio*.

Li,

was

was there to keep that treasure with. x. M. mē, he thought good to make his first attempt there, being moued by the small number, the great abundance, and the seate of that Cittie to be as a fforte and a receipte of the warre both by sea and land, against *Spain*, & the shorter passage into *Libya*. By these considerations, conserring w<sup>th</sup> no man, he marched at the sunne set, riding all night toward this *Carthage*, & by dawe he was there, and made a ditche and trenche about it, the *Carthagies* being amazed, and the same dawe prepared to giue the assaulte. He sette engins & scales against al parts, but only one, where the wall was very lowe, but compassed with a pool & the sea, wherefoze that place was negligently kepte of the souldiours, but y<sup>e</sup> they made it strong in y<sup>e</sup> night with arrowes and stones. *Scipio* toke the streights of the Porte, that the enemies ships shuld not escape, as hee that trusting in his vertue, hoped to take the Cittie. Before day he commanded part of the souldiours to mount the engines, & to throwe vpon the enemies from aboue, & other to run the engines at the wall by lowe, by force. Of the other side, *Mago* placed. x. M. men at the gates, which taking their occasion, shoud fall with their swords only: bicause in those streights thei could not vse spears: other he commaunded to keep the wals and towers, and they there with their engines. stones, darts & arrows boldely abyde y<sup>e</sup> fight. The alarm being made, both parts omitted no endeour, whiles the stones or arrowes were cast from hands, or engines. Some vsed slings, and euery man did his best in that kinde of armour: that he coulde handle. A band of *Scipio* was hardly handled, for y<sup>e</sup> *Carthagies* that kept the gates, issued with their swords, & made a hotte fray with them that brought the engines, and did as much hurt as they toke, till the Romanes, whose courage encreaseth in perils, made them to retire. they that defended that wall, being tired, and they that fought without tiring, the Romanes mighte easely sette their engines to the wall. Agaynst whom, they that hadde skirmished, wente vpp to the wall, and so againe the Romanes were putte to fight. *Scipio* that looked aboute him, and exhorted them in all places, perceiued toward y<sup>e</sup> south, y<sup>e</sup> place where the wall was lowe, and that y<sup>e</sup> water did fall from

The diligence  
of *Scipio*.

*Scipio* besiegeth  
the city *Carthage*.

from it, according to the course of the sea, so that y<sup>e</sup> was before to the breast, was now but to the mid legge. Whiche thing being perceiued, and the matter diligently examined, he spent the rest of the day, that the sea did encrease, by going aboute, and encouraging his souldiours to doe it. My souldiours (sayde he) nowe is the time, and whilest the help of God cometh to vs, scale the wall on this side, where the Sea openeth a way vnto vs, I will goe before you: and saying thus, he toke the ladders first, with the which he beganne to mount before any other, but his gard and others staying him, and the souldiours taking the matter in hand, the *Romanes* got vp, whome, when he perceiued to be vpon certayne towers, he badde the trumpetours and drummes goe vp the wall, and encourage the *Romanes* w<sup>th</sup> their noyse. This thing affraying the enimie, they fledde as the Cittie had bin taken, some of the *Romanes* fought with them, some ranne, and opened the gate to *Scipio*, who entred with his army. They of the Cittie fledde into houses, and other places. *Mago* broughte his souldiours into the market place, whiche beeing some overcome, fledde into the Castell with a few, which when *Scipio* assaulted, he not being able to defend it, all his men utterly discouraged, he yelded to *Scipio*. This so greate a Cittie being taken in one day, which was the fourth day after his comming, he was extolled with infinite prayse of all men, beleuing that he did all things rather by the counsell of the gods than of men, and so he perswaded himselfe, the which opinion he mainteyned all his life, taking beginning at this time. For this cause hee woulde many times goe alone into the Capitoll, and shutte the doores, as to be taught of God. Wherefoze at this day, only *Scipio* image is broughte out of the Capitoll, whereas all others are taken from the common place. Then *Scipio* hauing taken the Cittie, whiche shoulde be as a receptacle, and a storehouse of all things for warre and peace, in the whiche greate plentie of armour, shotte, and engines, and furniture for the Danie, and thirtie and three shippes, and corne, and manye other things were layde vp as in a common market, beside y<sup>e</sup>uarie, golde, and siluer, as well coyned, as uncoyned, and the pledges of *Spain*,  
Lij. and

New *Carthage*  
is taken.  
*Mago* yeeldeth.

An opinion of  
*Scipio*, that he  
did all things by  
inspiration  
from God.

and the captiues of Rome. He made sacrifice to God, and the next day triumphed. When after he had prayd his souldoyours, he turned his tale to the townesmen, renewing the memoie of the *scipios*, and deliuering all them that were in bondage, that when they came to their countreys, they might winne them to hym. These things being thus done, he rewarded him most liberally that first mounted the wall, and to the seconde he gaue halfe so much, and to the thirde, and others by like proportion. The *purrie*, gold, & silver, that was left of the pray, he put in shippes, and sent to Rome, where thre dayes together holy dayes were made, because it seemed, that the Citie was restored to the auntient dignitie, after so manie euils. All *spayne*, and the *Carthaginians* were astonished with the great acte that was done so valiantly, and so speedely. *scipio* leauing a strong garrison in the Citie, commaunded that parte of the wall that was next the sonne, to be made higher, and he went to subdue the rest of *Hiberia*, which he did by going himselfe to some of them, and sending his friends to other, and taking them by force that resisted. Of the *Carthagies* the Captaynes being both *Asdrubals*, the one sonne of *Amilcare*, and hauing an army of strangers in the furthest part of *spayne*, the other, the sonne of *Gisco*, exhorted the Cities that remained in the *Carthagies* obedience, to continue in the same, for a greate armye should come shortly to help them. He sent another *Mago* into the next places to gather men, and he entred the Countrey of *Zerfanes*, which reuolted from the *Carthagies*, to besiege a Citie. But *scipio* comming vpon him, he wente into *Granata*, and set his Camp at the Citie, where the next day he was easily overcome, for *scipio* put him from his Campe, and got all *Granata*. *Mago* was occupied in gathering of souldoyours, which were yet in *spayne* at *Cerbona*, that with all his power, he myght encounter with the *Romanes*. Many *spanyarde*s ioyned with *Mago*, and many *Numidians* being commaunded of *Masiniissa*. *Asdruball* kepte in his Campe with the souldoyours of these nations. *Mago* and *Masiniissa*, with the horsemen, had their camp betwixt the army. They being thus, *scipio* diuided his horsemen, and sent one part with *Zelio* against *Mago*, and he went agaynst

Reuwards of  
the Romanes to  
him that first  
mounted the  
wall, & grante  
of gold & sil  
uer.

Asdrub  
Ball  
Granata

Carthage

*Masiniissa*. The fight was long, sharp, and dangerous, the *Numidians* setting on, and going backe, and comming againe to the fight with their shotte. But when *scipio* gaue a token to his souldoyours, that the *Romanes* shoulde follow them, and fyghte with them with their speares, the *Numidians* being destitute of shotte, were putte to flight, and retired to their tentes. *scipio* encamped tenne furlongs from them, in a strong place as he desired. The whole strength of the *Carthagies* was. lxx. thousande souldoyours. five thousande horse, and thirtie Elephants. *scipio* had not the thirde part, therefore he was doubtfull awhile, and durst not ioyne with the whole battell, but continued with skirmishing, whose victuall being almost spent, and the armye beginning to lacke, he thought it vnhonorable to departe and doe nothing, therefore making sacrifice, and bringing his armye where he might well be heard, framing his countenance and looke, as though he had bin inspired of God, he said, his accustomed Angell hadde bin with him, and exhorted him to fighte, by reason whereof they shoulde rather trust in the power of God, than in the number of men, chiefly because his other attemptes were brought to good effect, by the power diuine, and not by the multitude of souldoyours. To make credite to his wordes, he caused the souldoyours to shew them the sacrifices. And whiles he spake thus, he espied certayne birdes flaying, vnto whome turning hym selfe, he badde the souldoyours beholde them, saying that God byd sende them that token of victorie also, and that way the birdes flew, he turned his bodye, as one rapt with a diuine furie, and with his eyes fixed, cryed. Wherefore all the armye turned with him hither and thither, and euery man exhorted other, as to a certayne victory. When he sawe the thing come to passe as he would, not suffering the courage of the souldoyour to relent, he made no delay, but as one taken with all one diuine furie, the tokens and ceremonies of the gods lucke being shewed, he sayd, it must be obeyed, and the battell must be made. When the souldoyours had refreshed theselues, he commaunded to take armes. He committed the horsemen to *sillano*, the souldoyours to *Zelio* & *Martio*, *Asdruball*, *Mago*, & *Masiniissa*. When they

The valiantnes  
of scipio.

scipio taketh occasion of euery thing to encourage the souldoyours.

sayd.

law they were taken of the suddaine of *Scipio*, being but tenne furlongs betwene the Camps, they blew the alarme, not without confusion and tumult: therefore the battell being begunne, the *Romane* horsemen vsing their old arte, were superioure, following hard their enimies, and beating thē with their speares, though they sayned to flee, and turne againe, for the *Romanes* being continually at their heeles, kepte them from their shooting, bycause they were so nigh.

The footemen being overlaid with the *Libyans*, continued all day, and although *Scipio* raine aboute and exhorted them to the fight, they would neuer giue any fierce onfette, til he deliuering his horse to his squire, toke a souldiours target, and wente alone into the middest betwene both armies, crying, helpe *Romanes*, helpe your *Scipio* in this perill. Therefore they that were nigh, seing him in so great perill, and they that were further off, hearing him, all being moued, both with shame, and danger of their Generall, exhorted one another, and went against their enimies with great vehemence, which when the *Affricanes* were not able to abide, they turned their backs, therfore partly worie with fight, and partly weake with famine, the nighte being at hand, they were utterly ouerthowen. This was the ende of the fighte at *Cerbona*, in the which the victorie was doubtfull: eight hundred *Romanes* were slaine, and tenne thousand five hundred of the enimies. From that time, the *Carthagies* made hast to be gone, *Scipio* followed, and endamaged them al wayes that was possible, but when they were come to a place strong and well watered, and full of their necessaries, so as the matter required a siege, *Scipio* left *Sillanus* to hold them in, and he wente to winne the rest of *spaine*.

The *Carthagies* that were besieged of *Sillanus* remoued, and went to *Cales* to passe the Sea, and when *Sillanus* had done them as much hurt as he could, he returned with his army to *Scipio*.

*Asdruball*, *Amilchares* sonne, whiche was gathering of men at the North Ocean, was called of his brother *Anniball*, to come into *Italy* so soone as he could. The whiche, that he mighte doe unknownen to *Scipio*, he passed the *Pirenian* hilles that were nexte the

The courage of  
*Scipio*.

*Scipio* victory  
at *Cerbona*.

*Asdruball* passeth  
the mountaynes.

the North, with the *Celtiberians* that he had, and so the *Romanes* being ignozant, *Asdruball* came to *Italy* with great iourneys.

In the meane season, *Linus* comming from *Rome*, tolde *Scipio*, that the Senate minded to make hym Captayne of the warre of *Carthage*, which thing *Scipio* loked for, and trusting it would be so, sent *Lalium* with fine shyppes to King *Syphax*, with many gistes, to remember vnto him the friendship that had bin betwene him and the *Scipios*, and to aske him, if he came into *Africa*, whether he would be friend to the *Romanes*, whiche *Syphax* promised to doe, and receyued the gistes, and sente *Scipio* others. When the *Carthagies* vnderstode that, they sente Embassadors to *Syphax* also, to remember him of societie and league, which *Scipio* vnderstanding, and minding to preuent the *Carthagies*, bycause it was a matter of greate importance, with two Gallies onely, and with *Lalium*, wente vnto him, and when he came to the porte, the *Carthagies* whiche were come before him, brought out their Gallies, unknownen to *Syphax*, against *Scipio*, but he hauing the benefite of the winde, with full sayle, entred the port before them. *Syphax* receyued them both courtously, and talking priuately with them, and giuing his faith, sent them away. He commaunded the *Carthagies* that layd new trapnes against him, to be stayd. This perill *Scipio* escaped, when he came to the coast, and when he went from thence. And it is said, that whilest *Scipio* was with *Syphax*, he sate at the table wth *Asdruball*, who when he hadde asked him many questions, he greatly wondered at the sight and modestie of him, and turning to his friends, sayd, that he was a man, to be feared, not onely in the warre, but also at a table.

At this time, some of the *Iberians* and *Celtiberians* did yet serue vnder *Hanno*, with whome *Martius* did encounter, and kyled a thousande five hundred of them, the rest fledde home, other seauen hundred horsemen, and seauen thousand footemen, being with *Hanno*, *Martius* droue into an hyll, where wanting all necessaries, they sent to *Martius* for composition, whome he commaunded to deliuer their Captayne *Hanno*, and the fugitives, and then tell their message also, they toke *Hanno* that was bea-

*Scipio* in danger  
in going to  
*Syphax*.

The opinion of  
the *Carthage*  
Embassador of  
*Scipio*.

ring of matters, and deliuered him, and the fugitiues to *Martius*; he required also the captiues, whome, when he had receyued, he commaunded the *Souldiours* to bring a certaine summe of siluer into a playne, bycause it was not fitte for them that aske pardon, to keepe highe places: whiche when they were descended, *Martius* sayde vnto them, you are well worthy deathe, for where as euery of you haue youre countreys subiect to vs, you had rather make warre against vs, than oure enimies, yet I am content, and giue you leaue to goe safe, putting off youre armour.

Whiche when they hearde, being all greened with it, and denyng to do it, a sharp fight was made, in the which, halfe of them were slayne, the other halfe escaping to *Mago*. He not long befoze, was come to *Hannos* Campe with sixtie shippes, but hearyng of hys calamitie, he returned to *Gades*, where beyng in wante, he was put in greate feare, and there he resied.

*Sillanus* was sente to the Citie of *Castaces*, where, when he was receyued as an enimie, he sette hys Campe befoze the Towne, and made *Scipio* to knowe of it, who sending asoze what was fytted for the seige, followed, and by the way gotte the Citie of *Miturga*, the whyche in the tyme of olde *Scipio*, was friende to the *Romanes*: and when hee was slayne, they revolted pryncially, and pretending to receyue the *Romanes* armye as a friende, deliuered it to the *Carthagies*. Wherefoze *Scipio* beyng angrie, ouercame it in foure houres, and toke it.

Here *Scipio* hadde a wounde in hys necke, but not so greate, as hee woulde departe from the fyghte, tyll hee hadde gotte the Citie, for thys cause, the armye despising the pray, kylled women and chyldren, and vtterly destroyed it.

When they came to *Castace*, he besieged it in thre partes, but dyd not assaulte it, that hee myghte gyue the *Castaces* tyme to repente, bycause he heard they were aboute suche a matter. And when they hadde kylled the Captaine of the garrison which resisted, they deliuered the Citie to *Scipio*; he leauing a certayne honest man of the Citie to keepe it, wente towarde *Carthage*, sending

The victorie  
of *Martius*.

Souldiours  
will not deli-  
uer their ar-  
mour.

*Castaces*.

*Miturga*.

*Scipio* wound-  
ed.

The *Castaces*  
yeelde to  
*Scipio*.

sending *Sillanus* and *Martius* to the Sea, to spoyle and wast all that they could.

There was a Citie called *Astapa*, whiche was alwayes of the *Carthagies* deuotion. When they sawe they were besieged, and knewe that if they came vnder the *Romanes* power, they shoulde be solde as slaues, they brought all theyr goodes and riches into the market place, and compassing the same with wodde, they hadde their wines and chyldren goe by to it, and swore fittie of the chiefe of the Citie, that if the Citie were taken, they shoulde kyll their wiues and chyldren, sette the wodde on fyre, and burne them and themselves.

The desperatio  
of the *Astapeans*.

When they hadde called the Gods vnto witnesse of the same, they issued vpon *Martius*, looking for no suche thyng, with the whyche violence, the shotte and the Hozlemen were putte to flighte. The footemen stayd. The *Astapeans* fought valiantly withoute hope of remedye. The *Romanes* were more in number, but the *Astapeans* were not inferioure in vertue, who, when they were all slayne, the fittie whyche were in the Citie, kylled all the women and chyldren, and then kindled the fyre, and lepte into it. *Martius* maruelling at the vertue of them, refrayned from burning their houses.

After these doyngs, *Scipio* fell sicke, and *Martius* ruled the army, and so the *Souldiours* that had spent all vpon pleasure, and thought they hadde not receyued worthy rewardes for theyr seruice, bycause they hadde nothyng leste, and to whome *Scipio* ascribed the glozy of all hys noble actes, they revolted from *Martius*, and hadde their Campe by themselves, and manye of the garrisons and nygh Castels ioyned vnto them, and some were sente of *Mago* with money, to perswade them to him.

The *Romanes*  
souldiours  
mutine.

They receyued the money, but makynge Captaynes and officers of themselves, they did all thyngs of their owne authoritie, and boarde them to it by oth.

*Scipio* hearing of thys, wrote vnto them that were an-  
thoures, and sayde, hee coulde not yet rewarde them as  
m. g. they

The prudence  
of *Scipio*.

The prudence  
of Scipio.

they were worthy, because of his sickness, and to other he wrote, to appease them that were in rage, and wrote to all generally, as though they had now bin reconciled, that he would shortly reward them all, and willed them so soon as might be, to come to Carthage for forage. These letters being recee, some suspected some euill, other thinking no hurt, thought good to giue credite to them, and agreed to goe to Carthage, whither when Scipio vnderstode they were coming, he commanded all the Senataures that were with him, that eache one of them should goe with one of the Authours of sedition, and receyuing them into their tentes in shewe of friendshippe, to take them priuily. Then he commaunded the Tribunes of the souldyours, that the next morning, euery of them with their most trusty friendes, with their swordes, shoulde goe priuily, and place them in diuers partes of the citie, and when they had fitt places, not looking for any other commaundement, shoulde immediately kill them, if they made any stirre while he spake bys Oration.

When it was daye, he called all the Souldyours to an assemblie, and caused himself to be borne to the Generalles seate. They hearing the sounde of the trumpet, being ashamed not to alwayte vpon their Generall, being sicke, and thinking they shoulde haue receyued their rewardes, came from euery place, part without swordes, part covered with a little coate, because they had not time to make them ready.

Scipio hauing a garde secretly aboute him, did firste rebuke them for their dede, then said, he would put all the blame in the authours of the sedition, whome Souldyours, by your helpe I will punish.

Then he commaunded the officers to remoue y multitude further, which being done, the Senataures brought the authours of sedition forth, who crying, and praying their fellowes of help, the Tribunes that were commaunded, killed them that durst once make any noyse. The multitude when they saw them thus handled, and the other armed, they were forrie, and held their peace, Scipio commaunding them to bee firste killed,

Scipio to the  
souldyours that  
made the mu-  
rder.

The authours of  
sedition punished  
and the multi-  
tude pardoned.

killed, that cried, the other he bound to the pale and beate them with rodde, and after beheaded them. To the reste of the multitude he signified by the Trumpet, that he forgave them, & by this order the army was reformed.

*Judibilia* a certaine Prince, that before obeyed Scipio, during the sedition of the souldyours, raunged the dominion of Scipio, he bring followed, would not refuse battaile as a coward, and killed a thousande two hundred of the Roman souldyours. But losing twenty thousande of his men, he was compelled to aske peace, whome Scipio punished by the purie, and receyued hym to grace.

*Massinissa*, unknowne to *Asdrubal*, sailed into spaine, & made amitie with Scipio, and promised if he came into *Affric*, to be his alder. Thus he did being other wise a constant man for this cause. *Asdrubal*, that ledde him with hym, had espoused his daughter to him, whome *Syphax* loued. Whereof the Carthagies thought it needefull for them, to holde *Syphax* agaynst the Romanes, and gaue the maide in marriage vnto him withoute *Asdrubal*'s prinitie, whiche thing being done, *Asdrubal* was ashamed, and kepte it secrete from *Massinissa*. Whiche when he vnderstode, he made league with the Romanes.

*Mago* the admirall of the Carthagies, despayning of the state of spaine, went into *Gallia* and *Liguria*, and gathered men with all his mighte.

The Romanes tooke *Gades* being lefte of *Mago*, and from that time, beganne to send yearly officers to gouerne spaine a little before the *OL. Olympiade*, which in peace had the offire both of a Captaine and a Justice. In the which with no greate army, *Santio* was broughte into the forme of a Citty, whiche of the name of *Italie*, was called *Italica*, and after, was the Countrey of *Adriane* and *Traiane*, who were chosen to the rule of the Romanes. Hee returned to Rome wyth a nauie well furnished and filled with Captiues, mony and spoyle of al sorts, and was receyued of the people of Rome, wyth all Glandes, especialye of the North, for the greatnesse and maruellous expedition of his doyngs. And euen they that firste enuied him, and noted him

*Massinissa* allert  
with the Ro-  
manes by cause  
the Carthagies  
had given *Scipio*  
his daughter to  
*Syphax* his  
enemy.

This is parte of  
France and  
Liguria of Italy.

*Santio*, the coun-  
trety of *Adriane*  
and *Traiane*.

*Scipio* honor. J  
of all fortess.

of boasting, confessed the thing to be brought to a glorious end.

*Indibilis* after *Scipios* returne, reuolted agayne. Wherefore the lieutenantants of *Spaine*, gathering the ordinarie garrisons together, and other of the prouince, killed hym, and condemned the authoys of the rebellion, and confiscated their goodes. Them y were priue to the mutinie, they punished in money, spoiled them of their armour, and toke pledges of them, and put greater garrisons in their Towns. These things were done straight after *Scipios* departure.

This is *Gallia Togata*, that did inhabite the place called now *Tombard*.

This was the ende of the *Romanes* first warre in *Spaine*. After the whiche tyme, the *Romanes* making war with the *Gulles* that dwell aboute *Poo*, and with *Phillip* king of *Macedonie*, the state of *Spaine* beganne to be troublesome agayne. *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Claudius*, and after the *Minutius*, were chosen Generalls, and after, when there was greater stirre, *Cato* was sent wth a greater army, a young man, but seuerer and painefull, and very notable for hys wysedome and eloquence, insomuche, as of the people hee was called another *Demosthenes*, who was the principall Oratour of all *Grecia*.

*Emporium* *Cato* compared to *Demosthenes* his courage.

When he was come into *Spaine*, to the place called *Emporium*, and vnderstode that the enimies were together in a place to the number of fortie thousande, he kepte hys Souldiours certaine dayes in exercise, and when he determined to fighte, he sent the ships which he had with hym to *Masilia*, admonishing the souldiours that it was not to be feared though the enimie was more in number, seeing the vertue of the minde is muche more of price, than the multitude. And that he had therfore sent away his shippes, whereof they had no neede, nor were kept, but for them that ouercame. And when he had saide thus, he gaue a fierce onset vpon the enemye, and afraying his Souldiours, rather than exhorting them, as other were wonte to doe, when the fight was begunne, he ranne to euery part, and encouraged the souldiours. The fight continued doubtfull till night, manye falling on both sides, and when he wth three thousand had ben vpon an hill, to see al partes of the fight, and saw his men were compassed of the enimie, he came downe with haste, offering him

*Cato* rather rebuketh than exhorteth his host. The valiantnes and diligence of *Cato*.

self to perill with the formost, & so crying & fighting, he brake the enimies aray, & laid the first foundation of victorie. He chased y enemy al night, he got their camp, & killed an infinite multitude. As he returned, al mette with him, embraced and congratulated with him as the Authour of victorie. These things being done, he gaue rest to the armye, and made distribution of the spoyle. Ambassadors came to him from al people, of whom he receyued pledges. Besides he sent letters sealed to the Citties, commanding the bearers to deliuer al in one daye, appointing the daye, as by coniecture he considered the distance of place, as they might make their iourney to the furthest Cittie. He commanded the rulers of euery citie, to pul down their wals, & threatned destruction to them y made any delay. Al obeyed, being mindful of y losse they had receyued, & seuerally they durst not resist, thinking it had bin comanded to them only & not to other, and if it were to other, they were afraid if other did obey, they should be punished, if they did disobey. And if they alone did obey, it was a matter of no greater moment. There was no respite for them to send to their neighbors, & of the souldiours that brought the letters, they were vrged to it: wherefore euery citie, to saue themselves, pulled down their wals, and that they might haue thanke for their quicke obedience, they did it with great speede. By this meane all the Citties that be about the floud *Iberus*, did cast downe theyr wals in one day, by the only wysedome of their Captaine, & they were quiet to the *Romanes*, for the space of foure *Olympiades*. But after the *II. Olympiade*, great parte of *Spaine* rebelled from the *Romanes* because they wer in want of al necessaries for food. Wherefore the matter comming to light, *Fulvius Flaccus* Confull, ouercame them, and manye fled to their possessions. But they that were in most want, and got their liuing with robbing, assembled al together at *Complega*, a Cittie new made & wel defenced, that had increased in a short time: fro hence they many times molested the *Romanes*, and set to *Flaccus*, that he should leaue a cloake, an horse, and a sword for euery one that he had killed, and flee out of *Spaine* before worse hapned vnto him. *Flaccus* answered, he would bring many souldiours coats, & following their messengers, caped at y citie.

The victory of *Cato*.

A people of *Cato* pulling downe the wals of al Citties at once.

Fine yeres was betwene the *Olympiades*.

*Fulvius* hath victory.

*Complega*.

The word is *Sagum* which is a cote that souldiours were in vware.

They

They not doyng any thing according to their great crakes dedde, and dayly spoiled the Countreys. They vse a certaine garment double, of thicke wooll w<sup>th</sup> a buckle fastned like a cloke, and that they count a Souldiours coate.

*Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, succēded *Flaccus*. The *Celtiberians* besieged *Caraba*, a Cittie friend to the *Romaynes* w<sup>th</sup> twentye thousande souldiours, and thought to gette it quickly. Wherefore *Gracchus*, comming to helpe them, and not hauing any mean to signifie it to the besieged, a certaine capitaine of a bande, named *Cominius*, tolde *Gracchus* what he had deuised with himselfe, he put on a *Spaniardes* coate, and wente among the slaues of the campe, and as a *Spaniard* came with them to the Campe, and from thence into the Citie, and tolde them that *Gracchus* was at hande with helpe. Wherefore they abode the siege valiantly, and within thre dayes *Gracchus* came, and so the *Celtiberians* left the siege.

One daye twenty thousande came from *Complega*, bringinge branches of Olive lyke petitioners, asking pardon, whiche comming nigh the *Romanes* Generall, gaue a violent onsette on the *Romanes*, and put them in great daunger. *Gracchus* went from the Campe of purpose, and made as though he fledde, and whiles they were aboute the spoile, he returned, and sette vpon them and killed many of them and got *Complega*. He appointed their lande and the neighbors to them that had neede: and made league with the inhabitants of that countrey, with certaine conditions, whereby they were receiued into the *Romaynes* amitie, to the whiche he bounde them by othe. These conditions were much desired in the wars that followed, and for these things, the name of *Gracchus* was greate bothe in *Spaine* and *Rome*, where he triumphed gloriouly.

A fewe yeares after, great warre was renewed in *Spaine*. There was a Cittie in the borders of the *Celtiberians* that is called *Belli*, named *Segeda*, great and mighty comprehended in the league of *Gracchus*. This Citie enticing other little Townes to it, builded their walls, the compasse whereof was forty furlongs. Their example induced the *Tithians*, an other nation

of the *Celtiberians* to do the lyke. Whych thing the Senate vnderstanding, forbade them the building of their wal, and required the tribute appointed by *Gracchus*, and commanded them to goe to warre with the *Romanes*, to the whiche they were also bounde by the league of *Gracchus*. They answered, that touching their walles, they were bound by *Gracchus*, not to builde any newe Citties, but not, that they should not defend their olde. As touching tributes and seruice in war, they were released by the *Romanes*, and so they were indēde, with this condition, so long as it shoulde seeme good to the Senate and people of *Rome*, wherefore *Q. Fulvius Nobilior*, was sent against them with an army of thirty thousande.

The *Segetanes* hearing that he was comming, their walls not being yet finished, desired the *Araushians* to receiue them, and so they fled to them. They made their chiefe Captaine, *Carus*, whom the *Segetanes* thoughte to be a man expert in war. He thre daies after he was created Generall, laide an ambushe of twentye thousande footmen, and fyue thousande horse in a shadowy and woddy place, and from thence gaue a charge vpon the *Romanes*. The fight was doubtfull a greate while, at length *Carus* hadde a noble victorie, for he slewe sixe thousande *Romaynes*, whiche was a great losse to the Citie.

But when they vied the victorie rashlye and too proudlye, the *Romaynes* horsemen that garded the carriage, set vpon them, and slew *Carus* fighting valiantly for himselfe, and sixe thousand with hym, tyll the fighte was ended by the darkenelle of the night.

This was done the same daye that the *Romaynes* kepte the feast of *Pulcane*. After that daye, none of them woulde come to fight, but by compulsion. The *Araushians* assembled that night at *Numantia*, which is a very strong citie. They chose *Araushen* and *Lencon*, Captaines of the warre. *Fulvius* came thither the thirde daye, and camped foure and twenty furlongs from the citie, to whom, *Massinissa* had sent thre hundred horsemen, and thre type Elephants, which being come, he went straight to the fight. He placed the Elephants at the backe of the army, and when

Segetanes.

Araushians.  
Carus.Carus victorie of  
the Romaynes.

Carus is slaine.

The feast of  
Pulcane was in  
August.  
Araushen  
Arushon, Lencon.Fulvius vvineth  
and loofeth.

the fight was begonne, opened a way for the Elephants, whom when the Celtiberians sawe, they and their horse, were afraid, and fled to the walles. The Romayne had the Elephants shoulde be brought to the wal. There was a fierce fight, till one of the Elephants being hurte in the heade with a stone from the wall, beganne to rage and be brutish, and with furie turne vpon his fellows, thrusting and treading downe euery one he met, no difference betwene friend and foe: and the rest of the Elephants being made afraide did the lyke, and trode and thrust downe the Romaine souldiours. The whiche thing the Elephants, when they are in feare, are wonte to doe, taking euery man for their enemy: wherefore for this cause, they are called common enemies. Wherefore the Romanes without order fled away, which when the Numantines saw from the walles, they came forth and chased them, and slew foure thousande of them, and took the Elephants, and muche armour, and many ensignes. Of the Celtiberians two thousand were killed. When Fulvius hadde gotten from that slaughter, he besleged Axenium, which was as a common market for the enemies, for there was all thinges to sell, where, when he did no good, but lose his men, he retired by night to his campe. Wherefore he sente Blesus the Capitaine of the horsemen to a nation that was nigh and his friend, (for he wanted horsemen) with a bande of horse. In the way, they fell into an ambuscade of Celtiberians, whiche being knowne, the friends fledde, and Blesus fought and was killed, and many Romanes with him.

For the whiche losses and ouerthrowes, Ocile, a Cittie in the whiche the Romanes had their treasure and munition, yelued to the Celtiberians.

When Fulvius distrusting himselfe, and afraid of al thinges, kepte within his campe that winter, defending it as well as he coude, and getting victuall, yet was greatly troubled for lacke and for bitternesse of colde, wherefore many souldiours partly going for wood, partly for the sharpnesse and great colde, did perishe.

The yeare following, Claudius Marcellus, came in Fulvius place,

An Elephant  
hurt loseth the  
victorie.

Elephants com-  
mon enemies.

The flight of the  
Romaines.

Axenium.

Blesus killed.

Ocile in Galicia

The mountains  
be the cause of  
colde in hote  
countries.

Claudius  
Marcellus.

place, bringing eightethousand footemen, and .v. C. horsemen, against whome, when the enemies likewise had laide traines, he, by another craft, auoyded them, and went straight to Ocile, & there camped with all his power: and fortune fauouring him, took the Cittie at the first assault, whome he pardoned, receiuing some pledges, and thysie talentes of golde. When thys modestie was hearde, the Nergabriges sente messengers to Marcellus, to know what they might do to haue peace. He commaunded them to sende him an hundred horsemen. They promised so to doe, yet they folowed the taylor of the armye, and took some of the carriage. Notwithstanding, they came after, and brought a hundred horsemen, and laide, their hurte in the carriage, was done by the error of some, that knewe not the cowenauntes.

Marcellus made the hundred horsemen prisoners, and sold their horses: then he ranged their lande, and gaue the pray to the souldiours, and encamped at their Cittie, where, when they sawe their engines brought, and their trenches made, they sente oute an Heraulte wearing a wolfs skint, to aske pardon, whiche he denyed to giue, except the Aruaccans, Bellans, and Titthians, woulde seue for them, the whiche those nations did willingly, paying that a reasonable payne being putte vpon them, they might be brought to the league of Gracchus. Some of them denied that, because they hadde bin at strife. Marcellus sent the Ambassadors of both parts to Rome, there to dispute their controversies, and secretly wrote to the Senate to compounde the matter, for he desired the war might be ended in his time, thinking it would be for his glory.

The Ambassadors of the friends were receyued into the Cittie, they of the enemies were lodged without the Cittie as the manner is.

The Senate would haue no peace, being grieved they were not brought into Romanes power, as Nobilior would haue done, that was Generall in spaine before. Therefore the Senate answered the Ambassadors, that Marcellus shoulde declare their pleasure there, & forthwith sent another army into spaine. And then was the first time that souldiours wer take by lot, & not by choice.

Ocile taken and  
pardoned.

Nergabriges  
use craft.

The war was  
ended by him  
that brought a  
rodde called Cas-  
ducentum vnder  
embassadors of  
peace are called  
Caduceators.

Embassadors  
diuersely vsed  
in Rome.

Souldiours take  
by lot.

as had bene before. For manye did reppone the Consulls, as not vsing themselves truly and sincerely in the choise of soldiers, that they might see to lighter enterprises as cause required. Therfore it seemed good then, to take their soldiers by lotte, of whome *L. Lucullus*, was made Generall, to whom *Cornelius Scipio* was lieutenant, that shortly after gotte *Carthage*, and *Numantia*,

*Lucullus, Scipio.*

Whiles *Lucullus* was coming, *Marcellus* proclaimed warre againste the *Celtiberians*, to whome he rendred their pledges, they requiring them, yet he deteyned hym long with him that wente Embassadoure for them to *Rome*, for what cause it is vncertaine.

There was a suspicion then, which was belieued much more, by a thing that happened, that is, that he perswaded these people to committe their matters to him, for he bidde what he could to make an end of the warre before *Lucullus* came. For after those controuersies, there were syue thousande *Arnuaccians*, that toke *Nergerbrigem*, and *Marcellus* wente to *Numantia*, and encamped within syue myle of the Citie, and drew the enimies into it.

*Marcellus pro-  
curerth peace.*

*Lintion.*

Wherfore *Lintion* Captain of the *Numantines*, cried and said he woulde deale with *Marcellus*. And being come in to talke, he saide he would leaue the *Bellans*, *Tithians* and *Arnuaccians*, whom when *Marcellus* had accepted willingly, he commaunded money and pledges to be deliuered, which when he had receyued, he let those people go free.

This end had the warre of the *Bellans*, *Tithians*, and *Arnuaccians* before the coming of *Lucullus*.

But *Lucullus*, partly for desire of glorie, and partly for neede, (for he was poore) ledde his armie agaynst the *Vaccians*, whiche be a people in *Celtiberia*, next to the *Arnuaccians*, notwithstanding the Senate determined nothing of them, nor they had euer bin enimies of the people of *Rome*.

*Lucullus needie.  
Vaccii people of  
the land of  
neather Spaine.*

*Tagus, the flood  
Tant in Lusitania.*

*Carpetanes  
dwel at the  
flood Taio.*

Therfore when he had passed the floude *Tagus*, he came to the citie of *Cauca*, and there encamped. They of the towne asked why he came, & for what purpose he molested them that were in quiet & rest. Who, when he had answered that hee came to helpe the *Carpetanes*, whom they had iniured, they returned into the city.

And

And when the *Romanes* wente for forage, they kyled many, which being understode, the army was brought forth, and they mette and fought. The *Caucaians* a while had the better, til their shotte fayled them, then they fledde, not being good at a firme battell, and so thrusting together at the gate, there were thre thousand slayne.

*Caucaians slayne  
at their Citie.*

The next day, the olde men came forth, and besought *Lucullus* to tell them what they might doe, to keepe the *Romanes* fauour. He required pledges & an *C. talentes* of silver, and y their hozesmen shoulde serue with him: which when it was graunted, he saide, he woulde put a garrison in the Citie, and they did not deny that. He put two thousand choyce souldyours into the citie, whome he commaunded to take the walles, whiche beynge done, he brought in all his army, and killed all without respect of age, and thus by extream crueltie, they were all slaine, calling vpon the Gods, and the faith of the oth, by the whiche the *Romanes* had swoyne, and charging the *Romanes* with infidelitie, by the which they had murdered twenty thousande, a fewe except, that were in the strong and rocky places. *Lucullus* spoyled the Citie, and gaue the prey to the Souldiours, purchasing an immortall infamie to the name of *Rome*. All they of the Countrey assembled, and came out of the playnes into the hills, and into the strong townes, carrying so muche with them as they could, burning the rest, that *Lucullus* shoulde haue no profite of them.

*Extream in-  
urie done to  
the Romanes  
by Lucullus.*

When *Lucullus* had made a long tourney by the hard and deserte way, he came to a Citie that is called *Enderacia*, into the whiche, more than twenty thousand footemen were fledde, and two thousand hozesmen. *Lucullus* (suche was his foolishnesse) invited them to composition, to whome, they objected the calamitie of the *Vaccians*, & asking, if he woulde exhorte them to suche amitie. *Lucullus* being angry for their objection (as the manner is of them that do naught, whereas they should rather be angry with themselves) wasted their land, and beseged their Citie, made many trenches, and continually prouoked them to fight. One of them very faire in armour, came many times

*Enderacia.*

n. ii.

forth

Scipio fighteth a  
combate, and  
killeth a Span-  
iarde.

Romanes made  
strayde.

VWant of salte.

Romanes perish.

Celiberians, as  
became not gold.

Pallantis a Citie  
nigh the Paccas  
rivers.

forth on horsebacke, and prouoked any *Romane* to fight hand to hand; and when no man answered him, he laughed, and scorned the *Romanes*, and wente leaping, and reioycing home. Doyng this very oft, it græued *Scipio* that was a yong man, who came forth, and toke the matter in hande, and by the benefite of fortune, ouercame the greates traunger, he being but of small stature, which gaue courage to the *Romane*. But in the night, they were diuersly affrighted, for all the horsemen of the *Barbarians* whiche were gone a foraging befoze the *Romanes* came, and coulde not get into the Citie, ranne vpon the Camp with great alarms, and they of the Citie did the like with greates vehemence, soze troubling the *Romanes*, who being afflicted with watche (for all that night they were compelled to watche in armour) and not accustomed to the meates of that countrey, and hauing neyther wyne, salte, nor oyle, nor vinegre, and did eate sodden wheate and barlie, and muche fleashe of Dore and Hare without salte, they fell into fluxes, of the whiche, many dyed. Thus they continued, tyll they hadde brought their trenches to due height, whiche being done, they beat downe one part of the wall, and entred the Citie, but being valiantly repulsd in their retire, vnawares they fell into a fenne, where a greates parte of them perished. The *Barbarians* the night following, made vppon theyr wall, but at length, when both sides was oppressed with famine, *Scipio* promised them, that there should be no fraude in their treatie, to whome faith was given for the opinion of hys vertue. This was the ende of thys warre, that they shoulde deliuer tenne thousande souldiours coates, a certayne number of cattell, and fiftie, pledges. The gold and silver, *Lucullus* could not haue, for whose cause he made the warre, thinking *spayne* had bin full of it, for those people hadde it not, neyther doe these *Celiberians* much esteeme suche things.

After this, he wente toward *Pallantis*, whiche was a Citie of greater name and power, into the whiche, many were fledde: therefore many counselled him to leaue it, but he, because he heard it was wealthy and riche, did not followe their counsell. When he went to forage, euer he had the *Pallantine* horsemen

byon him, so as for lacke of victuall, he was fayne to remoue his Camp, and so ledde his army in a square battell, the *Pallantine* euer following, till he came to the floud *Orius*. When they went away at midnight, and he returned to the *Turditanes* land, and there wintered. This end hadde the warre whiche *Lucullus* made with the *Paccas* without the authoritie of the Senate. Therfore that he shuld not come to iudgemēt being accused, &c. Notwithstanding, another part of *spayne* called *Lusitania*, lying after their owne lawes, with a certayne Captayne of *Asfrin*, did spoyle the Countreys that obeyed the *Romanes*, and whē they had ouerthrowen *Manilius*, and *Calphurnius Piso* the *Romane* Captaynes, they killed syre thousande of them, beside *Terentius Varro*, that was treasurer, by the whiche thing, the *Affrican* being proude, did runne ouer all the Countreys, to the Ocean sea, and ioyning the *Pertones* vnto him, besieged the *Blastophenicians*, that were subiect to the *Romanes*, with the whiche, they say, *Anniball* did mingle some of the *Carthage* generation, therfore they were called *Blastophenicians*. Thys Captayne was hurte on the head with a stone, and dyed, and in hys place succeded another called *Cessaro*. He foughte wyth *Mummius* that was come from *Rome* wyth another armye, of whome being ouercome, and *Mummius* chasing hym, he returned vpon them that followed disorderly, and kyled tenne thousande, and recouered all hys prey, and hys owne Campe whiche he hadde lost, and besyde spoiled the *Romanes* Campe, and toke theyr Castles, the whiche they shewing throughout *spayne*, made a laughing stocke of the *Romanes*.

*Mummius* nowe Campyng in a strong place, exercised the souldiours whiche he hadde left, whiche were fye thousande, and durst not byng them into the playne, tyll they hadde recouered theyr courage. The *Lusitanes*, albeit they inhabite the other syde of the floud *Tagus*, yet they toke armes, and wasted the *Cuneans* that were tributaries to the *Romanes*, *Canchennus* breyng theyr Captayne, and toke *Cuniforgis* theyr greates Citie, and passed the Sea at the pillars of *Hercules*, so as some of them wente into *Affrica*, and

*Orius*.  
*Turditanis*, people  
of *Granata*.

*Lusitania*, now  
*Portugal*.

The *Romanes*  
killed.

*Pertones* in  
hither *spayne*, of  
whome the  
hearbe *Petronie*  
is named.  
Captaine killed  
*Blastophenicians*.

*Cessaro*.

The *Romanes*  
ouerthrowen  
vnder *Mummius*.

*Cuniforgis* in  
*Celiberia*.

and some beséged the Citie of *Ocilia*. *Mummium* folloved them with nine thousand fote men, and five hundred horsemen, and killed of them fifténe thousande that wasted the Countreys, and many of the other, and deliuered *Ocilia* from the sége, and then méeting with them that raunged y<sup>e</sup> Countrey, he destroyed them all, so as not a messenger was left. The prey that coude be carryed, he distributed to the Souldiours, the rest he burned in the honoz of the Gods that be the rulers of warre, for the which things, he triumphed at *Rome* at his returne. *M. Attilius* succéded him, which in one roade, killed seven hundred *Lusitanes*, and destroyed a great Citie called *Ostrace*, and toke all the countrey aboute, yéelding for feare, in the which, some were of the nation of the *Bottanes*, but so soone as *Attilius* departed to his winter station, they revolted, and beséged certayne of the *Romanes* tributaries, whome when *Sernius Galba*, successor to *Attilius*, would haue put from the sége of the sodayne, when he had gone in one night and a day, five hundred furlongs, he shewed himselfe to the *Lusitanes*, and put his souldiours wearie of their iourney to the fight forthwith, and when he had put the enimie to flighte, and foolishly folloved them with his Souldiours weake and wearie, the *Barbarians* seeing them scattered, and manye times resting them for faintenesse, turned, and gaue a charge vpon them, and killed seauen thousande of them. *Galba*, with the horsemen about him, recouered himselfe at the Citie of *Carmena*, where he gathered all them that escaped, and when he had twenty thousand of the tributarie souldiours, he went into the borders of the *Cuneans*, where he wintered at *Cunistorg*. *Lucullus*, who made warre with the *Paccans*, withoute the authoritie of the Senate, comming that time into *Turditania*, vnder stood that the *Lusitanes* made warre vpon their neighbours, therefore he sent some of his best Captaynes, and killed fifténe hundred of them as they passed a water, and others that were fledde into an hill, he compassed with trenches and mountes, and killed a great multitude. When entring *Lusitania*, he wasted one parte, and *Galba* another. Some, that sente Embassadors to confirme the league made with *Attilius*, and broken of them, he

Victorie of  
*Mummium*.

Ostrace.

*Pottanes*.

*Sernius Galba* taketh too much of his vvarre souldiours, and loseth.

*Carmena*.

*Cuneans*.

*Lucullus*.

he receyued into friendship, and compounded the matter with them. Also he sayned that he was soyy for them, and knelwe, that they, for continuall wante, were giuen to spoyle, and so breaking league, made warre. I know (quoth he) that you were compelled to it by the barenesse, and want of your Countrey, but I will put you into a plentifull soyle, and diuide you into thre seuerall places full of abundance. They being allured by this hope, went from their owne houses, whome being diuided into thre partes, he shewed them a playne, where he had them stay till he came to shew them the place, where they shoulde buylde their Citie. When he was come to the firste, he willed them to leaue their armour as friends, which they did, then he enclosed them with ditches and trenches, and sent in his souldiours, and caused them all to be kylled, not one escaping, they calling vpon the Gods for the breach of faith. He did the like to the seconde and thirde, before one understode of anothers calamitie: and thus he reuenged fraude with fraude, following the *Barbarians* vleno respect he had to y<sup>e</sup> honoz of *Rome*. A few escaped, among whome was *Piriatius*, who after was Captayne of the *Lusitanes*, and did greafe seates, and killed many *Romanes*. Those things that were done afterwarde, I will shewe in the other bookes.

Another manifest iniurie of *Lucullus*.

*Piriatius*.

But *Galba*, who passed *Lucullus* in couetousnesse, distributed a fewe things among the souldiours, and toke the rest to himselfe, although he was most riche of all the *Romanes*. He was a man that in peace where profite appeared, would not refrayne from perurie and lies. And when he, being hated of all men, was accused, yet for his riches, whereof he had great plenty, he was euer quitte and discharged. Not long after, as many as remained of the vnfaithfulnesse of *Lucullus* and *Galba*, gathering together to the number of tenne thousande, wasted the lande of *Turditania*. Agaynst them, *M. Pettilius* with another armie wente, and toyning to him all other that were in *Spayne*, which was tenne thousande, he wente agaynst them that wasted *Turditania*, and kylled many of them, and dzoue the other into a Castell, in the which, if they woulde tarry, they must perishe for hunger, if they departed, they must fall into the *Romanes* hands.

*Galba* described.

Pettilius.

The policie  
and hardnesse  
of Pettilius.

Tribola.

handes, so narrow was the place: wherefore they sent Embassadors to *Pettilius* in humble wise, desiring to haue a place to inhabite, that they from henceforth with all these, might be tributaries to *Rome*: whiche he accepted, and they ready to come forth. But *Viriatius* that had escaped from *Galbas* crueltie, and was then with them, put them in remembrance of the *Romanes* falshood, and tolde them how oft they hadde bin deceyued by colour of promise, and that all the *Romanes* army was now like vnto the deceptfulnesse of *Galba* and *Lucullus*: but if they woulde be ruled by hym, he woulde tell them how they might all escape safe. They heping moued with hys wordes, and conceyuing good hope, chose hym theyr Captayne. Wherefore when he hadde placed all the hoste in the front of the battell, as though he woulde fyghte, he commaunded the other, so sone as he toke hys horse, to diuide themselves, and by diuers pathes to fle ouer the hylles, as well as they could, to *Tribola*, and there to tarry hym tyll he came. He kepte wyth hym choise of horsemen, of euery number, and then he lefte on horsebacke, and the other fledde with speede.

*Pettilius*, afrayde to followe them that were thus separate, and diuided to many partes, stayed to see what *Viriatius* woulde doe, who abode still. He with hys swifte horse nowe commyng vpon the *Romanes*, now going backe from them, and now commyng agayne vpon them, spente so that whole daye, and the nexte also, goyng on, and commyng of from that playne. And when by coniecture, he thoughte them that were gone, to be come to a sure place, at midnichte wyth most speede, by dyuers hard wayes, he got to *Tribola*. The *Romanes* coulde not ouertake hym, partly for the waight of their armour, partly for the ignorance of the way, and partly for the diuersitie of theyr horses. Thus *Viriatius* saued hys men that were in desperation of themselves. Thys policie wanne hym greatesame ouer all the places aboute, and so they came vnto hym in great numbers.

He kepte warre wyth the *Romanes* thre yeares togither, and it is well known, that this warre muche troubled the same,

and in the ende, was very dangerous vnto them. And if there were any other stirre in *Spayne*, that was the cause that it continued the longer. *Pettilius* folowed, and came to *Tribola*. *Viriatius* layde an ambushe in an hyl, whither when he knewe that *Pettilius* was come, he fledde. And when *Pettilius* was past the ambushe, he turned, and they of the ambushe came forth, and besette the *Romanes*, kyllyng and takyng, or throwyng them headlong from the hygh places. *Pettilius* was taken, whome, when the taker knewe not, but saue hym to be a fatte olde man, he thought hym to be of no regarde, and kyled hym.

Traynes on the  
Romanes.Pettilius taken  
and kyled.

Of tenne thousande *Romanes*, scarcely fife thousande saued themselves at *Carpeffo*, a Sea Towne, whiche I thinke was called of the *Grecians* *Cartessio*, in the whiche *Arganthonius* reigned, who (they say) lyued a hundred and fiftie yeare. The Treasurer that came with *Pettilius*, following them that went to *Carpeffo*, seeing them afrayde, kepte them in the Citie, and made them keepe the wall. And when he had gotten fife thousande of the *Bellans* and *Tithians*, accordyng as he desired, he sente them agaynst *Viriatius*, whome he kyled, not one being lefte to byyng tydings home. The treasurer remainyng in the Citie, loayng for newes from *Rome*, durst doe no thyng.

Carpeffo.

Arganthonius  
the old Kyng.Viriatius kyleth  
the Spaniards  
sent agaynst him.

*Viriatius* in the meane season, invaded the plentifull and abundant soyle of the *Carpetanes*, whiche he spoyled without feare, tyll *Caius Plautius* came with tenne thousande footemen, and thre hundred horsemen. When *Viriatius* pretended to fle, *Plautius* sent foure thousand to follow him, vpon whome *Viriatius* turned, and killed all saue a fewe. When he passed the flood *Tagus*, and camped in an hill full of Olives, yet called by the name of *Venus*. *Plautius* finding him heere, and desirous to heale his former wounde, gaue him battell, wherein he was overcome with great losse of men, and fledde with shame, and kepte in strong Citie, and as men be wont, in winter, he durst neuer come forth all that Sommer. *Viriatius* raunged the Countrey, and toke money of the owners for to saue theyr haruest, whiche if they denyed hym, he wasted all.

The Romanes  
killed.Plautius is ouer-  
come.

a.y.

this

*Paulus Maximus*  
*the*

this was knowen, they sente *Q. Fabius Maximus*, that was *Paulus* *Emilius* sonne, that ouercame *Perseus* King of *Macedonia*, and gaue hym authoritie to gather men hymselfe. He, bycause of late they hadde gotte *Grecia*, and *Carthage*, and made a prosperous ende of the thirde warre of *Macedonia*, to gyue somerespect to the olde Souldiours that were come from thence, he tooke vp two legions of yong men vnerpert in warre, and sente for ayde of hys friendes, and came to *Orsona*, a Citie in *Spayne*. The contente of hys armye, was fiftene thousande footemen, and two thousande Hozsemen, in the whyche place, not myng to beginne the warre, tyll he hadde trayned hys Souldiours, he wente to *Gades*, to sacrifice to *Hercules*. *Viriatu* meeting with some of them that were gone a foraging, kylled the most parte of them, and putte the rest in feare, who being called agayne to theyr Ensigne of theyr Captayne, he ouercame them, and spoyled them of a greate prey. When *Maximus* was come, he was ofte in the fiede, and prouoked hym to fyght. *Maximus* thoughte it not good to auenture the whole fyght, but continued in exercising hys Souldiours, and suffered hys souldiours to skirmishe, that by that meane, he myghte trie the heartes, both of hys owne, and of hys enimies. When they shoulde goe for victuall, he garded them wyth many shotte and Hozsemen, he riding to them, as he had seene his father *Paulus* doe in *Macedonia*.

*Maximus* resisteth  
 till he  
 had trayned his  
 men.

When Winter was past, and he hadde sufficiently exercised hys Souldiours, he was the seconde, of whome *Viriatu* was ouerthrowen and putte to flight, doyng all the partes that belongeth to a Generall. And so, of two Cities which he held, he toke one, and burned another. And when he had dyuen him to a strong place, whiche was called *Vecor*, he killed many, and in winter, he wente to lye at *Corduba*.

Wherefore *Viriatu*, not illuding hys enimie now as he was wont, he induced the *Arnacceans*, the *Titthians*, and *Bellans*, warlike people, whiche were at a warre of themselves, to reuolte. And so of them, he made the warre with the *Numantines*, whiche was long, paynfull, and dangerous to the Romanes, the

the which (when I haue done with *Viriatu*) I will shewe brievely.

This *Viriatu* fought in an other part of *Spaine*, with another Capitaine of the Romanes, *Q. Pompeius*. And being ouercome, he fled to *Venus* hills. From the which comming again vpon the enemy, he killed many of *Quintus* men, toke diuers ensignes, & droue the rest to their campe, and caste out the garrison at *Vtica*, & wasted the lande of the *Basitanes*. For *Quintus* did not helpe them for cowardlinesse and unskilfulnesse, but rested at *Corduba*, in the middest of Autumne, althoughe *Martius* didde moue hym to it, sending a *Spaniarde* vnto him from an Italian Citie. The next yere *Fabius Maximus*, brother of *Emilianus*, came successor to *Quintus*, with two other *Romane* legiōs, and some friends so he had in all eightene thousande footmen, & a thousand six hundred horesmen. He wrote to *Micipsa*, king of *Numidia*, so soone as the time would serue to send him Elephants: & he with part of his armie wente to *Vtica*: whome *Viriatu* encounter by the way with six thousand, with great cries and alarms, after their Barbarian manner, with long and vgly heare *Maximus* withstode him, and without his losse repulsed him. And when the other army was come, and out of *Affrica*, ten Elephants, and thre hundred horesmen, he toke a large place to encampe, and fortified it. He beganne firste to tame *Viriatu*, and to put him to flight, and chase him. But when the Romanes followed hym once out of order, he perceyuing it, turned vpon them, and killed thre thousande of them, and chased the reste to their campe, the whiche, he assaulted, and founde selue at the gates to resiste hym, for they were fledde into their Tentes for feare, from whence the Generall and Captaines, could hardly remoue them. In that fight, *Fannius*, the sonne in lawe of *Lalius*, behaued hymselfe valiantly, and saued the Romanes by his comming. *Viriatu* running by the darkenesse of the night, and heate of the daye, suffered no moment of time to passe, in the which he did not molest the enemy with his shotte and light horesmen, till *Emilianus* encamped towarde *Vtica*.

Then *Viriatu* victuall fayling, and with a small armye burning al his tents, he wet into *Lusitania*, whom when *Emilianus* could

*Viriatu* killeth  
 Romanes.  
*Vtica*.

*Basitanes*,  
*Corduba*,  
*Cordona*.

*F.M.*  
*Emilianus*.

*Micipsa*.

Romanes killed

*Fannius*.

coule not finde, he spoyled fyue Townes that holpe *Viriatu*.  
 When he led his armie into the bordures of the *Cuneans*, and from thence, into *Lusitania* against *Viriatu*: and as he went, two Captaines of theues, *Curio* and *Apuleius*, troubled hym and made spoile. But *Curio* being killed in the fight, *Aemilius* recovered the pray shortly after, and tooke the Cities *Iscadia*, and *Semella*, and *Oballa*; in the whiche the garrisons of *Viriatu* were, some of these he spoiled, some he pardoned, and of ten thousand captiues, he headed fyue hundred, and the other he bade to be killed consuetly: which being done, he went to winter the seconde yere of his prouince and this warre. These things being done, he went to *Rome*, leaving *Q. Pompeius* his successor. & c.

His brother *Maximus Aemilianus*, hauing taken a Capitaine of theues, called *Conoba*, who yelded vnto him, he pardoned only him, and the handes of the reste he cut off. After following *Viriatu*, he entrenched his citie *Erisana*, into the whiche, *Viriatu* entring by night, he set vpon the prisoners and workemen, till they left the armie and their toles, and fled. And he droue other to the hills and hard places, from the whiche it was impossible for them to come. But *Viriatu* that was neuer insolent by his good fortune, thinking he had nowe gotten a goodly occasion to make an end of the warre, by shewing such a benefite to the *Romanes*, made peace and league with them, whiche was approued of the people, that is to say:

That *Viriatu* shoulde be a friend of the *Romanes*.

That al þe wer with him, shoulde be Lords of the land that they possessed.

So *Viriatu* thoughte he hadde made an ende of a great warre with the *Romanes*, & was quiet, but the peace continued not long. For *Capio* the brother of *Aemilius* did not allow those conditions þe had made, & wrote to *Rome*, that it was dishonorable. The Senate at the beginning piously agreed to him, thinking for the common wealth, to professe enmitte against *Viriatu*. And when he had wrote many letters therof, & urged the matter, they decreed that he shoulde breake the league with *Viriatu*, & reuue þe war. Then *Capio* trusting vpon thys decree, made open war vnto

*Viriatu*, & tooke *Arfa* a citie that he had left into his power. And following *Viriatu* that went aboute waisting the Countreys, he ouertoke him at the country of the *Carpetanes*, far exceeding him in number. Wherefore *Viriatu* not minding to fight for his small number, sent away the great part of his armie by a certaine bypathe, and placed the rest on an hill, as though he would fighte.

And when he thoughte they were come to the sure places, he tooke his horse with the spurs, and with the reste of his company, with great scoone of the enimie: he went forth so spädily, that they that folowed him could not tell which way he became.

Then *Capio* wasted the Countreys of the *Vettones* and *Gallecians*, many folowed *Viriatu*, and spoyled *Portugall*. Against them, *Sextus Iunius Brutus* was sent, who being wearye of the long waye, whiche *Tagus*, *Lethe*, *Darius*, and *Betu*, nauigable floudes, conseyne, fraide from following him. For they like theues, conveyed themselues out of sight in a moment. Wherefore *Brutus* thought it a great labour to ouertake them, and not to doe it, a greate dishonour: and supposing small glorie to be in ouerthrowing them, he went to spoile their campes, both because he thought he might so chastise them, and also get a great bootie for his souldiours, and furdre that that bande of robbers woulde scatter when they shoulde thinke of the danger of theyr seueral countreys.

With this entent and purpose he spoiled whatsoever was in his way. The women that came into the warre with their husbandes, and were killed with them, and shewed suche constancie, that they woulde not speake a worde, when they were slaine. Many went to the Mountayns with as much as they coule carrie, to whome desiring peace, he gaue it, and diuided their land.

When he passed the floude *Orum*, he wasted a greater region, and required hostages of them that yelded, and so came to the floude *Lethe*, and he was the first *Roman* that thought of the passage of it. Which when he was past, he went forth, he came to the river *Nibene*, and ledde his armie against the *Barbarians*, by whiche they intercepted his viuals.

These

*Curio* and *Apuleius* are captaines of theues.  
*Iscadia*,  
*Semella*,  
*Oballa*.

Great murder by execution.

Here lacketh *Conoba*.

Hand cut off. *Arfa*.

*Viriatu* content to make peace, when he had vantage.

The peace not allowed.

*Capio*.

*Viriatu* sauerd his men again by policie.

*Inn*, *Prutus*,  
 Rodes of Spaine

Valiant woman.

*Orum*.

*Nibene*,  
 Barbarians.

*Viriatu*

These be people that goe also with their women armed to the warre, which with good courage, abide death boldly, not sparing themselves, neither fleeing from the fight, nor lamenting when they dye. Some women that were taken, would kill themselves, and some their children also, rather than they should be slaves.

Manye citties that then helde with *Brutus*, rebelled shortly after, and were subdued of hym againe. And for these causes when he came to *Labrica*, that had ofte made peace with him, & then were disobedient, they desired pardon, and would doe all things at his commaundement. He required hostages, the Romanes runneawales, and all their armour, and lastly that they should leaue their Cittie. At the whiche, when they hadde done, he called them quietly to an assembly, and when he had compassed them with his army, he put them in remembrance, how oft they had revolted, and made warre, and made them so afraide, as they might feare a worse punishment. In the ende being satisfied with that rebuke, he refrayned from further paine. But he tooke from them horse, corne, and common money, and all other publike preparation, and beside all their hope, suffered them to lyue in their country. Which things, when he had thus done, he returned to *Rome*. I haue declared al this in the historie of *Viriatum*.

In this time, other folowing his example, exercised robberies; and *Viriatum*, that he might come to some end, sente *Ditalcone* and *Minuro* to *Capio*, the whiche being corrupted by many promises, undertooke to kill *Viriatum*. The matter was thus handled.

*Viriatum* used little sleepe after moste greate laboures, and for the moste parte, slepte armed, that he might be readye at all sorte chaunces. For this cause it was lawfull for his friends to come to hym by night. At this manner, the conspiratours knowing, and marking the firste houre of his sleepe, entred his house armed, as for some greate matter, and cut his throte, for in any other parte they could not hurt him. And when no man heard the noise of the stroke, for the facilitie of the cutte, they escaped to *Capio*, and required their rewardes. To whome he

Labrica.

Capio vseth  
mercie.Praise to kill  
Viriatum.The manner of  
killing Viriatum.

forthwith gaue al they did possesse, and whatsoeuer was in their power: but as touching their rewardes, he sente them to *Rome*.

*Viriatum* friends, and the whole army, when it was daye, tarried for him, and thinking he had rested, marvelled at that alteration, and so went in and found him dead in his armour: wherefore great sorrowe was made in al the Campe, euery man lamenting his harde happe, thinking on the danger they were in, and the Captaine they had losse: and it muste grieve them, that they could not fynd the killers. Wherefore they burned his body with muche honoure, vpon a great stake, killing many sacrifices in his reuerence, and as well the footemen as the horsemen, after the Barbarian manner, wente aboute the pyre, and extolled him to heauen with their praise. At laste when the fire was out, and the funerals finished, they made many turneyments hand to hand at his sepulchre, so great loue and desire did *Viriatum* leaue to his men, who, though he were a Barbarian, yet he was moste skilfull in gouernement, most warie in perils, and aboue all other, bolde in despising them, and moste iuste in diuiding his pray. For he could neuer be brought to take any whitte more, than the reste, althoughe he were desired, and that he took, he gaue to the valiant sort: Wherby it came to passe, (that is most harde, and to this daye hath not happened to any Captaine) that his army gathered of all kinde of nations, eighte yeares togither, whiche the warre continued, was euery most obedient to him without mutinie, and endured to the uttermost moste ready to abide all daunger.

And when they had created *Tantalus* for their Captaine, they went towarde *Sigunt*, which Cittie, when *Annibal* had destroyed and restored, he called it *Carthage*, of the name of his country. And being driuen from thence by *Capa*, that was alwaies at their backes, when he had passed the floude *Betis*, being wearie, he helped himselfe and his army to *Capa*. He tooke al his armour, and appoynted them a good land to lyue in, that they should no more be driuen to robbe.

Nowe oure history shall retourne to the warres of the *Acces* and the *Numantines*, whom *Viriatum* caused to revolt.

Honor done to  
Viriatum at his  
buriell.The prayse of  
Viriatum.

*Cacilius Metellus*, sent from Rome with more men, shortly overcame the *Pacceans*, whereby the reste were discomfited & put in feare. &c.

Here vvaunteth.  
*Termantia.*  
*Numantia.*

¶ There remayned yet *Termantia*, and *Numantia*, in an hilly place, diuided with two floudes, and compassed with hylles and thicke wooddes, bending into the playne onely one waye, at the which part, it was fortified with many ditches, and pillours ouerthwart. The *Numantines* were good eight thousand me, bothe on horse and foote, and with so small a number, (suche was their manlinesse) they put the *Romanes* to muche paine.

*Metellus* at the ende of winter, deliuered his army to *Q. Metellus Sulpus* his successor, in the which was thirtie thousand souldiers, men, and two thousand horsemen wel armed and pzaised. &c.

Here vvaunteth

¶ And when *Pompeius* had his campe at *Numantia*, & from thence went into a certayne place, the *Numantines*, descending from an hil, destroyed his horsemen that ranne to him. Who, when he was retourned, broughte forth his batayle to fyghte in the playne.

The enemies comming down, gaue a charge vpon hym, and by & by, as though they had bin afraide, retired vnto the hil, till they had brought the to the places where the ditches and ouerthwart beames were layde, so as *Pompey* perceyuing he was in these skirmishes ouermatched of them that were inferioure to hym, he tourned his armie toward *Termantia*, thinking to doe better there, where they fought with him to his losse of seauen hundred. Beside that, the *Termantines* put a Tribune to flight, that was comming with victuals, and in one day giuing three onsets on the *Romaynes*, they droue them thre into sharpe and rocky places, and threwe many of their footemen and horsemen (together with their horses) from the hylles and rockes, so as the reste being afraide, remayned al night in armoz, and when it was day, comming forth in order of battaile, they fought doubtfullie, till night ended the fight. *Pompey* in the night made hast to *Malia* with his horsemen, whiche place the *Numantines* helde with a garrison. But the *Malianes* killing the garrison by treason, deliuered the Citie to *Pompey*, who, receyuing armour and

*Malia* nowe  
*Malgrados* is deli-  
uered to *Popey*.

and pledges of them, went to *Sueditania*, which a certayne Captaine, named *Tanginus*, did spoyle with his armie. *Pompey* fought with him, and ouerthrewe him, and toke manye of his souldiours.

*Sueditania.*  
*Tanginus.*

But suche manhode was in these theues, as none of them woulde lyue Captiue, but some killed themselves, some they passed, & some made holes in the ship that caried the, to sincke it.

Manhode of  
theues.

*Pompey* beyng returned to *Numantia*, went about to turne the floude that was in the playne, an other waye, that he mighte presse the Citie with famine.

The Townsemen droue the labourers from their worke, and comming by bandes, without trumpet, they threwe darts and arrowes vpon them, that they should not tourne the floude, and fought at hande with them that came to aide the *Dioners*, and dione them to their Campe. and encountring them that wente for forage, killed manye of them, and the Tribune that was their leader, and giuing a charge on an other side on the *Romanes* that made a ditche, they killed one thousand four hundred with their Capitaine. By the whiche discommodities, certayne men of the Senate came to *Pompey*, to helpe hym with thei counsell: also young souldiours, not yet exercised, were gathered for the old, that had bin nowe sixe yeares abroade. With the whyche olde souldiours, *Pompey* hauing receyued so manye displeasures, remayned the winter in campe, to recouer his estimation. Where they were cursedly vexed with colde, warding and watching. And then the nature of that countrey beganne to be perceyued, for they were taken with the fyre, and manye dyed.

The *Romaines*  
killed.

Counsellours  
sent to *Pompey*.

Fluxe among the  
*Romane* soldi-  
ours.

When anye of the souldiours shoulde goe oute of the campe for viuals, the *Numantines* lying in awayte, woulde not cease to hurte the *Romanes* with their shot and darts. Which when they coulde not abide, they woulde nedes go against them: then they came from their traines, and do them muche harme: And once againe the *Numidians* meeting with them that brought victuals, destroyed many of them, as well noble men as other.

*Numantine* hurt  
the *Romanes*.

P. 11.

*Pompey*

Pompey therfore being vexed with so many euils, by the counsaile of the Senatours, remoued, that he shoulde lye the reste of the Wynter in sure places, and the Spring, in Cities. And because a Successoure was to come to him, and he an aile to be accused, he beganne to practise secretly with the *Numantines*, the which also for the losse of many their chiefe citizens, and for that they coulde not tpyll their ground, and for want of victuall, and for the continuance of war, which was longer than they thought, they sent Ambassadors to Pompey, to whom openly he spake, & they shoulde yeld themselues. For he said, that he knew none other way but that, howe to agree with them, for the dignitie of the Romaynes. But priuily he tolde them, with what conditions he woulde vse them.

Pompey practised  
to agree with  
the Numantines.

And so when the thing was agreed, they yelded to hym.

Pompey required pledges and fugitiues, whiche he receiued. He required also thirtie talentes of siluer, of the which the *Numantines* payde fiftene presently. Pompey looked for the reste.

Popilius.

When his successour *M. Popilius Lena* was come, the *Numantines* payde it.

Pompey being deliuered of the feare of warre, knowing the composition that he had made was unlawfull, being done wythout the *Romanes* consent, when his successour was come, he denyed he had made any agreement with the *Numantines*. They proued it by witnesse present, of men of degree, of Senatours and Tribunes, and also of the Capitaines of his hoysmen. Therfore *Popilius* sent bothe partes to Rome, to pleade the matter before the Senate. The Senate thought beste to holde war still with the *Numantines*.

Pompey goeth into  
his peace.

Expedit.

In the meane season, *Popilius* entred the lande of the *Lusones*, which were neighbours to the *Numantines*, and returned doying nothing. And *C. Hostilius Mancinus* succeded him, and he went to Rome. When *Mancinus* came to fight, he was oft overcome, & at length when he had lost many, he kepte within his camp. There was a rumour that the *Cantabrians* and *Vacceans*, would come help the enimie, wherefore in the night, without lighte, he fled to the abandoned Campe of *Nobilior*, where beyng shutte, neyther

Enimie,  
escape.

hauing

hauing fortified the place, nor otherwise able to defend, the *Numantines*, besieging him and all his armye in hard state, least he should make a dishonorable peace with them, he made a league and amitie betwene the *Romanes*, and with the *Numantines*, with equall conditions, to the which, he bound himselfe: whyche thing, when it was known at Rome, they were all very sorry, because the league was shamefull. Therfore *Aemilius Lepidus* another Consull was sente into Spayne. *Mancinus* was called to iudgemente, whome the Embassadors of the *Numantines* followe, *Aemilius* looking for answere from Rome, being wearie of rest, for now such Generalles driuen by desire of false glorie, or profite, or triumph, went to their prouinces, not for their countryes profite, pretending a false crime against the *Vacceans*, accusing them, that they had holpen the *Numantines* with victuals, and innaded their land, and besieged their chiefe Citie *Pallantia*, whiche had not offended against the league. And when he had sent *Brutus* his sonne in law into other partes of Spayne, to make him partaker of the warre, *Cinus* and *Cecilius* came Embassadors from Rome to them, shewing the Senate did dote, that after so many losses receyued in Spayne, *Aemilius* would solve new warres, and declared the decree of the Senate, that he shoulde not make warre vpon the *Vacceans*. But he hauing begunne the warre, and sent *Brutus* abroade, because he thought the Senate did not knowe that the *Vacceans* did helpe the *Numantines* with victuall, money, and souldyours, fearing also, if he lefte warre, all Spayne would reuolt, as done for feare, he sent the Embassadors without delay, and so wrote to the Senate. He fortified a certaine Castell, and bestowed the time in gathering of men and victuall. *Flaccus* being sent a foraging, and falling into traynes which came vpon him, a word was craftily cast forth, that *Aemilius* had wonne *Pallantia*, at the whiche, when the souldiours made a crye, as the manner is in victorie, the *Barbarians* hearing it, and beleuing it to be true, were afrayde, and departed. And by this meane, *Flaccus* deliuered his men from perill, and his forage from spoyle.

Mancinus was  
called peace dishonourably.

Aemilius.

Generalles of  
prouinces for  
profite.

The armye caused  
by a word.

The siege continuing long at *Pallantia*, the *Romanes* wanted  
p. ty. victuall,

Pallantia.

viuall, and hauing consumed all their Cattell, they wared so weake, that some dyed for hunger. The Captaynes *Aemilianus* and *Brutus*, suffered the want as long as they could, but at length being overcome with the mischiefe, *Aemilius* commaunded to bzeake vp, therfore the Tribunes and *Centurians* went aboute the Campe, and commaunded the souldiours to departe before day, so they forsooke all, euen the sicke and wounded souldiours, who embraced them, and recommended themselues vnto them. They departing confusedly, and without order, as men that fle, the *Pallantines* ranne vpo them euery where, and much troubled them, following them from morning till night. When it was darke, the *Romanes* being scattered, wente into diuers places as like serued them. The *Pallantines* leste chasing of them, as being called fro their purpose by the power of God. These things chanced to *Aemilius Lepidus*, whiche, when the *Romanes* vnderstode, they put *Aemilius* from his prouince and Consulshipp, and so hee returned a priuate man to Rome, and was punished. The *Numantines* and *Mancinus* were heard in the Senate. They broughte forth the capitulations of the league. He layde all the blame vpon *Pompey*, that was ruler of the prouince before hym, of whome he receyued a rude and cowardly army, by y whiche, being oft euill handled and overcome, he made peace wth the *Numantines*, being thereto compelled, as *Pompey* hadde done, by whose league, he affirmed this warre to be unlucky to the *Romanes*. The *Romanes* were angrie with both, yet *Pompey* was acquitted, being accused of the same afoze. The Senate decreed, that *Mancinus*, who had made so dishonorable a league, without consent of the Senate, should be giue to the *Numantines* after the old example, which gaue the Captayne to the *Samnites*, bycause he agreed to so shameful a peace. So they commaunded *Furius* to leade *Mancinus* into Spayne, depriued of al things and naked, who was not receiued of the *Numantines*, against whome *Calphurnius Pisi* was made Generall. He entred the land of the *Numantines*, and then wasted part of the *Pallantines*, and spent the rest of his time in harborough in *Carpentania*. The people of Rome being weary of this long and tedious warre with the *Numantines*, that it might

Cowardly departure of the  
Romans.

*Aemilius* put fro  
his office.

*Sp. Posthumus*  
Consul, was  
deliuered to the  
*Samnites*.

*Mancinus* is deli-  
uered to the  
*Numantines*.  
*Calphurnius*.

*Carpentania*.

might once be ended, chose *Cornelius Scipio* Consul againe, y wone Carthage, as one y only could overcome y *Numantines*. And where he could not be Consul for his age (for he was but yong) a decree of y Senate was made, that the Tribunes should dispense with the law for that yeare, and restore it y yeare following. Wherefore *Scipio* being made Consul, made speede to goe against y *Numantines*. He ledde none with him of the souldiours by choyce, both bycause they wer troubled with war, and also bycause many of them were in Spaine. He had some voluntary, which were sent of kings & cities, by the consent of the Senate. He led many seruants with him fro Rome, and made one band of five C. companies and frieds, which he called *Philonida*, that is, the band of frieds or felows. And whē he had appointed four M. of his souldiours to his cousin *Buteo*, he wēt afoze with great speede to the army, which he vnderstood was corrupted with volence, riote, & sedition, knowing he could not overcome his enemies, except he restrained & kept his souldiours in awe, with y temperance & integrity of his gouernemēt. So sone as he was come, he put out all merchants, harlots, & southsayers, whome the souldiours in their feare, would aske many questions: and forbade any thing to be brought to the Camp that was not necessary. And he forbade the sacrifices, by the bowels whereof, things to come were enquired. And he would suffer but few slaues and drudges, and commaunded to sell all the beasts of burthen, except a fewe needefull. He would haue the souldiours haue no coles. He forbade any other instruments, or vessells of kitchen to be carried, but a spit, a panne, and a vessell for drinke. He would haue the eate no flesh other wise dressed, but sodde or rost. So he appointed measure to their diet. He forbade the featherbeds, and he was the first y lay vpo a bed of hay. He forbade his souldiours in their iourneys, to ride on Ases or Mules, for he saide, there was little good to be hoped of that man in warre, that could not go afoote. Likewise, he reproued them y vsed ministers in hote houses, and called the Mules, which for y they wāted hāds, had need of other to rub the. And thus he made his souldiours obediēt & temperate, & by little & little, acquainted the with reuerēce & feare, being hard to heare their quarels, or grāting any thing y was not iust. He had oft y

A disputation  
to make *Scipio*  
Consul.

*Philonis* a band  
of friends.

*Petro*.

*Scipio* reformed  
his Camp.  
Coles, souldi-  
ours in the  
Camp.

sentence

Reasonable  
Captaynes.

sentence in his mouth, that easie, fauourable, and affable Cap-  
taynes, were profitable to the enimie, which though they were  
beloued of their souldiours, they set little by them. They that  
be hard and seuer, haue their souldiours ready and obedi-  
ente at all assayes: the whiche though he had thus instructed,  
yet he durst not bring them into the field, till he had exercised  
them with much labour. Therefore going dayly by one field or  
another, he made diuers Campes, one after another, whiche be-  
ing defaced, he called the Souldiours to worke agayne, to  
digge the ditches higher, and to fill them againe, to make high  
walles, and to pull them downe againe, and he stode from mo-  
ning till night to ouersie the pioners. When he made any iour-  
ney, he went with a square battell, that it shoulde not be scatter-  
ed by any suddaine attempte, as had happened to other. He  
rode about the army, and sometime to the hindermost, and bad  
the sicke shoulde be bozne on the horsemens horses. He toke the  
burdens from the Mules that were too much laden, and diuided  
it to be bozne of the footemen. When he kepte himselfe in the  
haile in summer, the troupes of horsemen that he sent to espye,  
he commaunded at their returne to stand without at the trech,  
till another bande of horsemen had viewed all: and all the la-  
bour and worke was diuided among the pioners, that is, some  
to make trenches, some ditches, and some walles, and some to  
pitch tentes, and to euery of them a certayne time was appoin-  
ted to doe it. When he perceyued his armye to be made  
steepe, obediante, and paynefull in summer, he encamped nigh  
Numantia, yet did he not chuse places very strong for his Camp  
as other were wont, nor diuided his men, least if anye losse  
shoulde happe at the first, he shoulde be contemned of his neigh-  
bours, whiche were wont to laugh at him. Neither did he en-  
counter with the enimie, waying the nature and end of warre,  
and the strength of the Numantines, least they would come vpon  
him with all their force. Therefore he commaunded to wait all  
things the come to be cutte whilest it was greene, which being  
waxed, he must needs goe further. The way that went to Nu-  
mantia, by the playne, was shorter, and many perswaded him to  
goe

Numantia  
as other were wont,  
nor diuided his men,  
least if anye losse  
shoulde happe at the  
first, he shoulde be  
contemned of his  
neighbours.

Hard way sure.

go that way, to whome *Scipio* sayd, he considered the way to re-  
turne, for the enimie was full of thotte, to come out to the fight,  
and had the Citie at their backe, to returne safely againe. But  
we (said he) being laden with victual and weery, shoulde be farre  
too weake for them. Beside that, we haue beastes of burdens,  
and cartes and carriage, so the fight shoulde be hard, and very  
vnguall, for we being overcome, shoulde be in great perill, and  
if we did overcome, we shoulde haue no great gayne, and it were  
a folly, to put hymselfe to perill for a small matter, and he is an  
enill Captayne that fighteth without profite, and he is valiante  
and wise that entreteth the danger of fight, when he is constrained  
by necessitie. He brought an example of Physitians, which come  
not to cut and burne, till they haue tryed the sicke place wth  
medicines, which when he had said, he commaunded the Captaynes  
to leade y further way. When he commaunded to goe further to the  
lande of the *Vaccians*, where the *Numantines* had their victuall.  
Their fieldes being waxed also, and the come gathered for the  
use of the souldiours, he burned the rest. The *Pallantines* had  
laide many in a wayte vnder certaine hilles, adoyning to that  
playne, called *Coplanium*, and then openly molested the that were  
at haruest. Therefore *Scipio* sente *Rutilius Ruffus* that was hys  
Tribune (who after committed this warre to wrighting) wth  
four bands of horse to stop their rangings. Therefore *Ruffus* be-  
gan to followe them boldly, and to chace them to the toppe of the  
hilles where the ambush was, whiche discovering themselves,  
*Ruffus* commanded his me, neyther to followe, nor to encounter  
the enimie, but holde them at the speares poynte. *Scipio* seeing  
*Ruffus* going further to the hilles than was appointed him, be-  
gan to followe him with his army, fearing the worst, and when  
he was come to the place of the traynes, he diuided his horseme,  
and commanded to giue onfet vpon the enimie both wayes, and  
when they had cast their dartes, to returne, not righte on, but a  
soft pace, that they that were behinde, mighte soyne with them:  
and by this meane he brought his horse safe into the playne. Af-  
ter this, when *Scipio* would remoue, there was a water hard to  
be passed, and myzte, at the which, the enimie lay hidden, which

*Coplanium*.

*Rutilius Ruffus* is  
danger.

q.

when

when it was knowen, he leste that way, and ledde his army by another longer way, but sure from deceyts, and went by night, and commanded many welles to be made for thirst, in the most part of y<sup>e</sup> which, salt water was found. *Peuerthelesse* the army wet on safe, though with great payne, but some horses & spules were killed for drought. When he entred the lands of the *Causians*, whome *Luchius* had invaded, contrary to the league, all the which, he comanded by his crier, to goe quietly every one to his owne. From thence, he wente to the *Numantines* groundes to winter, where he remained, till *Jugurtha*, the nephewe of *Massinissa*, came to him with .xij. Elephants, and archers and slingers well armed. And being occupied in wading and spoyleing the countreys that were nigh, he was almost entrapped at a village, the which was environed with a great fence of one side, & of y<sup>e</sup> other with an hilly place, in y<sup>e</sup> which y<sup>e</sup> traynes were layde. And where *Scipio*'s host was diuided into two partes, entring the towne, and leauing their ensignes without, they went to spoyle. Other a few horsemen rode about the towne, who were beset of the ambush, & defended themselves. *Scipio* being about y<sup>e</sup> ensignes, called y<sup>e</sup> souldiours out by trumpet, before y<sup>e</sup> which could come, he with a .v. horsemen, came to help the that were in distresse. And when the most part of the souldiours were come out of the towne, he made the enimie to flee, yet did he not follow the, but a few being killed of both sides, retired to his camp. When laying two Camps before *Numantia*, he made his brother *Maximus* ruler of the one, and the other he gouerned himselfe. Whiles he was in this sort, the *Numantines* came forth, and offered to fight, but *Scipio* contemned them, thinking not better to fight with the that were in desperation, than to tame them by famine, and dyne them to yelde. And when he had made seauen trenches about the Citie to presse them the rather, he sente letters to the confederates, in the which it was conteyned, what and howe many souldiours they shoulde sende, whyche when they were come, he diuided them into many partes, as he did his owne, and commaunded their Captaynes and leaders, to make ditches and enclosures about the Citie. The compasse of *Numantia* was

Salt ywater,

Jugurth.

Scipio like to be entrapped.

Two Campes before Numantia.

four

four and twenty furlongs. The enclosure was as much, or more, and all that was distributed to the *Tribunes*, whiche, if they were let of the enimie, they should signifie it by day, with a redde cloth vpon a speare, and in the night, by a fire, that he and his brother might aide the that were circumuented, whiche being done, and they that were set for gard, were sufficient to resist the enimie. He commaunded another beside that to be made, and to plant stakes about it, or next them, to build a newe wall, the breadth of the which was five fote, and the height, tenne, beside the pinnacles and towers distant by equall space. The fence that was nexte the wall, bycause he coulde not compasse it with a wall, he made a trench as high as a wall, and that might serue for a wall about it. And this *Scipio* was y<sup>e</sup> first as I thinke, that compassed a Citie besieged with a wall, the whiche did not refuse to fight. The floud *Dunus* that ranne by the Campe, was very commodious to the *Numantines*, to bring in victuall, and to receiue men out and in, or to swimme vnder water, or to send boates out full sayle, when the winde was bigge, or to rowe, when the time serued. And bycause a bridge coulde not be made vpon it for the breadth and vehemence, *Scipio* caused two Castels to be made on either side the banke, and betwene both, he hanged certayne long beames with ropes, and let them goe into y<sup>e</sup> water. In the beames were laide plates of steepe on euery side, and other weappis pricking, whiche with the continuall course of the water being turned, did not suffer the enimies Shippes, nor swimmers to passe. This was the thing that *Scipio* most desired, that none should goe to the besieged, to tell what was done abroade, whereby they shoulde be destitute both of counsell and comfort. These being thus disposed, engines were placed in the towers, and instruments y<sup>e</sup> cast arrowes & darts, & stones. The walles were full of stones & shot. The Castels were kept of slingers and slingers. He placed also many men in the trenches, that shuld both day & night signifie what new thing hapned, in rākes, one fro another, holding by an ensigne at y<sup>e</sup> tower y<sup>e</sup> was in need, and that the other towers shoulde do the like, when the token was sen that y<sup>e</sup> first made. This was done, that in a momēt of time

Three myles.

A wall about a Camp. Dunus.

Policie of Scipio.

q. y.

he

he might know what happened, and for those things that must be declared in deede, he would haue brought to him by certayne messengers. He deuided his army, which, with the confederates was, lx. M. into two partes, of the which, he set one to garde the sea, and vſed the other to goe for things requisite, as occasiō required. Twenty thousand were appointed to fight when neede was, to the ayde of the which, other xx. M. of confederates were assigned. Euery mā had his place, from the which, he might not go without leaue. So euery mā repaired to his place, and to the token that was made, when the enimie made any thing adoe: so orderly & wisely had *Scipio* considered euery thing. The *Numantines* made many salies vpon the ordinary wardes, nowe here, nowe there, but they were sone made afraid of the dreadful sight of them that came so sone to helpe, and also with the ensignes that were set vpon the wall to shew y<sup>e</sup> matter, and with y<sup>e</sup> keepers of the towers & trenchies, and with the sound of the trumpets, in so much, as all the cōpasse of y<sup>e</sup> trēches, which was 50. furlongs, was in a moment a terror to them all. This place *Scipio* rode about euery day to see it, and by that meane hauing shut in his enimies, he thought they could not lōg continuē, seeing they could be holpen by no man, neither of victuall, mē nor armour. *Ringenet alien- tureth for his countrey.* *Arnacceas.* *Lucia.* *genes & Numantine*, & chiefe of thē, with v. fellows, perswaded by him, & so many seruants & horses, in the darke night, passing that space that was betwene the towne & the Camp, and coming ouer y<sup>e</sup> trenches, with a ladder made to scale, gofe vpon, and killed the watch, and sending their seruants back into the citie, they got away, & went to the *Arnacceas*, holding vpon their hāds, & praying thē to help y<sup>e</sup> *Numantines* their kinsfolke. The *Arnacceas* would not receyue thē, but hap thē goe their way. There was a Citie of power xxx. furlongs from *Numantia*, called *Lucia*. The youth of this Citie much fauoured the *Numantines*, and moued the Citie to help the *Numantines*, of the which the auntsentes certified *Scipio*. Therefore *Scipio* at the eyght houre of the night, took his iourney, and by day was at *Lucia*, and besieged the Citie, and required the heads of the youth to be giuen him. The townesmen answering, that they were fled, he threatned spoyle of

of the Citie, vnlesse they obeyed. Whiche the Citizens fearing, brought forth foure hundred young men, whose handes he cutte off, and went away with great speede, and the next day betimes, was at his campe.

Four hundred young mens hande cut off.

The *Numantines*, now oppressed with famine, sent syue men to *Scipio*, with commission to know, that if they woulde yelde to him, if he would vſe them mercifully, and be content with a moderate fine. But *Auarus* the chiefe of them, a man of an highe courage, did muche set out the valiantnes and entente of the *Numantines*, affirming they did not offende, then bring in so greate daunger, fighting for their wines, children, and libertie of the Countrey. Therefore *Scipio* (saide hee) it shal be almost rightful thing, if thou being a noble man of so great vertue, wilt pardon so noble a people, and appoint vs that paine, that we shal be able to beare. We knowe the mutation of fortune, and that the safetie of oure Countrey, was not in vs, but in thee. When take our Citie being content with moderate punishment, or if thou haste vs in contempt, thou maiste hope to see it perish and be ouerthrowne, by defending it selfe.

*Numantines sue for peace.*

Bolting out of time.

When *Auarus* hadde saide thus, *Scipio* knowing by the Captiues what was done in the Citie, saide, he woulde haue them freely yelde themselves, and their Citie, with their armour: Whiche when it was tolde the *Numantines*, and thoughte so befoze, inflamed with anger, for the greate desire of libertie, because they had neuer bin acquainted to obey, and being more taken with rage and furie, they killed *Auarus* and his compaignie, as bringers of euill newes, and conspiring with *Scipio* to saue themselves.

The *Numantines* kill them that vvent for peace

Not long after, all victualls fayling them, hauing neyther fruite, nor cattell, nor hearbes, firste they eat leather mollified in water, as other in necessitie haue done. When leather failed them, they eate deade mens fleshe sodden and rostte. Then hauing no respecte to the sicke, the stronger forced the weaker, thinking nowe none acte cruell or violent, their mindes being turned into wilde creatures, and their bodies into beastes for the meate they did eate. Therfoze being killed with hunger, and

The necessity of the *Numantines*.

consumed with pestilence, with hear and bearded horrible, they at length yeeled to *scipio*, whiche commaunded them the same daye to bring their armour into a place appointed, and the next day, to come themselves into another place assigned. But they deferred a daye, confessing there were yet many in the city, that for the loue of libertie, would end their liues with sword and famine, and desired a time to kill themselves: so greate loue of libertie, so gret vertue was there in a barbarous & litle citie, whiche when they flourished in peace, wer eight thousand good men, the whiche, what thinges they had done againste the Romanes it is euident, and how many leagues they made with them with lyke and equall condition, which coulde neuer be brought to doe it with any other nation. Who their Captaine or Generall was, I neede not to rehearse: yet *scipio* he being in the fildes with .lx. M. men, was many times prouoked of the *Numantines*, to fight. But *scipio* was better and wyser than other generals, for he thought not good to deale with those wyld men, by the force of armes, but to conquere them by famine, whiche is a thing inuitable, by the whiche euill, the *Numantines* coulde be only taken, as they were. These things I had to say, of the *Numantines*, when I consider their small number, their sufferance of labour, and noble actes, and how long they were inuincible. Therefore of the *Numantines* they that so determined, dyurely killed themselves. The rest the thirde daye came to the place appointed, al vgly, filthie, and horrible to beholde, which had bodies foule and full of heare, wyth long nayles, full of filth and styncke, woyle garments of euill sauours, by whiche thinges they were miserable to their ennimies, and yet feareful to loke upon: therefore they were beholden of the Romanes wyth admiration, considering in them, the straunge affection of theyr bodies that was felt in the appere, of the dolour and labour whiche they had suffred, and also of their conscience, that one had eaten anothers fleshe. *scipio* chosynge oute some of them for the pompe of hys tryumphe, commaunded the other to be solde, and their Citie utterly to be destroyed. This Generall of the Romanes, these two Cities being taken, harde to be wonne, *Carthage* for the

*Numantines* kill themselves,

A partial yielding of the *Numantines*

the greatnesse of the Citie and the power thereof, by the decrees of the Romanes he preserved, for the commodity of the lande & sea. *Numantia* hee raised, a litle Citie that helde but a fewe, of the whiche the Romanes had not determined, eyther bycause he was irefull and harde of nature againste them that he tooke by violence, or bicause (as some say) he thought his glorie to be the greater, by the greatest calamities of other. Therefore to this day he is called *Affricane* and *Numantine*, of the destruction he gaue to those Citties. When the places nigh *Numantia* being assigned and settled, and if any were suspected, put in feare by payment of money, he returned to *Rome*.

The Romanes as the maner was, sent tenne men of the *Senatours* into the places of *spaine*, that were of their gouernment, that those that *scipio*, or *Brutus* had taken, might be brought into the forme of a prouince. After a certain space, when newe stirre was made in *spaine*, *Calph. Piso* was set thither with authoritie, to whom *Ser. Galba* succeeded. But a multitude of *Cimbrians* coming into *Italy*, & *Sicilie*, afflicted with y second seruite war, they sent no army into *spaine*, bicause of these wars, but would haue lieutenants go to pacifie al as wel as they could. When the *Cimbrians* wer repulsd, *Tir. Didius* wet thither & killed twenty thousand *Arnauceans*, and brought *Termentum* a great Citie, which scarcely would ever obey the Romanes, the strong place in which it was scituated, into the plaine, willing them to dwel in houses disperfed wythout wals. And when he had besieged a city called *Colenda*, he toke it the ninth moneth of the siege. *Didius* solde all the *Colendans* with women & chyldren. The *Celtiberians* inhabited an other Citie next to *Colenda*, with other mired, to whom, *M. Marius*, bicause they serued him against the *Portugalls*, he gaue those places to kyll by decree of the Senate. But they compelled for neede, exercised robberies. Therefore *Didius* minding to kyll them by consent of the x. men that were with hym, told their Captains, y he would ioyne to them the lands of the countrymen, bicause they were in need. Which offer whē he perceyued they accepted, he had them tel y people y they might come with their wiues and chyldren to diuide the lands. Who when they came, he willed the souldiours to go oute of the campe, and that

*Calpurnius Piso*, *Ser. Gall.*

*Termentum*

*Colenda*

that they should enter, as though the number of the men and women should be tolde, and so be appointed to the lands, and when they were cistred within the trenches, they were all killed of the souldiours by his commaundement, for the whiche acte he triumphed. And when the *Celiberians* revolted againe, *Flaccus* being sent to that prouince, killed .xx. in the Cittie of *Belgeda* when the people was turned to rebel. &c. ¶ With whom was authorized it to assemble the Senate, when he was doubtful what to determine, he burned the whole Senate. *Flaccus* when he came, punished all the Authoures of that wickednesse.

I haue founde these thinges of the *Romanes* agaynst the *Spaniards* worthy of writing. After a while, when the ciuill warre was hotte betwene *Cinna* and *Sylla*, the countrie being diuided in that sedition, *Q. Sertorius* of the faction of *Cinna*, being created a Generall in *Spayne*, allured the *Spaniards* to rebell against the *Romanes*. When getting a gret army, and a number of his friends, chosen after the forme of the *Romayne* Senate, he determined to come towarde *Rome*. *Sertorius* was a bolde man, and of a noble harte and known vertue and strength, insomuch as the Senate being afraid of him, created many worthy Captains, *Cacilius Metellus* first with a great army, that any way he could, he should keepe war from *Italy*, which was vexed with great dissentions. A certayne man called *Perpenna*, of *Sertorius* faction, killed him and made hymselfe Generall, and *Pompey* killed him in battell. And so had that warre an ende, the which put the *Romanes* in a great fear. But these thinges be shewed more plainly in the booke of *Sylla* ciuill wars. After the death of *Sylla*, when *C. Caesar* was chosen Generall to make warre agaynst all men, he appeased all the tumultes in *Spayne*, and any other nation that molested the *Romanes*, and compelled all to obey the people of *Rome*. Also *Octauian Caesar Augustus*, sonne to *C. Caesar*, made some warre with them that practised rebellion. From that tyme the *Romanes* diuided *Iberia*, whiche is now *Spayne*, into thre parts, into two of the which, the Senate sent yearly officers, and the Emperour sent a president into the thirde, the time of whose prouince, dependeth of the pleasure of the Emperour.

The ende of the *Romanes* warres with the *Spaniards*.

*Celiberians* killed by *Flaccus*.  
*Belgeda*.

Here we meeteth

*Sertorius*.

*Cacilius Metellus*

*Perpenna*.

*Sylla*.

*Caesar*.

*Caesar Augustus*.

## The Romane warres with Antiochus the Great, King of Syria: by Appian of Alexandria.



*Antiochus* descended of *Selencus* and *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, *Babylonia*, and other nations, the sixte from that *Selencus* who reigned in *Asia* to the floude *Euphrates* after *Alexander*, inuading *Media* and *Parthia*, and other regions y had revolted, being a prince of greate courage, and named *Antiochus* the Greate, aduancing himselfe

by his actes and this name, did violently take from *Ptolomus Philopator* King of *Egypt*, and yet a child, *Celestria* and *Cilicia*, and nowe conceyuing no small matters, inuaded them of *Hellens*, the *Aegeans* and *Ionians*, as subiect to the ruler of *Asia*, because they of olde time, did obey the Kings of *Asia*. When he sailed into *Europa*, and subdued *Thracia*, and all that would not yelde, he compelled. He fortified *Cherronesus*, and builded *Lysmachia*, which *Lysmachus* king of *Thracia* after *Alexander*, created, to be a byle to the *Thracians*, and they after his death pulled it down, and this *Antiochus* sette it vp againe to be inhabited, and called home the banished men of the Cittie, and redẽming anye that were in thraldome, to whome he toynded others, and gaue them oren, and sheepe, and prou for their tillage, leauyng nothing that mighte helpe to the speedy renuyng of it. For he thoughte it a very fyte place for to deale with all *Thracia*, and a storehouse moste commodious for all the reste that he entended to do. Many obeyed him and receyued his garrisons for feare of his power.

But the *Smyrneanes* and *Lampsaceans*, and some others, refusing so to do, sent to *Flaminius* the *Romane* Generall, who later had ouerthrowne *Philippe* of *Macedonie*, in a great battell in *Thessalia*.

This part of *Syria* is called in Greeke

συρία καλη.

that is *Syria* the holow, because it lieth betwene the flouds *Euphrates* and *Tigris* and is named

*Misopotamia*. *Cherronesus* is a place compacted with water, sauing none parte.

*Lysmachus* is restored by *Antiochus*.

*Philippe* the Son of *Demetrius*.

This is left out  
in the Italian.

*Thessalia*, for the time was, that the matters of *Macedonie* and *Grecia*, haue bene intermedled, as the state and time serued, as we haue shewed in the historie of *Grecia*. Betweene *Antiochus* and *Flamininus*, were diuerse Ambassages, and practises in vaine. And the *Romanes* & *Antiochus*, y<sup>e</sup> one had y<sup>e</sup> other in great suspition: They, because they thought *Antiochus* would not be quiet, being proude of his great kingdome, and happy successe. He, because the *Romanes* only, might be moste greate impediment to his encrease, and resist his passage into *Europe*. But no euident cause of enmitie being giuen by him, there came Ambassadors to *Rome* from *Ptolomeus Philopator*, praying he might be restored into *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, which *Antiochus* had taken from hym.

Ambassadors  
from Ptolomee of  
Egypt.

The *Romanes* gladly toke this pretence comming in good season, & sente Ambassadors to *Antiochus*, in shewe, to reconcile *Ptolomeus* and *Antiochus*, but indeed, to espy the meaning of *Antiochus*, and to hinder it as muche as might be. Cnew the Ambassadors, required of *Antiochus*, that *Ptolomeus* a friend to the *Romanes*, might enioy the Kingdome that his father leste him, and that the Citties of *Asia*, which *Philip* of *Macedonie* hadde taken, might be free: for it was not iuste that *Antiochus* would enioy, y<sup>e</sup> places that the *Romanes* had takē from *Philip*. Finally, he said it was to bee doubted, why *Antiochus* should bring such a nauye and an armye from *Media* out of *Asia* into the sea, & invade *Europe*, builde Citties in it, and subdue *Thracia*, but for to lay a plat to another warre.

The answer  
of Antiochus.

He answered, that *Thracia*, belonged to his ancestors, and was for lacke of quietnesse reuolted, and nowe he hauing leysure, recovered it again, & he restored *Lyfmachia* to be a dwelling for his son *seleucus*. That he would leaue the cities of *Asia* free, if they would thanke him, & not y<sup>e</sup> *Romanes*. As for *Ptolomee* (quoth he) I am his kinsman, and shortly I shal be his father in law, & I will cause him to giue you thanks. But I doe doubt also, by what right the *Romanes* can meddle with *Asia*, since I doe not deale with *Italy*.

Thus breaking vypp without anye conclusion, they vttered manifest threatnings, one agaynst another. It was reported & thought

A report of  
death of  
Ptolomee.

thought that *Ptolomeus* was dead, wherfore *Antiochus* went with speed toward *Egypt* to get the kingdom vnder of a prince. And being at *Ephesus*, *Annibal* of *Carthage* came to him, fleeing his country for the hate of his enimies, accusing him to the *Romanes*, as contentious and seeking warre, and coulde not liue in rest. For then the *Carthaginenses* did agree with the *Romaynes* as confederates. *Antiochus* receyued *Annibal* gloriously for the fame of his valiantnesse, and hadde him aboute him, and vnderstanding at *Lycia* that *Ptolomee* was aliue, he refrayned from *Egypt*, and thought to take *Cyprus* in steade of it, & sayled thither with great speed. But being winter, at the floude *Sarus*, he had a wycke, and losse many shippes with diuerse of his men and friends, and sayled to *Seleucia* in *Syria*, and there repaired his shaken nauie, & made a marriage of his children *Antiochus* and *Laodice*, ioyning them in matrimonye.

Antiochus hath  
suppercke at  
Sarus.

And nowe because he knewe that euident warre would followe betweene the *Romanes* and him, he allied himselfe wyth the Kyngs his neighbours, and sent *Cleopatra* called *Syra* to *Ptolomee* giuyng him *Celestria* for hir dowry, whiche hee had taken from hym, so to please the young man, that hee mighte be quiete in the war with the *Romanes*. *Antiochus* hee sent to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and an other that was leste, to *Eumenes*, king of *Per-gamo*, but he perceyuing he meante to make warre vpon the *Romanes*, and for that purpose, would make affinitye with him, did refuse him. And when his brethren *Artalus* and *Philetyrus*, vndermauled him, that he rejected the alliance of so greate a king his neyghbour, and seeking it, he answered, that it was lyke that war would be, which in the beginning would be equall on both sides, but in time the *Romanes* would overcome for their good conditions & taking of paines. Then (quoth he) the *Romanes* being Conquerors, I shal hold my kingdom surely. But if *Antiochus* ouercometh, I feare al will be taken away of my neyghboure, and I feare, if I haue my kyngdome, I muste be a kyng vnder hym, for these considerations, did he refuse this marriage.

Antiochus maketh  
alliance  
with his neygh-  
bours.

Enimies refuse  
his alliance.

*Antiochus* straight went from thence, to *Hellepont*, & sayled to *Cherronesus*, where he subdued and ouerthrewe manye places of *Thracia*, he made free the *Grecians* y<sup>e</sup> inhabite *Thracia*, and granted

Hellepont is the  
freight of  
Galipoli.

r. 15.

many.

Since now  
Constantinople.  
These be called  
the French  
Greekes.

Antiochus sent  
death ambassage  
to the Romanes

The answer  
of the Romanes

The opinion  
of Anniball  
touching the  
warre.

many things to the *Byzantines*, hauing a little verpe commodious at the mouth of that sea. The *Galathians* he pleased w<sup>th</sup> gifts, and drew by feare also, to the societie of his determination, thinking them good confederates for the bignesse of their bodies.

Then he wente to *Ephesus*, and sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, *Lyfias*, *Egesanactes*, and *Menippus*, in deede to seele the minds of the Senate, but in word, *Menippus* saide, the King was desirous of the *Romanes* amitie, and that he woulde be their confederate, if they woulde accept him. Yet he did maruell that they would require him to leaue Cities in *Ionia*, and lose his tributes, and not to deale with certain of *Asia*, and to forgo *Thracia*, that had euer bin his progenitors, whiche were things, not for friends, but for conquerours to commaunde to the conquered. The Senate perceyuing their comming to be but an espiall, shortly answered: If *Antiochus* do suffer the Greke Cities in *Asia* to be free, and refraine from *Europe*, he shall be a friende to the *Romanes* if he will. Thus the *Romanes* answered, and made none other shewe of cause.

*Antiochus* minding firste to inuade *Grecia*, and there to begin the warre againste the *Romanes*, asked *Anniballs* opinion in the matter. He saide, that *Grecia* was easy to be overcome, bycause of their long affliction. The war that is made at home, is moste tollerable: neither should he overcome the *Romanes* in *Grecia*, seeing they myght haue sufficient prouision and helpe from home. Wherefore his opinion was, he should inuade the *Romanes* in *Italy*, whether, if he went, he shoulde fynd the *Romanes* weaker, both at home and abroade. I haue, saide he, experience of *Italy*, and with .x. M. men I can take fitte places of it, and I will write to my friends at *Carthage*, to stir the people to reuolte, being sorry for me, & angry with the *Romanes*, & being full of hope, & hart, wyl thinke I will once againe get *Italy*.

The king hearing this aduice very well, and thinking the necessity of *Carthage* to make muche for the furtheraunce of this warre, badde hym send letters to his friends, oute of hande, but he sente not, for he thoughte it not sure, the *Romaynes* lying

in wayte euery where, and the war not being yet proclaymed, and many being in disoord at *Carthage*, and the common wealth hauing no firmenesse nor certentie, which shortly after was the destruction of *Carthage*. Yet he sent *Ariston* a merchant of *Tyrrus*, vnder pretence of marchandise, to his friends, exhorting them, that when they vnderstode that he inuaded *Italy*, they should stirre the people of *Carthage* to be reuenged. *Ariston* did so, but when *Anniballs* enemies perceyued *Aristons* purpose, they made much adoe, that any innouation shoulde followe, and diligently sought for *Ariston*. He, that the friends of *Anniball* shoulde not beare all the blame, secretly in the night, sette vp a writing at the common house, in the whiche *Anniball* exhorted all the Senate to reuenge their Countrey vnder *Antiochus*, and when he had so done, he sayled away. When daye was come, all the suspicion was taken from *Anniballs* friends, bycause the matter belonged to all the state. The people was full of bypore, angry with the *Romanes*, but not able to hurte them. And thus went the matters at *Carthage*.

The *Romanes* sente other Embassadors, and with them *Scipio* that ouercame the *Carthagies*, to proue the kings minde, and to espie his preparation. And when they founde the king to be gone to *Pisidia*, they tarried his returne at *Ephesus*, and in the meane time, had many times talke with *Anniball*, that seeing *Carthage* was in league, and *Antiochus* not yet a manifest enemy, they blamed him that he would flee from his countrey, seeing the *Romanes* had not offended against him, nor any other of the *Carthagies* since the league was made. This they did, to make *Anniball* suspected to the king as they did in deede, by their ofte rosing and talking with him. And though *Anniball* were a very circumspect man, yet he did not forsee this. For when the king heard of it, he suspected *Anniball*, and was not so ready to trust him. Beside, an enuie and hatred grewe againste him, least he should haue the prayse of the things that were done. Among other talkes, they say, there was one betwene *Scipio* and *Anniball*, in a Scholehouse, where many were to learne, and presente to heare, touching the excellencie of a Captayne: And whereas

Anniball sent letters  
Ariston to proue  
the at Carthage.

The denice of  
Ariston to saue  
Anniballs friends.

Scipio goeth  
Embassador  
to Antiochus.

Pisidia, a coun-  
trei in Asia,  
nigh to Lycania  
and Pamphilia.

Anniball is  
brought into  
suspicion with  
Antiochus.

Baule.

The talke of  
Anniball and  
Scipio touching  
the best Cap-  
taine.

r. ly.

Scipio

Scipio asked him, whome he thoughte to be the best Captayne; he answered, *Alexander of Macedonia*. Scipio stayed at that, and gaue place to *Alexander*. When he asked him, whome he thoughte the second next *Alexander*, he sayde *Pirrhus of Epirus*, putting the vertue of a Captayne in boldnesse, for there can not be found a more couragious King, than hee. Scipio now was grieved, and againe asked him whome he thoughte to be the thirde, thinking verily he woulde haue named him: he answered my selfe, for being a yong man, I subdued *Spayne*, and with mine armie passed the *Alpes* into *Italy*, the firste after *Hercules* that so haue done. I invaded it, when none of you durd doe any thyng. I ouerthrewe foure hundred Townes, and broughte your Citie many times into daunger, hauing neither money nor men sent me out of *Carthage*. When Scipio perceyued he dyd so of purpose aduance himselfe, he smiled and sayde, in what place wouldest thou haue put thy selfe (*Anniball*) if thou hadst not bin overcome of me. He perceyuing this emulation, sayde, I woulde haue set my selfe before *Alexander*. So dyd *Anniball* continue in his lofty talke, and yet secretly please Scipio, as making hym better than *Alexander*.

This talke being ended, *Anniball* desired Scipio to his lodging, Scipio sayde he woulde come very gladly, but that it should cause suspicion betwene *Antiochus* and the Romanes. Thus these noble Captaynes ended theyr malice, when the warre was ended, but so dyd not *Flaminius*. For when *Antiochus* was overcome, and *Anniball* fledde, and sauing himselfe in *Bithinia*, he being sente Embassadour for other purpose to *Prussia*, not being injured by *Anniball*, nor commaunded of the Romanes, nor to be feared, because the power of *Carthage* was abated, killed him with poyson by *Prussias* consente, of the whyche it is sayde, hee was warned before by an Oracle after this sort.

The lande of *Libyssa* shall couer *Anniballs* body.

He thoughte he shoulde haue dyed in *Libya*, but *Libyssa* is a floud in *Bithinia*, and the Countrey is called *Libyssa* of the floud.

This

This remembrance haue I made of the noble myndes of Noble myndes. *Anniball* and Scipio, and of the cowardly heart of *Flaminius*.

*Antiochus* coming from *Pisidia* towarde *Ephesus*, gaue audience to the Embassadours of the *Rhodians*, and promised that the *Rhodians*, the *Byzantines*, and *Cyzionians*, and other *Greece* Cities in *Asia*, shoulde be free, if he entred league with the Romanes, the *Aetolians*, and the *Ionians*, he would not grante so to be, because for the most part, they had bin bled to obey the barbarous kings of *Asia*.

The *Romane* Embassadours bringing nothing to passe, for they came not to doe any thyng in daede, but to espie, they returned to *Rome*.

The Embassadoys of the *Aetolians* came to *Antiochus*, of the whiche, *Thoas* was chiefe, offering him the leading of theyr armie, and wishing he woulde sayle into *Greece* as to a sure thing, not tarrying for his armie to come out of high *Asia*, but setting forth the theyr owne strength, promised him the ayde of the *Lacedemonians*, and of *Philip* King of *Macedonie*, (angry at the Romanes,) so hee woulde make his voyage wyth speede.

*Antiochus* is persuaded by the *Aetolians*.

Hee was moued very lightly, and woulde not stay his hast, although he hearde out of *Asia* that his sonne was dead, and with tenne thousande only, sayled into *Enboia*, all the whyche he gotte, they perlding for feare. *Micithion* his Captayne setting vpon the Romanes at *Delos*, whyche is an holy place of *Apollo*, killed part of them, and part toke alyue.

*Micithio* killeth the Romanes. The Romanes be killed at *Delos*.

*Aminander* King of the *Athamanes* came into league with *Antiochus* by this occasion.

*Aminander* king of *Athamanes* people of *Acetolia*. *Megalopolis*, one in *Arcadia*, another in *Asia*. Counterfeits *Philip*.

One *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, being brought vp in *Megalopolis*, and made free of that common wealth, sayned himselfe to come of *Alexander*, sonne to *Philip*: and to gyue credite to his deuice, he named his chyldren *Philip* and *Alexander*, and *Apamea*, whome he married to *Aminander*. *Philip* hir brother going with hir to the marriage, and perceyuing that *Aminander* was a weake man, and of little experience, remained wyth his brother in lawe to gouerne the Kingdome.

This

Malice endeth in Rome, when warre ceaseth.

Oracle of *Annibals* death.

*Libyssa*.

This Philip Antiochus promised to restore the kingdome of Macedony as his owne, and by this meane, had the Athamaneans his confederates. He had also the Thebanes, and wente to Thebes to speake to the people. Thus he very rashly, in so great a war, put his trust in the Aetolians, Thebanes, and Amynader. When he consulted, whether it were better to invade Thessaly out of hand, or to tarric till Winter were past,

Anniball being at this consultation, and saying nothing, the king commaunded him to say his opinion first, and thus he spake.

Anniball sheweth his opinion on touching the warre.

Thou mayest easilie overcome the Thessalians, eyther now, or after winter, for the people, hauing bin much vexed, do turne to thee now, and so will doe to the Romanes if any innouation cometh. We be come with our owne power, giuing credite to the Aetolians perswasion, that the Lacedemonians and Philip will take our part, of the which, the Lacedemonians be our Enemies, as I heare, and so be the Acheans. As for Philip, I can not see, that he can be any great ayde vnto thee in this warre, being on thy side, nor make any great power whatsoever part he taketh: but this is mine aduise, that thou sendest for thine army with all speed into Asia, and not put thy trust in Amynader, or the Aetolians: when the army is come, to send it into Italy, that being occupied with troubles at home, they may leaue them vntoucht, and being afraide of themselves, may not vex other men. And now, that manner is not to be held of vs, that I spake of afore, for we must vse the one halfe of oure nauie, to wast the coast of Italy, the other halfe we must haue a fote, to vse as occasion shall require, and thy selfe, with all thy footemen, must remaine in that part of Grecia that is next Italy, making a shewe of inuasion, and if neede be, to invade indeede, and to induce Philip by all meanes possible, to agree with thee: for it shall much auayle, which part he taketh in this warre. If he will not be brought in, thou shalt sende thy sonne Seleucus into Thracia, and molest him with euils at home, that he be not profitable to thine enemies abroade.

Thus Anniball said, and it was the best of all, but for enuie of his fame and wisdom, as well other, as the king himselfe, that

that Anniball shoulde not seeme to passe them all in the arte of warre, nor he haue the prayse of that shoulde be done. All his counsell was reiected, sauing that Polyxenides was sent into Asia Polyxenides for the army.

When the Romanes hearde of the entring of Antiochus into Grecia, and of the killing and taking of the Romanes at Delus, they determined warre. Thus Antiochus and the Romanes warre growing long before of suspicion one of another, did now firste breake out in deede. And bycause Antiochus had the rule of many nations in high Asia, and of all that inhabite the sea coast, sauing a fewe, and for that he was entred Europa, and hadde a dreadfull name, and a greate preparation, and other wise hadde done many notable things, by the which he had gotten name of Greace, the Romanes thoughte this warre would be dangerous, and of long continuance. They had Philip of Macedonia in suspicion, being overcome of them not long before. And in the league with the Cartheginians, they had no great trust, Anniball being with Antiochus. And of their other subiects, they had some doubt, least the glozy of Antiochus shoulde make them seeke new attemptes. Therefore they sente garrisons to euery one, to gouerne them in peaccable manner, and sente Captaynes to the armyes, inhome they call of fire aries, bycause the Consuls hadde twelue, and twelue roddees, as the olde sayngs bled: and bycause these officers had halfe authoritie, they hadde halfe the shewe. And as in a greate feare, carefull for Italy, least some disturbance mighte happen to them, eyther by the violence, or fauour of Antiochus, they sente a greate bande of souldiers to Tarento, there to bee ready at all assayes, and a spawie sayled ouer all the coast. So great a feare of Antiochus was at the first.

The warre be-  
ginneeth.

Consuls.  
Proconsuls.  
Officers of fire  
aries.

Foresight of the  
Rhodians.

When they hadde thus at home giuen order in all things at the beginning, they gathered their army against Antiochus. Of themselves, they hadde twenty thousand, of their confederates twice so many, with the whyche, they woulde passe into Ionia. And in this preparation they spent the whole Winter.

Antiochus wente into Thessalia, and being come vnto Cynochephalia

*Cynocephalia* is a place or people like a dogges head. *Antiochus* buryeth the dead.

*Cynocephalia*, where the *Macedonians* hadde a greate ouerthrowe of the *Romanes*, he honorably buryed those that laye vnburyed; thynkyng thereby to winne the *Macedonians* to him, and w<sup>th</sup> drawe them from *Philip* that hadde losse hys *Souldoyours* vnburyed, that serued vnder hys Standerd.

*Bebius*.

*Philip* hearing thys, was in a greate perplexitie w<sup>th</sup> hymselfe whyche parte he shoulde take, but yet dyd cleaue to the *Romanes*, and streyghte sente to *Bebius*, a Captayne of the *Romanes*, lying not farre off, to come to hym to a certayne place, assuring hym, that hee woulde take the *Romanes* parte against the King. For the whyche, *Bebius* thanking hym, was the more bolde to sende *Appius Claudius* out of *Macedonie* into *Thessaly* with two thousande footemen. And when *Appius* was at *Tempe*, and perceyued where *Antiochus* lay w<sup>th</sup> his army, he made many fyres to couer the fewnesse of hys armye. But *Antiochus* thynkyng, that *Bebius* and *Philip* hadde bene come togyther, was afrayde, and brake vp hys Campe, makinge winter the p<sup>re</sup>sence, and wente to *Calcida*. There hee was caughte w<sup>th</sup> the loue of a mayde, beeryng aboue fiftye yeres of age, and hauyng so greate a warre in hande, hee woulde needes marry hys, and make pastymes, whereby hee broughte hys armye to greate ydlenesse and change that winter.

*Tempe*, is the pleasant place that is so muche praysed of Poets. *Antiochus* remoueth, and is caught in loue when he was aboue thre yeres of age at *Calcida* now in *Thessaly*.

*Acarnania* parte of *Epirus*, bringyng forth very good horses.

When the Spring was come, hee wente to *Acarnania*, where he perceyued that hys armye was utterly vnprofitable through ydlenesse, and then repented hym of hys marriage and feasting: and when hee hadde gotten some of the Countrey to hys obedience, and subdued the rest, hearing that the *Romanes* were passed into *Ionis*, he returned to *Chalcide*.

The *Romanes* w<sup>th</sup> diligence, and two thousande good Horsemen, and thirtie thousande footemen, and some Elephantes, *Acimius*, *Manius*, *Glabrio* beeryng Generall, from *Brundise* arriving at *Appolonia*, wente to *Thessaly*, and deliuered the Cities of theyr enimies. And where they founde any garrisons of the *Macedonians*, they put them out, and *Philippus* of *Macedonia* was taken prisoner, hoppyng yet for the kingdome of

*Acimius*, *Manius*, *Glabrio*. *Appolonia* now in *Thessaly*.

*Macedonia*; and they tooke thre thousande of *Antiochus* men.

And whyles *Manius* did this, *Philip* inuaded *Atthamania*, and made it all subiect, *Amynder* fleeing into *Ambracia*. Whylke when *Antiochus* hearde, and the speedy doyng of the thyngs, he was in feare, bycause of the suddayne change and alteration, and then vnderstode that *Annibal* gaue hym good counsell. Therefore hee sente one after another to *Polyxenida* to stirre with all speede, and hee gathered as many as hee coulde in all places, and thys done, hee hadde of his owne footemen tenne thousande, and fyue hundred Horse, w<sup>th</sup> the whyche, and some confederates, he tooke *Thermopyle*, that hys enimies might haue the harder passage, and hee tarrie for hys armye out of *Asia*.

*Thermopyle* is a streight, and a long passage, the whyche a rough Sea withoute portes, dothe partly compasse, and a fenne deepe and without way.

Two toppes it hathe in the rockes of the hylles, the one is called *Tichimuta*, and the other *Callidromus*.

The place hathe welles of hote water, and thereof is called *Thermopyle*.

*Antiochus* made a wall double at it, and placed engines at the wall, and sente the *Aetolians* to the toppes of the Mountaynes, that no man shoulde passe by that that was called *Atropos*, where *Xerxes* came agaynst *Leonida* the Captayne of the *Lacedemonians*, when no man kepte the hylles.

The *Aetolians* placed one thousande in epyther toppe, and w<sup>th</sup> the rest, beseged the Citie *Heraclea*.

When *Manius* perceyued thys preparation of the enimies, he gaue order to fyghte the nexte morning, and commaunded two of hys Tribunes, that is, *Marcus Cato*, and *Lucius Valerius*, that they shoulde assaile in the nyghte whyche of the hylles they woulde, and if they coulde, dyue the *Aetolians* from the toppes. *Lucius* was repulsd from *Tichimuta*, the *Aetolians* there beeryng too good for hym. *Marcus Cato* wente

*Thermopyle* is the long hill of *Grecia*, vwhere the streight passage is, and the hote waters, *Tichimuta*, *Callidromus*.

*Xerxes*, *Leonida*.

*Heraclea*, many Cities of that name.

The order of the *Romanes*.

*Cato* doth a great feat.

ly.

against

againste *Callidramus*, and passed the enimies being asleepe, to the last watche, and then hadde a greate conflict, struing to gette the high and rocky places, and the enimies to keepe hym backe.

*Manius* ledde hys armye on the face of *Antiochus*, divided into small bandes, for so coulde he only doe in the streightes.

The kyng commaunded the lighte harnessed, and target men, to fyghte befoze the mayne battell, the whyche he placed befoze the Camp.

On the righte side, he sette the slingers and archers in the hygh places, and the Elephantes on the lefte syde, and the bande that was euer about hym, he wylled to stande at the Sea side.

The fyghte beinge begunne, the shotte runninge byther and thither, dyd muche trouble *Manius*, but he resistinge manfully, and gyuinge backe, and agayne commyng on, he putte them to flighte. When the battell of the *Macedonians* openinge themselves, receyued them, and closed agayne, and thrust forth the theyr long pykes, thycke togyther in order. By thys manner, the *Lacedemonians* vnder *Alexander* and *Philip*, dyd trouble their enimies that durst not appoche to the pykes so long, and so many. When of a suddayne was scene the fleeing and cryng of the *Aetolians*, dyuen to *Antiochus* Campe, the whyche at the firste, was not knowen what it was, whyche ignorance caused trouble and doubte, till *Cato* appeared, follovinge them wyth a greate shoute, and beeyng come to the kyngs Campe, *Antiochus* menne that hadde hearde muche of the *Romanes* valiantnesse, were afrayde, and acknowledged theyr owne ydolnesse and delicatenesse the Wynter passed, to be the cause why they thys time were the woorse to doe theyr office, and not sayng perfittlye what number *Cato* hadde, and for feare thinkinge he had moze than he had, and beeyng afrayde of the Campe, they fledde to it out of order, to keepe away the enimie. The *Romanes* comming vppon them, entered the Campe wyth them. When was there another foule sleeyng of *Antiochus* menne. *Manius* folloved them to

The order of  
the Kings  
battell.

Here the Ita-  
lian misteth, and  
doth the  
Latine.

This was cal-  
led the Phalanx  
of the Macedo-  
nians as the legi-  
on among the  
*Romanes*.

The sight that  
was first made  
betweene the  
*Romanes* and  
*Antiochus*.

to *Scarpheia*, killinge and takinge some: then comming from *Scarpheia*, he spoyled the kyngs campe, and he droue the *Aetolians* from the *Romanes* campe, which they had taken in his absence presently. In this fighte was slaine of the *Romanes* two hundred, with them that folowed the chase. *Antiochus* lost tenne thousand with them that were taken. The kinge himselfe at the first change ranne with five hundred horse to *Pelatia* neuer stay- ing, and from *Pelatia* to *Calcida*, and to *Ephesus*, with *Eubia* his newe wyfe, for so was hir name: with his shippes he fledde, but not with all, for the admirall of the *Romanes*, had taken some that came to him laden with victuals.

At *Rome*, when this victorie was heard, and seeming to be ver- ryhappily and speedily obtained, they gaue thanks to God, all men beeyng gladd that the firste triall had so good successe, in the warre that was so fearful to them for the same of *Antiochus*. And to requite *Philip* for his true confederacte, they sent him his sonne *Demetrius*, that was pledge with them. *Manius* released the *Phoceans* and *Calcideans*, and other that folowed *Antiochus*, of the feare they were in. But the *Aetolians*, together with *Philip*, he invaded and ouerthrewe their Citties. He toke *Damocritus*, their Generall that was hidden, and had threatned *Fla-* m, that he would encampe at *Tiber*.

Then he went to *Calipolis*, by the hyll called *Coraca*, the high- est and hardest to be passed of al other, beinge verye rockye, with his armye laden with spoile. Many fell from the harde way into the stony partes, and tumbled downe with their armor and bur- dens: And where the *Aetolians* might haue troubled them, they appeared not, but sent Ambassadors to *Rome* for peace.

*Antiochus* with greate diligence called hys armye from the land rulers, to the sea side, preparinge his nauye, of the whyche, *Polixenides* an outlawe of the *Rhodes*, was Admirall, and sayled to *Cherronesus*, and fortified it again, and sent garrison to *Sestus* and *Abydus*, by the whiche, the *Romanes* muste passe into *Asia*. He made *Lyfimachia* the store-house of the warre, bringinge thither muche armour and victuals, thinkinge the *Romanes* would come be there, with great power and nauy.

C. iij.

The

*Scarpheia* was  
The kings campe  
spoyled.

The king flyeth

*Pelatia*,  
Eubia the yong  
wyfe of olde  
*Antiochus*.

The *Romanes*  
gratifye *Phillip*.

*Damocritus*.

*Calipolis* is a cittie  
and an Ile also.

The *Romanes*  
passe the hilles  
laden to their  
loffe.

*Polixenides* admi-  
ral to their king

Lucius and Publi-  
Scipio be sent  
into Asia.

The Romaynes appoynted *Lucius Scipio*, brother to *Publius Scipio*, that ouercame *Carthage*, and was fyrste named *Africanus*, successeure to *Manius* in thys warre, be-  
ing then Consull: And bycause hee was not practised nor  
experienced in the warre, they sente hys brother wyth hym  
as a Counselloure: and these brethren prepared them-  
selues.

*Linus* that hadde the chardge of *Italy*, was sente suc-  
cesseure to *Arrilio* in the nauye, and straght wyth his owne  
Shyppes, with the whiche hee scowzed the coaste of *Italy*, and  
with certaine that were lent of the *Carthagies*, and some other  
friendes, hee sayled to *Piræo*. and receyving the nauye of *A-*  
*rrilio* wyth fourescore and one armed Shyppes, *Eumenes* follo-  
wyng hym wyth fyfthe of hys owne, halfe of them beýng ar-  
med, they arryued at *Phocida*, subiect to *Antiochus*, who for feare,  
receyued them, and the nexte daye, they wente forth to  
the sight by sea.

*Polixenides* the Admirall of *Antiochus* came forth wyth  
two hundred Shyppes, lighter than the enemy, which was  
happy for them, the greate Shyppes of the Romaynes not  
beýng yet practised.

Seeþng two of the *Carthagies* commyng besoze, he  
threw bothe wyth three of hys, but emptye, the *Lybians* being  
leapte into the Sea.

*Linus*, with great behemence gaue the fyrste charge vpon  
these three, wyth hys Admirall ship, goyng far afore the rest  
of the nauye. They not fearing thys one Shyppe, dyd caste  
theyr hookes of yron, & the Shypps beýng graptled togyther, it  
seemed a fygth vpon the lande. The Romanes beýng more  
valyant, they bourded and ouercame them, and wyth one ship,  
carrýng alwaie two, they returned.

This was a skirnishe to the fygth: For then the whole  
nauyes soughte togyther, the Romaynes beýng the better in  
strength and courage. But bycause of the heauynesse of theyr  
vessells, they coulde not ouertake the other lychte Shyppes,  
when they fledde, whiche they dydde wyth all spæde, to *Pe-*  
*phesus*.

The Romanes  
haue the victori  
by Sea.

Carthagies lende  
shyppes to the  
Romanes.  
Tircum.

The fight on the  
Sea.

*phesus*. And the Romanes went to *Xio*, whither seuen and twen-  
ty of the *Rhodian* Shyppes, theyr friends, came to them.

When *Antiochus* hearde of thys fygth by sea, hee sente  
*Annibal* into *Syria*, for other Shyppes, from *Phœnitia* and *Cilicia*,  
and when he came, the *Rhodians* droue him into *Pamphilia*,  
taking parte of hys Shyppes, and lying in wayte for the  
other.

*Annibal* is sent  
for shippes, and  
to sterke part  
of them.

*Publius Scipio* came into *Ætolia* with the Consull, and ha-  
ving the armye of *Manius*, hee disdayned to make siege to  
the Citties of *Ætolia*, as a small matter, and gaue them  
leau to sende another Ambassage to *Rome*. Hee would trye  
it with *Antiochus*, befoze his brothers office shoulde ense. And  
so passed by *Macedonia* and *Thracia*, to *Hellepont*, whiche was a  
paynfull and harde waye vnto hym, notwithstanding that  
*Philippe* of *Macedonie* did guide hym, making bydgges, and pre-  
paring victuals for him. For the which, the two *Scipions* relea-  
sed hym of the reste of the money that he hadde to paye, for so  
they had order of the Senate, if they founde hym faithful.

Courage of  
*Scipio*.

*Philip* is released

Then they sente to *Prusias* King of *Bythinia*, declaryng howe  
manye Kinges the Romaynes hadde aduanced, that were their  
confederates. And now to *Philippe* of *Macedonie*, whome  
they had ouercome of late, they graunted his kingdome, they re-  
stoyed his sonne that was pledge for him, and forgaue the mony  
he oughte them.

When *Prusias* hearde this, he toynd wyth them against *Antiochus*.

*Prusias* toyndeth  
wyth the Ro-  
maynes.

When *Linus* the Admirall of the Romane nauye, heard that  
the *Scipions* were commyng, he left *Pausimachus* the *Rhodian* with  
the *Rhodian* ships in *Ætolide*, and parte of his owne nauye, & with  
al the rest, he sailed to *Hellepont*, to receiue the army. And *Sestus*,  
*Rheteion*, the portes of the *Acheans*, yelded to him. *Abydon* that  
disobeyed he besieged.

*Sestus*.  
*Rheteion*.

When *Linus* was gone, *Pausimachus* made manye diuis-  
tes and inuentions, and sundry engines, and fastened yron  
vessells carrýng fyre, to long Shippe stauces, to heaue  
vpe manye fyres in the Sea, and to caste it oute of  
hys

A like country  
was

his owne shippes, when hee shoulde ioyne with his enimyes. While he was thus deuising, *Polyxenides* the Admirall of *Antiochus*, a *Rodian* also, and banished from hys Countrey for certayne causes, went aboute to deceyue hym, promising to deliver to hym *Antiochus* nauy, if he woulde helpe to restore hym to hys Countrey. He suspected this crafty subtil man, and toke good heed of him. But when *Polyxenides* diide write a letter of hys owne hande of this treason, and departed from *Ephesus*, and sent the army a forragyng for a fashion, *Pausimachus*, seeyng hys departure from thence, and that not trusting any man with this treason, he woulde wyte it with hys owne hande, whych was not lyke to be done of a dissembler, he gaue credite to it, and kept lesse garde, and sent his men to forrage abroad also.

When *Polyxenides* perceyued he had decepted him, he gathered hys army, and sent *Nicander* a Pirate wyth a fewe to *Samos*, to come vpon *Pausimachus* on the backe by lande. At mydnyght he set forwarde, and at the moonyng watche, beyng asleepe, he assailed hym. He being taken thus sodainely and vnprepared, commaunded hys souldiours to leaue their shippes, and resiste the enemy by lande. But when *Nicander* came vpon him on the backe, thinking the land beset also, not onely of them whom hee sawe, but of many mo, beyng yet night, he returned agayne to hys shippes wyth muche adoe, and was the firste that fought, and the firste that fell, vsing himselfe very valiauntly. The other were eyther taken or slucke, sauing the seauen that carryed force, wyth whome none durste meddle for the flame, which stode. The rest *Polyxenides* ledde away as pryces to *Ephesus*.

The *Rodian*  
shippes are di-  
stroyed by  
falsehode.

Cyme in *Asia*.

After this victoie, *Phoea* once againe, *Samos* and *Cyme* resorted to *Antiochus*.

*Linus* beyng nowe afraide of hys shippes that hee lesse in *Asiade*, sayled thither in haste, and *Eumenes* with hym.

The *Rodians* sent the *Romanes* twentye shippes more, making no delaye, all wyth good courage, sayled to *Ephesus*, preparing themselves to the fight.

But when none of the other came against them, they lesse the halfe of their shippes, a good time in the sea, and with the other

ther halfe, they spoyled the coaste of the enemye, tyl *Nicander* came vpon them from the lande, and taking their praye from them, droue them to their shippes. They came againe to *Samos*: and nowe was the time of *Linus* office expired.

The *Romanes*  
driven to their  
shippes.

At this tyme *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* his sonne, inuaded *Eumenes* lande, and besieged *Pergamo*, shutting the men within the Cittie. Wherefore *Eumenes* sayled wyth speede to *Elaa*, whyche is the porte Towne of his kyngdome, and *L. Aemilius Regulus* wyth him, that succeeded *Linus* in the matters of the sea. There came to *Eumenes* from hys confederats, one thousand footemen, and a hundred choise horsemen. Whose Generall *Diophanes*, when hee perceyued the souldiours of *Seleucus* to play and drinke, he passed little of them, and required the *Pergameneans* to sally out with him vpon the enemy.

*Eumenes* is be-  
sieged.

*Diophanes*.

But when they durste not do it, he armed hys own thousand footemen, and hundred horsemen, and leading them to the wall, stode there quietly, the enemies lookyng stil vpon them being so few, yet durst not set vpon them. But when they were at dinner, he gaue onset vnto the warders, the other arming themselves, or taking their horses, or fleeing from them that followed, or being in confusion, durste not abide it. He hadde a noble victorie, the *Pergamenians* then crying oute of the wall, but yet durste not come forth. He, hauing slaine as manye as he coude in that shorte onset, and carryng away some horses and men prisoners, he toke hys place, and the next day brought the *Acheans* to the wall, when as the *Pergamenians* durste not yet come out. *Seleucus* with many horsemen betweneare and prouoked hym, but hee stode still at the wall, and kept his charge.

The valiantnesse  
of the *Acheans*.

The cowardise  
of the *Pergamians*.

When *Seleucus* hadde tarried tyll middaye, hee tourned and wente awaye. *Diophanes* set vpon the hindermost, and scattered and hurte many of them, whyche being done, hee retired to the wall: And vsyng this manner continuallye, and allowes laying in wayte for them, when they went for forrage and wood, he so troubled them, as he made *Seleucus* to leaue *Pergamo*, and droue hym from the other place of *Eumenes*.

*Seleucus* the  
kings sonne.

t.

nes

*Myonesus,  
is an Ile before  
Ephesus.*

nes. Betwene the Romanes and *Polyxenides*, not long after, was a fyght by sea, at *Myonesum*, in the whiche *Polyxenides* hadde ten hundred armed shippes. *Lucius* the Romanes Admirall, hadde .83. of the whiche fyue and twenty were of the *Rhodians*, whereof *Eudorus* beyng capitaine, had the left wing.

When he did see the other of *Polyxenides* to be much aboute the Romanes, he feared to be inclosed, therefore he sayled aboute with his lighte shippes, and well practised in the Sea. And with his shippes that carryed fyre, he set vppon *Polyxenides*, flaming on enery side with fire.

*The fight by sea*

They durste not deale wyth them, bicause of the fire, but in a circle sayled about them, and annoyding them, keeping the sea, stroke the sides of them, till one *Rhodian* shippe fell vppon one of the *Sydonian* shippes wyth suche a vehemence, as an anker fell from the *Sydonian* shippe in to the *Rhodian*, and helde them faste together. So as there was a fight of shippes not mouing, as it had bin vpon the lande. When commyng of either side, very many to helpe their fellowe, there was a noble fyghte.

By this meane, the midde battell of the shippes of *Antiochus*, beyng leste naked, the Romanes sayled forwarde and enclosed theyr vnerpente ennemyes, whyche, when they perceyued, they turned and fledde, in the whyche, the King losse nine and twenty, whereof thytene were taken, menne, and all.

The Romanes losse but two: *Polyxenides* hauyng taken one *Rhodian*, went to *Ephesus*.

This was the fyghte by Sea, at *Myonesum*.

When *Antiochus* heard of this, he fortified *Cherronesus* and *Lyfimachia* verie stronglye, thinking it a greate matter, as it was in dede, to keepe the Romanes from passyng wyth theyr armye to the reste of *Thracia*, where they shoulde haue an harde and painefull way, except *Philip* did conuey them.

But *Antiochus* beyng alwayes lighte and soone chaunging, when he hearde of the losse at *Myonesum*, hee was utterly dismayed,

mayed, and thoughte God was againste hym. For where the Romanes hadde the better on the sea, beyonde all reason, in the whiche, he thought himselfe very mighty, and *Annibal* shutte vpps in *Pamphilia*, and *Philip* conducting the Romanes by the unknowne wayes, whome he thoughte woulde rather haue remembred the hurte he hadde by them, by all these thinges being inuicellously troubled, and God taking his wits from hym, as commonly hapneth in all calamities, he left *Cherronesus* very fondly, before his ennemyes were in sighte, not regarding howe greate preparation there was of victuall, armour, money, and munition, whyche hee dydde not burne, but leste it whole to his ennemyes: and he forsooke the *Lyfimachians*, as though the Cittie hadde bene taken, whyche fledde vnto hym with theyr wiues and children weeping: onelye hys care was to keepe the Romanes from *Abydus*, putting the reste of his hope of this warre altogether in it. Perther dydde hee keepe this passage, God taking his sense from hym, but went to the midde lande in haste, to preuente hys ennemye, leauing no garde there.

*In calamities  
sense fayleth.*

*Antiochus glusth  
ouer.*

*Abydus in Asia,  
ouer against  
Ius in Europe.*

When the *Scipions* hearde of this departure, they went to *Lyfimachia* in all haste, and toke all the armour and money in *Cherronesus*, and quicklye passed *Hellepont*, beyde of defence, and came to *Sardies*, where the King was, before he perceyued it.

Then hee was confounded and bitterly dejected, and laying hys owne fautes vppon Fortune, hee sente *Heracles* of *Byzance*, to the *Scipions* to make an ende of the warre, offering *Smyrna* and *Alexandria* at *Granico*, and *Lampsaco*, for the whiche, the warre beganne, and halfe the expences of the warre. And hee willed him, if neede were, to graunte the Citties of the *Ionians* and the *Eoleans*, that toke the Romanes parte in this warre, and whatsoener thyng the *Scipions* woulde require, and this he willed *Heracles* to speake openly, but priuately to offer *Publius Scipio* promise of much money from *Antiochus*, and also the libertye of hys sonne:

*Granica a flou  
in little Asia.*

*Antiochus see  
keth peace.*

Here the Author seemeth to take one for another. Scipio the younger prisoner to Antiochus.

For *Antiochus* had taken him in *Grecia* sayling from *Calide*, to *Diametriade*.

And this son of *Scipio* was he that toke and destroyed *Carthage* the seconde time, and the seconde man that was named *Africanus*, sonne of *Paulus*, that ouercame *Perseus* of *Macedonia*, being *Scipio* his sisters sonne by degree, and hys sonne by adoption.

The *Scipions* openly made thys aunswere to *Heraclide*,

That if *Antiochus* will haue peace, he muste not only leaue the Citties of *Ionis* and *Aeolia*, but all the Countrey aboute *Taurus*, and defraye the whole charges of the warre, of the whiche he hath bin the cause. Yet priuately *Publius* saide thus to him.

If *Antiochus* had offered these conditions of peace, when he hadde *Lyfismachia* and *Cherronefus*, the *Romanes* woulde willingly haue accepted it, and peradventure, if he hadde forbidde, onely to passe *Hellepont*. But nowe that they were vpon the lande, and in safe place, and hadde not onely the bydle, as they say, but also were mounted the horse, with the bydle, they woulde not accept suche conditions by wordes. And that he did giue the kynge thanks, for hys great offer, and woulde gyue hym greater, if he sent him his sonne. And for the present tyme, would wysh hym to take the conditions, before he were bounden to the pzoofe of greater burden.

When that *Publius* hadde saide thus, he went to *Elas*, for his health, leauing *Cneus Domitius*, legate to his brother.

*Antiochus*, as *Phillippe* of *Macedonie*, thinking no more coulde be taken from hym by this war, than was propounded, gathered his armye in the plaine of *Thyatira*, not farre from hys enemies, and sente *Scipio* his sonne to *Elas*, and hee counselled the byringers, that the kynge shoulde not fighte, tyll hee came againe to the Campe. *Antiochus* giuing credite to hym, encamped at the hill *Sipyle*, and defenced hys Campe wyth a strong wall, and put the floud *Phrygio* betwene him and his enemies.

*Domitius* being desirous to trie the fight by himselfe, passed the

the floud very boldly, and going within two myle and an halfe of *Antiochus*, encamped there foure dayes together. Either of them set their men in order before their Camps, neyther of the beginning the fight. The fifth day, *Domitius* set in order againe, and came forth very proudly, and when *Antiochus* came not against him, he remoued his Camp nigher to him. One day being past, he proclaymed in the hearing of the enemies, that hee would the next day fight, whether *Antiochus* woulde or no. Hee being troubled again, changed his purpose, and where he might haue kept within his Camp, or manfully resist these, till *Publius* had come, he thought it a shame to refuse the fighte, being more in number: wherefore he toke order for the battell, and both of them came forth at the last watch, being yet nighte, and eyther of them thus arrayed themselves. Tenne thousand of the *Romane* souldiers helde the left wing at the very floud, and with them were other tenne thousande *Italians*, in thre seuerall bands.

With the *Italians*, the army of *Eumenes* was placed, and the target men of *Achaia*, about thre thousand. This was the left battell.

The right, was the horsemen of the *Romanes*, *Italians*, and *Eumenes*, and they no more but thre thousand. There was mixed with them all the light armed, and the archers. And about *Domitius* was foure bandes of horsemen. All these made thirtie thousand.

*Domitius* ledde the right battell. In the middle he placed the Consull.

The left battell he committed to *Eumenes*.

The Elephants that he had out of *Libya*, he thoughte to be to no purpose, for they belesse that be at *Libya*, and afrayde of the greater, and they were but few, and therefore sette them last of all. This was the *Romanes* order.

*Antiochus* armye was. lxx. M. of the whiche, the surest was the *Macedonians* battaille, called *Phalanx*, containing. xvj. M. men firste appointed by *Alexander*, and *Philip*. It standeth in the middell, diuided by a thousand and sixe hundred into ten parts, and of euery parte of these in the front, were fifty men, and in

*Antiochus* prouoked to fight.

The order of the *Romanes*.

Elephants of *Libya*: lesse than of *India*, and afrayde of the greater.

The *Phalanx* of *Macedonia*.

the middest two and thirtie, and in þe side of eyther part two and twenty. The sight of this *Phalanx* was like a wall, & the Elephants seemed like Towers. This was the midde battell of *Antiochus*.

The Horsemen were on eyther side of it. The men of armes of the *Galatians*, and the choyce horsemen of *Macedonia*, called of them *Agema*. These were equally on eyther side the greate battell. There were wings beside these. In the righte wing were light armed Souldiours, and other Horsemen with shuer shields, and archers on horsebacke two hundred.

The lefte wing helde the nations of the *Galatians*, *Tessagans*, *Trocmans*, and *Tolistonians*, and certaine *Cappadocians*, whome *Ariarathes* sente, and other strangers mingled.

To these were ioyned another company of men of armes, and of hys confederates with lighte armour. This order made *Antiochus*, seeming to put his trust in the Horsemen, whome being many, he placed in the front, and very unskillfully he thrust the greate battell in a streight place, in the whiche, he ought to haue put his trust, being most strong.

There was also a greate number of slingers, archers, darters, and target men, of *Phrygians*, *Lydians*, *Pamphylians*, *Pisidians*, *Cretes*, *Frakians*, and *Cilicians*, all armed after the manner of *Cretes*. There were other archers on horsebacke to these, *Daceans*, *Musians*, *Aelymeans*, and *Arabians*, which being set vpon most swift Camels, they shoote easilie from high, and when they be at hand, vse long and narrowe swords. The armed Chariots were placed at the beginning in the firste fronte, and were commaunded when they had giue the firste push, to giue backe. The fight was like two armies, the one to begin the battell, and the other to lye in waite. Either of them being made to as muche terror as coulde be, both in number and forme. *Antiochus* hym selfe ledde the horsemen of the righte wing. The lefte side, hys sonne *Seleucus* gouerned. Of the *Phalanx*, *Philip* the maister of the Elephants had the charge. Of the foreward, *Medus* and *Zenon*. The day being cloudy and darko, the sight was taken away of this preparation, and all the bowes were the worse, as in the aire moist and thicke. Which, when *Eumenes* considered, he paid

*Agema* signifieth the exercised battell of horsemen or footemen that went before the Caprayne. *Trocmi* people of France, that did inhabit Asia. *Tolistobii* that went out of Galatia to Bithynia.

Arabians fight vpon Camels.

Shot hindered by moyst ayre.

led not of all the rest, only he feared most the violence of the armed Chariots. Therfore he gathered together the archers and darters, and other lighte harnesse, commaunding them to goe againste the Chariots, and to shoote agaynste the Horses, and not the men, for the horse in the Chariot struing with hys yoke, the rest of the Chariot is made vnprofitable, and many times breaketh the other battels, men being afrayde of the sties, as it came then to passe. For when the Horses were stricken so thicke, and the Chariots carried backe of the horses, the Camels felte the disorder first, being next the Cartes, and after them the men of armes, whose horse for the waighte of the armour, could hardly escape the danger of the sties. Great was the trouble, and the confusion diuers, which became chiefly of these, and wēt through the whole battell, and for ignorance, was more than it needed. For in a long rowe and thicke multitude of men, with a diuers crie, and greate feare, the truth was not perceyued of them that were next the hurt persons, and suspicion made euery man thinke the thing greater than it was.

When *Eumenes* did see the firste successe happily to him, and the foreward, with the Chariots, that the Camels did couer, to be naked, he set his owne horsemen, and as many as he had of the Romanes and Italians against the contrary part of the *Galatians* and *Cappadocians*, and the other route of strangers, exhorting the with loude voice to dispatch these ignorant men, being destitute of their defence. They were ready, & giuing a fierce onset vpon them, they made the turne, and þe men of armes that were ioyned to them, which were disordered before of þe Chariots, & because these coulde most hardly see or turne, by reason of theyr waight, they toke the, and killed the. And this was done at the left battell of the *Macedonians*. In the right wing, where *Antiochus* was, breaking the battell of the Romanes, he made them flee, and followed them. The great battell of the *Macedonians*, being sette with the Horsemen in a streight place and quadrate, and hope of Horsemen on eyther side, receyued the skirmishers that fought at the front of them, disordring themselves, and closing againe, *Domitius* with his Horsemen, and lighte harnesse, easily

The Chariots were armed with sties.

*Antiochus* at his side putteth the Romanes to flight.

raillie compassed them, as a thicke square, neither fitte to give onset, nor enlarge themselves being so broad. They manfully abode much force, and were grieved, that for all their experience they could do no good, but stand to receyue the stripes & wounds of their enemies on euery side. Only they stretched forth their pikes in square manner, and chalenged the Romanes to trie their manhode hand to hande with them, for the which they hadde so much prayse: yet did they not march forth, being on fote & heauie harnessed, and seing their enemies with horse, chiefly that they should not dissolue their sure aray. The Romanes came not vpon them, nor woulde fight with them, fearing the experience and strength of so valiant men, but running aboute them, dyd shote and dart at them, and neuer missed, so many being closed in so little rowe, for neyther could they auoyde the dartes, nor approach to them that threwe vpon them. Wherefore when they had endured a long time, of very necessitie they gaue backe, and turned their way with threats, very orderly, and fearefull to the Romanes, for neither then durst they sette vpon them, but hurte them as they could go about them, till the Elephants brake vpon the Macedonians battell, whiche woulde not be ruled by their guides, and then there orderly retiring, was altered. In this, Domitius had the vpper hand, and passing to the Campe of Antiochus, forced them that kept it. Antiochus chased the Roman legions a great way, which had neither horsemen, nor light harnesse to gard them, Domitius thinking they shoulde not neede bycause of the floud, till he came to the Romanes Campe, where the Capitaine that had the charge with fresh souldiours resisted his violence, and to them ioynd they that fledde, and were the more bold. So the king returned, being very proud and haulte. For this victorie, nothing knowing yet of that was happened on the other side. Artalus brother to Eumenes, with many horsemen encountred with the king, through the whiche he passed, and hurte them, keeping his course with the losse of a few, not caring for them. But when he did see the losse, and all the field full of his dead people, men, horse, and Elephants, and his Campe taken by force, he fledde without ceasing, till he came to

The wayne  
battell is disor-  
dred by the  
Elephants.

Domitius entrench  
the kings Camp.

Antiochus cha-  
ceth one part of  
the Romanes  
to their Camp.

to sarden, aboute midnight, and from sarden, to Celana, whych Celana they call *Apamea*, whither hee vnderstode his sonne was fledde.

The next daye he went from Celana to Syria, leauing his Capitaines at Celana, to receyue and gather together them that fledde, and sent Ambassadors to the Consull for to cease war, who was burying his dead souldiours, and spoiling his enemies, and gathering the captiues. Of the Romanes that were of the Cittie, there was slaine, foure and twenty horsemen, and three hundred footemen, chiefly of them whome Antiochus slewe. Eumenes losse no more but fiftē horsemen. The kyngs losse with his confederates, was iudged to be fiftie thousand, which could not well be numbred for the multitude: all the Elephants were slaine, saue fiftē, which were taken. After this victorie so noble, & beyonde all reason, as some thoughte, not being lyke, that so fewe, in a strange Country, should overcome so many, especially, where the Macedonian Phalanx was furnished full of men, whiche for the valiantnesse, was terrible, and thought invincible, the friends of Antiochus accused his rashnesse, in falling out with the Romanes, and his unskilfulnesse, and foolishnesse from the beginning, that he lefte Cherronesus and Lyfimaitha oute of his handes, full of munition and money, before the Romanes came alande to trye it, and neglected the guarding of Hellepont, the whiche the Romanes thoughte they could not easely passe by force. They blamed also his last oversight, making his chief strength vnprofitable, by placing it so streight, putting his trust more in mingled multitude of men that were fleshy souldiours, than in men, that for experience and time, were acquainted with the warre, and by the continuance of the same, were endued with valiantnesse and courage. These speeches were made of Antiochus.

The errors of  
Antiochus.

The Romanes increased in courage, and thought nothing too harde for them, bothe for their vertue, and the fauoure of the Gods. This did make to the opinion of their felicitie, that being so few against so many, in an expedition, and in the first fight, in a strange land, they should overcome in one daye, so many nations,

nations so princely a power, both for the vertue of the hired soldiours, and the glorie of the *Macedonians*, and for the great dominion of the King, as he hadde gotten the surname of Great: For in their speeche and talke, King *Antiochus* the Great, was a greates word among them. The *Romanes* thus gloried of themselves. The Consul, after his brother *Publius* was come recovered from *Elas*, answered *Antiochus* Ambassadors, which required to learne, what *Antiochus* shoulde do to be a friend to the *Romanes*. *Publius* answered thus unto them.

Answer to  
the Kings ambaf-  
sadours.

*Antiochus* hath bin the cause bothe of these and former troubles thowhe his ambition, who hauing a greates Kingdome, and the *Romanes* suffering him to haue it, tooke from *Ptolomie* his kinsman, and friend to the *Romanes*, *Celestria*, and inuaded *Europe*, where he had nothing to do: he subdued *Thracia*, he fortified *Cherronesus*, and builded *Lysimachia*. He came into *Grecia*, & made the *Grecians* bond, whom the *Romanes* had made free, til he was overcome in battaile at *Thermopylei*, from whence though he fled, he leste not his ambition, but being overcome diuerse tymes of vs by sea, when we were passed *Hellepont*, he desired peace: The conditions whereof, thowhe pride, he contemned, and gathered a mighty army, and with gret preparation he made war againe against vs, and by compulsion was broughte to trye it with his betters, till he was overcome, to his greates losse. It were fitte that we should set a greater punishment vpon him, that so manye tymes hath violently dealt with the *Romanes*, but we wil not be insolent for our felicitie, nor aggravate others calamitie. Therefore we giue the same conditions that we appointed before, adding a fewe more whiche be profitable for vs, and shall be commodious for his safety in tyme to come.

The conditions  
of peace.

That he refraine from al *Europe* and *Asia* on this side *Taurus*, and to these, limites shall be appointed.

That he deliuer al the *Elephantes* he hath, and as many ships as we shall commaunde.

That hereafter he haue no more *Elephants* nor more ships, than we shall appoint.

That he deliuer xx. pledges as the President shall prescribe.

That

That he giue for the expences of the warre, begun by hym, five hundred talents of *Eubæa*, presently, and when the Senate shall approve the league, y. p. v. c. talents, and in .xij. yeares after, other xij. p. v. c. talents, parte whereof to be broughte to Rome euery yeare.

The least talent  
was lx. li.

That he giue to vs all the prisoners and bondmen.

That he restore to *Eumenes* all that he oughte to do, by a league betwene *Attalus* his father and him.

If *Antiochus* wil faithfully performe this, we giue him peace and friendship, when the Senate shall ratifie it. Thus did *Scipio* determine, and the Ambassadors accepted it, and paid parte of the mony in hande, and deliuered twenty pledges, whereof, *Antiochus* the Kings yonger sonne was one, whome the *Scipions* sente to Rome with the Ambassadors.

*Antiochus* sonne  
sent to Rome.

The Senate agreed to the conditions, and subscribed to the confirmation of the peace made by *Scipio*, and of some thynges that were not determined, they made a little addition.

That two forlandes called *Calycadnum*, and *Sarpedon* should be the limite of *Antiochus* Kingdome, and that he doe not passe them to make warre.

These be in  
Cilicia.

That he keepe twelue armed ships onely to rule his subiectes in obedience and if warre be made vpon him, to vse more.

That he harborowe no *Romanes*, nor receiue fugitiues.

That he change his pledges euery .iij. yeares, his sonne only excepted.

This was written and sette vpp in a table of brasse in the Capitoll, where other couenants of peace be placed, and a copy was sent to *Manlio Polsoni*, successour to *Scipio*. He gaue othe to *Antiochus* Ambassadors, at *Apama* in *Phrygia*, and *Antiochus* to *Thermis* a Tribune that was sente to hym. And thus was the ende of the warre betwene the *Romanes* and *Antiochus*, that was called Great. And it seemed that he obtained it only for the kindnesse hee shewed to *Scipio* in restoring his sonne: and some there were that accused *Scipio* for it: and the two Tribunes noted hym of corruption and prodicion, hee despyling

*Manlius Polsoni*

v. li.

and *Scipio* is accused

and condemning the accusation, after he was come to the Court that daye, that afore he had ouerthrowne *Carthage*, sent to make sacrifice in the Capitoll, and came himselfe into the Pallatice of Iudgement with goodly shew, and not sad or mourning, like an accused man, euery man wondring at him, and fauouring hym as a worthye man, and of greate courage being cleare in conscience.

The courage of  
Scipio.

When he beganne to speake, he saide nothing of the accusation, but made a rehearsall of his life, his seruice and al his acts, howe manye warres he had finished for his countrey, whome he had ouerthrowne, howe ofte he had victoꝛye, in so mu. he, as it was a pleasure to the hearers, for the noble declaration of his historie. And when he came to the warre of *Carthage*, most of all he delated the manner thereof wyth great vehemence, and audience of the people, saying: This daye, *Romanes*, did I conquer, and made *Carthage* to obey you, which til then, was most terrible vnto you. This day do I goe to sacrifice in the Capitoll, and as many of you as loue your Countrey, accompany me in the sacrifice that is made for you.

Hauiing saide thus, he went forth to the Capitoll, not passing of his complainte.

The people followed him, and so did manye of the Iudges, praysing him wyth open voice, and saide the like, whiles he was sacrificing. The accusers were discoraged & durst not prosecute the cause, as of no purpose, nor blame the peoples fauoure, perceiving that his life was of moze price, than their suspition and calumniation.

Aristides not so  
constant as  
Scipio.  
Socrates.

*Scipio* seemeth to me moze wisse, in the stoute behauioure and contempte of this accusation, than *Aristides*, being accused of fraude, and *Socrates*, in the thinges whereof hee was charged, neyther of them answering in the like discredite, sauing that *Socrates* speaketh as pleaseth *Plato*: Yea he was moze courageous than *Epaminondas* that was ruler of the *Thebians*, with *Pelopidas* and an other. The *Thebians* hadde sente them, gyuinge ether of them an armie to helpe the *Arcadians* and *Messenians*, that were at warre with the *Laconians*. And bycause thynges

*Epaminondas*.

were

were not done as they entended, they were accused and called home. They deliuered not their armies to their successours in five moneths, in the whiche time, they expelled the *Lacedemonian* garrisons, & placed other of the *Arcadians*, *Epaminondas* compelling his companions to doe it, promising that the doyng thereof shoulde not be hurtfull to them. When they were come home, their accusers prosecuting the matter againste euerye of them, they were condemned to dye. For the Lawe iudged hym to die, that by violence would rule in an other mans office. The other escaped, vsing lamentation and many wordes, and laying al the blame in *Epaminondas*, for so he willed them to say, and he would asseyme it.

He being condemned to dye, saide: I confesse it is againste the lawe, to rule thys tyme, and that I compelled them, whome you haue deliuered nowe. I do not desire to be pardoned, ha-  
*Epaminondas* manner of answer.

ving transgressed the lawe, but I beseeche you, that for the seruice I haue done, you woulde witte thus. This is he, that gotte the victorie of *Leutra*, and that brought his Countrey to *Sparta* it selfe, whiche before coulde not abide those enemies, nor no straunger that ware a *Lacedemonian* hatte, he is condemned of his Countrey, offending the Lawe for the benefite of his Countrey. Hauiing saide thus, he came from the *Tribunes*, and offered his bodye to them that woulde take it.

The Iudges, by the reproch of thys speeche, and maruell of the answer, and reuerence of the person accused, durste not abide the triall, but ran out of the Court. These euery man may iudge as he listeth.

*Manlius* the successor of *Scipio*, went to the lande that was taken from *Antiochus*, and gaue order for them, and the *Galathians* that aided *Antiochus*, called *Tolistonians*, fleeing to *Mysia Olympus*. He followed painefully thorough the Mountaines, and killed them in the chase, with suche a slaughter and bloodshed, as it could not be numbred for the multitude. He toke prisoners fortie thousand, he burned their armour, and solde their bodies to the nexte *Barbarians*, bycause he coulde not carry suche a com-

*Tolistonians* were  
people that  
came out of  
Spain to dwell  
in *Bithinia*.

v. 111.

pany,

pany aboute in the warre.

*Manius in danger.*

The *Tectosagans* and *Trocmans* put him in daunger by decelte, from the whiche he escaped. And returning againe vppon them, remayning and stayng, bycause they were so many, he brought his shotte, commaunding them to discharge vppon them, neither all together, nor too nigh the enimie, and where no arrow was shot in vaine, for the thickenesse of the enimies, he slawe eighte thousande, and chased the other to the floude *Alys*.

*Alys a floud running out of Taurus.*

*Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, and a confederate of *Antiochus*, being afraide, and praying peace, and with his prayer sending two hundred talentes, he didde not querrunne his lande, but wente to *Hellepont*, with greate riches, and infinite money, muche spoile, and armie laden: And surely he did very vnwisely, that being Sommer, he would not go by sea, not regarding the waighte of the carriage, nor how he coulde leade his army to continue and abide so long a iorney, not marching to war, but going home with spoyles.

*The error of Antiochus.*

He went by *Thracia*, a streight, long, and harde waye, in the hote Sommer, neither did he sende to *Philip* of *Macedonie* to conduct him, neither diuided his army into many parts, that they might go the lighter, and be the more readye for all purposes, nor distributing the burdens into seuerall bands, that they might be the better kepte, but carped all together on an heape, so long a way, & that in the middest, so that neither they that went before, nor they behind, could helpe in time for the length and straightnesse of the way. Wherefore the *Thracians* setting vpon the flanks of him euery where, he losse greate parte of the pray, and of the common treasure, and of his army, and with the reste, he saued himselfe in *Macedonia*. And then was it well perceyued, how much pleasure *Philip* shewed the *Scipions*, and howe muche *Antiochus* erred in leauing *Cherronesus*: Thus *Manlius* wente from *Macedonia* to *Thessalie*, and from *Thessalie* to *Epirus*, and from *Epirus* sayled to *Brundise*, where sending his army euery manne home, he went to *Rome*. The *Rhodians* and *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, aduancing themselves for their seruice against *Antiochus*, *Eumenes* went to *Rome*, and the *Rhodians* sent Ambassadors.

The

The Romanes gaue to the *Rhodians* *Lycia* and *Caria*, the whye, not long after, they tooke from them, bycause, when they hadde warre wyth *Perseus* of *Macedonie*, they seemed more inclined to hym, than them. To *Eumenes* they gaue all the reste that they had taken from *Antiochus*, excepte the *Greekes* there: and to them that payde anye tribute to *Attalus* his father, they commaunded to pay it to *Eumenes*. The tribute that they payde before to *Antiochus*, they forgave them, and graunted them to liue free.

*Revvards gaue to the Rhodians.*

*Revvards to Eumenes. Revvards to the Greekes.*

Thus the Romanes diuided their conquest, and when *Antiochus* the Greate was deade, *Seleucus* his sonne succeeding hym, hee sente for his brother *Antiochus* that was pledge at *Rome*, and putte his sonne *Demetrius* in his place.

*Antiochus the great dieth.*

When *Antiochus* was come to *Athens*, *Seleucus* was killed of one *Heliodorus* that was aboute him. And *Eumenes* and *Attalus* drove *Heliodorus* out of the Kingdome whiche hee usurped, and restored it to *Antiochus*, to haue his friendship, for nowe they were growne into some suspition with the Romanes.

*Seleucus killed.*

Thus *Antiochus* the sonne of Greate *Antiochus* was kynge of *Syria*, who of the *Syrians* was called the *Spotable*, bicause when his kingdome was rauished by others, he shewed to be their natural king. Making league with *Eumenes*, he reigned ouer *Syria*, and the nations aboute it mightilye. He made *Tymarchus* lieutenant of *Babylon*, and *Heraclides* his Treasurer, being brethren, and in great fauour wyth hym. He made warre vppon *Artaxes* King of *Armenia*, whome, when hee hadde taken, hee dyed, leauing *Antiochus* his sonne of nine yeares of age, whom, for his fathers vertue, the *Syrians* called *Eupater* *Lysias* brought vppe this child.

*Antiochus the Noble.*

*Antiochus the second dieth.*

*Antiochus Eupater.*

When the Romanes heard that *Antiochus* was deade so soone, who in a little tyme had gotte great fame, they were glad, *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Seleucus*, brother to *Antiochus* the *Spotable*, nephew to *Antiochus* the Greate, & cousin to this child, being pledge at *Rome* and of thre and twenty yeares of age, requyred to be admitted to the Kingdome, as more neare to him, but it was denied.

denyed hym, not thinking it good for them, that a lustye young man shoulde raigne in a childes place. And vnderstanding that there were manye Elephantes in Syria, and more Shypps than was agreede, they sent Ambassadours to kyll the Elephantes and burne the Shippes. It was a grienous thing to see those beastes tame and rare killed, and the shyps to bee sette on fyre. Wylth the whiche fighte, one *Leptines* in *Ladicia*, being offended, finding *Cneus Octavius* that was chiefe of this Embassage in a Schole house, killed hym, and *Lysias* buried hym.

*Demetrius* comming againe into the Senate, desired anelye to be released of his Dstagehip, being put there for *Antiochus*, and nowe *Antiochus* beyng dead.

The whiche when he coulde not obtayne, he fledde awaye pryvily, and being receyued gladye of the *Syrians*, hee tooke the Kingdome vpon him, and killed the child, and *Lysias*, and droue awaye *Heraclides*, and killed *Timarchus* resisting him, and euill vsing the *Babylonians*, for the whiche the *Babylonians* gaue him the name of *Soter*, and of them it had the beginning.

*Demetrius* hauing the rule, sent a Crowne of tenne thousande Crownes to the *Romanes*, to thanke them for the tyme hee was pledge with them, and also, *Leptines*, that killed *Octavius*. They accepted the Crowne, but would not take *Leptines*, reseruing that quarrell againste the *Syrians*.

*Demetrius* droue *Ariarathes* oute of his kingdome, and putte in *Obfernes*, that was account'ed hys brother, for a thousand talents, the *Romanes* thinking it good, bothe bzyethzen shoulde rule together.

These being gone, and *Ariobarzanes* afterward overcome of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, the warre of *Mithridates* followed of this and other occasion, the greatest and most variable, made with so manye nations, and continuing fortye yeres. In the whiche time, there were many Kings of Syria in a little time, yet all descended of the royall bloude. There were many changes and tumults in that kingdome. The *Parthians* resulting from the rule of *Seleucide* tooke from them *Mesopotamia*, that was wont to obey them.

*Tigranes*, the sonne of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, toke cer-  
tayne nations aboute him that had their proper princes, thin-  
king to be their King, and ouercame *Seleucides* subiectes that  
would not obey him. *Antiochus* the God, not able to resist him,  
he gotte all Syria to *Euphrates*, and all the generation of Syria  
to *Aegypt*. He gotte also *Cilicia* that obeyed the house of *Seleuci-*  
*des*, making *Magadates* Lieutenant, who ruled them fouyetene  
yeares: but when *Lucullus* the *Romane* Generall did follow *Mi-*  
*thridates*, fleeing to *Tigranes*, *Magadates* wente with this army to  
help *Tigranes*, and so *Antiochus*, sonne of *Antiochus* the God,  
was broughte into Syria, whome the *Syrians* obeyed with good  
will. And *Lucullus* that firste made warre against *Tigranes*, and  
put him from the lands he had wonne, did not enuie the aunci-  
ent kingdomes. But *Pompey* that followed *Lucullus*, and ouer-  
came *Mithridates*, and compelled *Tigranes* to rule in *Armenia*,  
did cast out *Antiochus* from the kingdome of Syria, hauing not  
offended the *Romanes* in dede, bycause it was an easie thing  
with such an armie to spoyle a king that had no army, but in  
pretence, bycause the *Seleucidians* were expelled of *Tigranes*, it  
was not reason they shoulde rule Syria any longer, *Tigranes* being  
ouercome of the *Romanes*. And thus the *Romanes* got *Cilicia* and  
Syria the midde region, and *Calosyria* and *Phenitia*, and *Paphlago-*  
*nia*, and all other parties of Syria, from *Euphrates* to *Aegypt*, and  
to the Sea coast, without any fighte. The nation of the *Iewes*  
only remaining, *Pompey* conquered, and sent their kynge *Aristo-*  
*bulus* to Rome, and beate downe their greatest and holpest Citie  
*Hierusalem*, which *Ptolomeus* the firste King of *Aegypt* did ouer-  
throwe also, and *Vespasianus* agayne destroyed it, after it was  
redified, and in my time *Adrianus*, and therefore the *Iewes*  
haue a greater tribute set vpon euery body, than their substance  
is worth. The *Syrians*, and the *Cilicians* also, payed euery man  
the hundred part. And *Pompey* put seuerall kings and Princes in  
the realmes, that obeyed the bloud of *Seleucus*, as he did to the  
*Galathians* in *Asia*. To these Princes he confirmed the inuisi-  
tion of a fourth part, that serued him against *Mithridates*. And  
not long after, they fell to the *Romanes* in *Casars* time, and chiefly

*Lucullus* fauou-  
red the aunci-  
ent Kinges.  
*Pompey* seeketh  
cause to put the  
king from Syria.

*Iewes* conquered.

*Vespasianus*.

*Adrianus*.

*Pompey* maketh  
Kings and Te-  
trarches.

The ships and  
Elephants  
burned.

The *Romane*  
Ambassadour is  
killed.

*Demetrius* flyeth  
from Rome.

Ransom.

*Demetrius* put-  
teth out *Aris*  
rathes.

Occasion of the  
warre with  
*Mithridates*.

*Seleucides*, the  
royall bloud,  
*Parthians*.

Scaurus,  
Philippus,  
Marcellinus,  
Lentulus.

Gabinus hanni-  
shed in making  
warre vpon Egypt.

Crassus,  
P. Bibulus, Saxes.  
The race of the  
kings of Syria.

Perdiccas.

to Augustus as the case stood. Pompey appointed Scaurus to rule Syria, who had bin a Treasurer in his camp. And after Scaurus the Senate sent Philippus Marcius, and after Philippe, Marcellinus Lentulus, being of the degree of Pretors. Bothe these spent theyr tyme in subduing the Arabians that were tumultuous. And for this cause Lieutenants were sent afterwarde into Syria, of them that ruled in the city, that they might haue power, both in peace & war, as the Consuls had. The first of these was Gabinus that came with an army to make war. And Mithridates king of Parthia being driuen out of his kingdom by Herodes his brother, came to Parthia againe by the Arabians. And Ptolomie the eleuenth King of Egypt, being also put out of his kingdom, obtained by much money, that he would inuade Alexandria in steade of Parthia: and so Gabinus making war vpon them of Alexandria, restored Ptolomie into his kingdom, wherefore he was banished of the Romanes Senate, for that he made a war without commission, that was thought unlucky to the Romanes. For it was forbidden by Sibylla. After Gabinus, I thinke, that Crassus ruled Syria, & making war vpon the Parthians, receyued a great losse. And Lucius Bibulus gouerning Syria after Crassus, the Parthians inuaded it. And Saxes ruling after Bibulus, they ranged as farre as Ionia, the Romaines being molested with ciuil warres one against another. But these shalbe declared perfectly in the booke of the Parthians war. In this booke, being of Syria, shalbe shewed how the Romanes got Syria, and helde it, as they do now. It shall not be amisse to shew how the Macedonians got Syria, and reigned there before the Romanes. For Alexander the King had Syria beyonde Persia, and was king of all he won. When Alexander was dead, leauing children, one very yong, another in his mothers womb, the Macedonians for the loue of Philips house, chose Ariden to be their king, that was Alexanders brother, although he was thoughte not to be wel in his minde, calling hym Philip in steade of Ariden, Alexanders children being yet with tutors, & the mother with child diligently kept. The friends diuided the nations, & Perdiccas was the diuider, vnder king Philip. And the kings being dead not long after, the great men were made Kings. The first prince

Prince of Syria was Laomedon of Mitilene, set in by Perdiccas, and after by Antipater that were kings. Ptolomies failed to Laomedon that was ruler of Siria, and perswaded him by much money, to lette him haue Syria, being an entrie to Egypt, and a defence to Cyprus, the whiche he denying, he tooke hym. And he deceyuing his keepers, fledde to Alceia into Caria. And a certaine time Ptolomie had Syria, and when he had left garrisons in the Cittie, hee sayled into Egypt. Antigonus was prince of Phrygia, Lycia, & Pamphilia, being left ouerser of all Asia, of Antipater, when he failed into Europe, to make warre vpon Eumenes that was Prince of Cappadocia, being iudged to be an enemy of the Macedonians, he fled and got Media for himselfe. But Antigonus followed and killed hym, and proceeding, was royally receyued of Seleucus prince of Babilon. But when Seleucus had punished one of the Captains, & not made Antigonus of counsell, being present, he was angrye, and called him to accompte both of money and substance. Hee being too weake for Antigonus, fledde to Ptolomie into Egypt.

Antigonus straight after the slepyng of Seleucus, remoued Blitos Blon from his office, that ruled in Mesopotamia, because he furthered Seleucus in his departure, and tooke to himselfe Babilon, Mesopotamia, and other nations of the Medians to Hellespont. Antipater being deade, he was by and by suspected to all the other prouinces, hauing so much land. Wherefore by the perswasion chiefe of Seleucus, Ptolomie, and Lysimachus Prince of Thracia, and Cassander son to Antipater and ruler of Macedonia after his father, they conferred together, and sent a common Ambassage, requiring hym to diuide the lande and money, that hee had gotte, among them and the other Macedonians that had losse their prouinces.

Antigonus laughing at the matter, they made a common war againste him. He prepared agaynst them, and threwe oute all the garrisons that Ptolomie had in Syria, and sepyzed to himselfe, Phenicia and Calasyria that yet obeyed Ptolomie. When he wente to the straights of Cilicia, and lefte his sonne Demetrius, twoe and twenty yeares of age, in Gaze with an armye, to resist Ptolomies passages from Aegypt. But Ptolomie ouercame him at Gaze in a great fighte, and the yong manne fled to his father. Ptolomie sente Seleucus by and by to Babylon, to reconey his rule,

Laomedon the  
first prince in  
Syria.  
Ptolomie takes  
Laomedon, vvhoe  
escapeth.

A common war  
against Antigonus.

Gaze a Cittie in  
Persia.

and gaue him a thousande footemen, and three hundred horsemen. And with these fewe, *Seleucus* wente to *Babilon*, where he was gladly receyued of the inhabitantes, and in shorte time hadde a mighty dominion.

*Antigonus* was reuenged of *Ptolomie*, and ouercame him in a greate fighte by sea, at *Cyprus* in the whiche *Demetrius* his sonne was Admirall, by the whiche beinge muche renoumed, the armie called them both kyngs, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the kyngs beinge deade, *Arrius philips* sonne, and *Olimpiades*, and *Alexanders* childzen. And *Ptolomeus* armie called him kyng, that he shoulde seme not to be inferiour to them that had the victorie: and thus a like effect folowed of a contrarie cause. The other straight folowed these, and of rulers they were made kynges. So was *Seleucus* king of *Babylon*, and king of *Media*, *Nicanor* beinge killed of hym, who was lefte *Gouernoure* of *Media* by *Antigonus*: he made manie warres againste the *Macedonians* and *Barbarians*, and two chieflie againste the *Macedonians*. The laste whereof was againste *Lyfimachus* king of *Thracia*, and the first, againste *Antigonus* at *Ipsium* in *Phrygia*, where *Antigonus*, beyng four score yeares of age, playde the parte bothe of a Captaine and Souldiour, and beinge slaine at that field, as manie kings as tooke parte with *Seleucus* agaynste *Antigonus*, diuided his kingdomes betwenn them.

Howe hadde *Seleucus* all the rule of *Syria* beyonde *Euphrates*, to the sea, and of the midde lande of *Phrygia*. And euer he laide for the nighe nations, and beinge able bothe by force to compel, and by worde to perswade, he got *Mesopotamia*, *Armenia*, and *Cappadocia* called *Seleucida*, and *Perfia*, and *Parthia*, and *Bactua*, and *Arabia*, and *Tapyria*, and *Sogdia*, and *Araxofa*, and *Hyrkania*, and all other nighe nations to the floude *Indus*, whiche *Alexander* ouercame, so that he, after *Alexander*, hadde moste regions in *Asia*. For, from *Phrygia* to the floude *Indus*, all the highe lands obeyed *Seleucus*, and going into *Indus*, he made warre vpon *Sandracoto* king of those *Indians* that dwelt aboute it, till alliaunce beinge made, they came to peace. Some of these thinges he did befoze the death of *Antigonus*, and some after his death. They

Ipsium.

The valiantnes  
of *Antigonus* an  
olde prince.The greates  
dominion of *Seleucus*.*Sandracoto*.

saye, that beinge a souldiour, and followinge the king into *Perfia*, he soughte the Oracle in *Didumao*, to knowe of their returne into *Macedonia*, and it was answered. Make no haste to *Europe*, *Asia* is much better for thee. And in his fathers house in *Macedonia*, the harth did caste forth a great fyre, no man touchyng it, and his mother had a dreame, to gyue a ring that she shoulde finde, to *Seleucus*, for he shoulde be a king where that ring shoulde fall from hym, and she found a ring of yron, with an anker grauen in it, and he losse his signet at *Euphrates*, and it is saide also that going to *Babilon* an other tyme, he stumbled on a stone, and the stone beinge remoued, an anker was scene: and where the Soothsayer contended that it was a token of delay, *Ptolomeus Lagus* that went wyth hym saide, an Anker was a token of safety and not of delay. And for this cause, *Seleucus* beyng a king, bled an Anker for his Signet, some thinke also, that *Alexander* beinge aliue, and beholding it, another token was shewed to *Seleucus* of his kingdom. As *Alexander* returned fro *India* to *Babilon*, and sailed the ffens of *Babilon*, bicause *Euphrates* had ouerflown þe land of *Syria*, a sodain wind did blow off his Diademe into a place ful of reedes, where was a Sepulchre of an old king, whiche was a token also of *Alexanders* death. And that a mariner did swimme to it, and set it vpon his heade, to bringe it dye to *Alexander*, and for his good seruice, the king rewarded him with a talent of siluer, the Soothsayers counsellinge *Alexander* to kill him, and some saye *Alexander* did so, and some saye no. And some affyrme, that the Mariner did not swimme for it, but *Seleucus*, and that he put it vpon his heade, to bringe it dye, and that it was a token of bothe their fortunes. For *Alexander* died at *Babilon*, and *Seleucus* had the greatestt part of *Alexanders* lands of any of his successors. Thus much haue I vnderstanded of the tokens of his felicitie.

Immediatly after *Alexanders* death, he was made captain of the Guard of horsemen, whiche *Ephesleon* had in *Alexanders* time, and after him, *Perdiccas*. After this office of horsemen, hee was *Gouernour* of *Babilon*, and of a *Gouernour* was made a kyng, and bycause he was victorious in his wars, he was called

Token of *Seleucus*  
his kingdomAnker, token of  
safetie.*Alexanders*  
Crown blowyn  
off his heade.

Nicator is a  
conquerour.

Cities builded  
by Seleucus.

Greek names to  
Auerle Cities.

Seleucia at the  
Sea.

Seleucia at Tigris.

The wonder-  
full courage in  
building a Citie.

Nicator, and therefore (I thinke) he had this name, rather than  
for killing of Nicator. He was of a great and mighty body, in so  
much as when a wild Bull did breake his bandes at a sacrifice  
that Alexander made, he only stopped him, and with his hands  
only staid him, therefore they put hoznes vpon his Images. He  
builded Cities al ouer his kingdomes, first one, named *Antio-  
chia*, of his father, and five *Laodicia*, to his mother, nine of his  
owne name, four for his wiues, three named *Apamea*, and one  
*Stratonicea*, of the whiche, two remayne most noble to this day,  
*Seleucia* at the Sea, and *Seleucia* at the floud *Tigris*, of his owne  
name, and *Laodicia* in *Phoenisia*, and *Antiochia* at the hill *Libano*,  
and *Apamea* of *Syria*. He named other of *Greece* and *Macedonia*,  
eyther of some feate, or in the honor of Alexander the King,  
whereby there be in *Syria*, and in the barbarous Countreys be-  
yond them, many Cities of the *Greece* and *Macedonian* names, as  
*Beroia*, *Aedessa*, *Perinthus*, *Maronea*, *Callipolis*, *Achaia*, *Pella*, *Orotos*,  
*Amphipolis*, *Arcthisia*, *Astacos*, *Tegea*, *Chalcis*, *Ecatopolis*, *Achaia*,  
in *India*, *Alexandrinopolis*, in *Scythia*, *Alexandrescata*, and after  
his victories, *Niceporaon* in *Mesopotamia*, *Nicopolis* in *Armenia* that  
is next *Cappadocia*.

They saye, that when he builded *Seleucia* at the Sea, there  
was a token of a lightning, therefore nowe they sacrifice, and  
sing Hymnes to the lightning, bycause it was then sente as a  
token from God.

When he builded *Seleucia* at *Tigris*, he commaunded the  
Southsayers to appoynt a good day, and an houre of that day,  
when the worke shoulde beginne. The Southsayers tolde a  
falle houre, bycause they would not haue that worke to prosper,  
and *Seleucus* sate in his tente, tarrying for the houre, when the  
arriuie of themselves, on a suddayne, hauing tarried with silence  
for the houre that *Seleucus* appoynted, beganne the worke at  
the happie houre in dede, thinking some man had commaun-  
ded them, and wrought so vehemently, as no Proclama-  
tion coulde call them backe, tyll they hadde made an  
ende.

*Seleucus* being very soyy, asked the Southsayers what  
shoulde

shoulde become of this Citie: they crauing pardon sayde:  
O king, the destinie that is appointed, be it good or badde,  
neyther man nor Citie can auoyde. For there is a destinie of  
Cities, as well as of men. And this Citie shal be of moste long  
continuaunce by the appointment of God, being begon at this  
houre. We, fearing this building would haue bene a bypote to  
vs, went about to put by the destinie: but that is of greater force  
than eyther the subtiltie of the Southsayers, or the ignorance of  
the king: For god gaue the happy time to the army, and by that  
only, you may learne, and thinke we can not nowe decclue you.  
For thou the king diddest set with thynne armye, and thy selfe  
diddest commaund they shoulde tarry. And where they haue al-  
wayes bin most obedient to thee in perils and paines, they could  
not now holde nor stay at thy commaundement, but went to it,  
not by partes, but altogether with their captaynes as they had  
bin commaunded, and they were commaunded in dede, for when  
thou commaundedst to the contraye, they would not heare it:  
What is there then greater among men, than a king, but God,  
who is the ruler of thy will, and thy guide of this citie in steade  
of vs, and being offeended with vs, and al our nation here about,  
for how can our things stande, when a stronger generation ris-  
seth vpon vs: This citie shal be happy, mighty, and long conti-  
nuing. Confirme thy pardon to vs, that haue erred for feare of  
the losse of our priuate goods. When the wisemē had sayd thus,  
*Seleucus* was glad and pardoned them. And this muche haue I  
learned of *Seleucia*.

God guideth  
kings.

*Seleucus* being aloue, made his sonne king of all the high  
landes. And although this may appeare a princely and royall  
ade, yet moze princely and moderate was the taking of his  
sonnes loue, and the tempering of the affection therof.

*Antiochus* loued *Stratonicea* wife to *Seleucus* and mother in  
lawe to hym, and had bozne a childe to *Seleucus*. *Antiochus* be-  
ing ashamed of this straunge passion, neyther prosecuted so e-  
uill a thing, nor vttered it, but was sicke, pynning away, & glad-  
ly procured his owne death.

The

The marvellous  
loue of Antioch

The notable phisition *Erasistratus*, of counsell wyth *Seleucus* in moſte waightye affaires, coulde not coniecture the diſeaſe, till he had percepued that his body was ſounde in all partes, then he iudged the diſeaſe to be of the minde, by the loue or affecti- on of the whiche, the body is afflicted. Sorow, anger, and care, be commonly diſcouered, but loue is kepte ſecrete in a modeſt mynde. Of the whiche, *Antiochus* woulde vtter nothing to hym, though he haue vſed all gentle meanes to learne it ſecretly. He ſate by him and obſerued all the mutations of hys bodye, howe they ſtoode when any came in, and finding that at all other hys body was quiet and ſeeble in like ſorte. But when *Stratonica* the Create came in, to ſee him, his minde was vexed with ſhame- faſtneſſe and conſcience, and he then moſte diſquiet and ſilent, and his pulſes of it ſelfe, more liuely and mouing, and when ſhe was gone, ſeeble againe. The Phiſition therefore tolde *Seleucus* that his ſonne was ſicke of an incurable diſeaſe.

The King aſking howe, and crying out for grieſe, he ſayde, the ſickneſſe was Loue, and the loue of a woman, but it was im- poſſible to haue hir. *Seleucus* maruelling, that there ſhoulde be anye, that hir, being King of *Aſia*, could not perſuade to marry with his ſonne, either for fauour, for money and gifts, and for his whole Kingdome, which ſhoulde deſcend to the ſicke prince, the whiche he woulde giue him preſently, if any would preferue his health, and only praide him to tell him whoſe wife it was. Then ſaide *Erasistratus*, it is my wife that he loueth. Then *Seleucus* ſpake thus: O good *Erasistratus*, for the frienſhip and be- nefites that thou haſt receyued of vs, for the rare wiſedome and vertue that is in thee, wylte thou not ſaue a young man and a King, and the ſonne of thy friend and a King, vnfortunate and temperate, hiding his euill, and more ready to dye: wilt thou ſo little paſſe of *Antiochus*? wylte thou ſo little regard *Seleucus*? He framing ſtill hys matter, ſaide, It is a thing by reaſon, that cannot be auoyded, for though you be his father, you would not let him haue your wife, if he loued hir.

When *Seleucus* heard this, he ſware by all the kingly Gods, that

that he woulde willingly and gladly let him haue hir, and be a noble example, of the loue of a good father to a ſonne, ſober, and continent in affliction, and vnworthy ſuch aduerſitie. Spea- king many ſuch things, he began to be grieued that he could not be a Phiſition to the ſicke man, but that he muſt haue neede of *Erasistratus* in the matter.

When he percepued the King to be ſo earneſt in deede, and not to diſſemble, he declared the caſe, and ſhewed how he founde it out, for all his hiding of it. *Seleucus* being maruellous glad, had yet two things to do, the one to perſuade his ſonne, and the other to perſuade his wife. When he had ſo done, he called the armie together, which peraduenture had heard ſomewhat of the matter. He rehearſed vnto them the actes that he had done, and the great dominions that he had gotte aboute any of *Alexan- ders* ſucceſſours, he ſette out at length. And becauſe it was too much for an olde man to gouerne, I will (quoth he) diuide the greatneſſe of it, for your better aſſurance in time to come, and I will giue part to them that I loue beſt. It is reaſon that all you do toyne with me in all things, who haue bin encreaſed to ſo great rule and power vnder me, after *Alexander*. The chiefest things that I haue, and moſt worthy my kingdome, is myne el- deſt ſonne and my wife. They ſhall not be long withoute chyl- dren, being yong, and ſo ſhall you haue more ſtaves of this ſtate. In your preſence I ioyne the together in marriage, and I ſenſe them to be kings into the vpper regions. And I inſtitute, that not rather the cuſtome of the *Persians*, or other nations, be a lawe among you, than a common law to you all, that it is euer- luſt, that is ordeyned among you by the king. Thus he ſayde. The armie made acclamations, that he was the moſt noble King ſince *Alexander*, and the moſt worthy father.

When *Seleucus* had ſaid as muche to *Stratonica* and his ſonne, he celebrated the matrimony, and ſent them to their kingdome, made more glorious and victorious, than all that euer he had done in the warres. He hadde vnder him threſcore and twelue Princes, of ſo greate a Countrey was he King. Having giuen the moſt part to his ſonne, he kept only the ſea coaſt at *Euphrates*.

A rare example  
of a princely  
fatherly loue to  
an afflicted mo-  
deſt ſonne.

A moſt glorious  
act.

The last warre that he hadde, was with *Lyfimachus* in *Phrygia*, next *Hellepont*, in the which he ouercome *Lyfimachus* that was killed in the fight. He passyng *Hellepont* and going to *Lyfimachia* was killed. For *Ptolomie* following kyllen him. He was called *Ceraunus*, the sonne of *Ptolomies Soter*, and *Eurydices*, daughter to *Antipater*. He fledde oute of *Egypt* for feare, bycause he suspected that *Ptolomie* woulde giue the Kingdome to his yongest sonne. And *Seleucus* receyved him and kept him, as the son of his friend, and ledde hym aboute with hym that shoulde kyll him.

Thus dyed *Seleucus* at *Lyrif*. yearess of his age, and xliij. of his raigne. And I thinke the saying was meant of hym. Make no haste to *Europe*, *Asia* is better for thee: for *Lyfimachia* is in *Europe*, and this was the first time that he sailed into *Europe* since he followed *Alexander* in the warre. They say that asking once of his death, it was answered by *Oracle*:

If thou auoydest *Argos*, thou shalt haue thy naturall age,  
But if thou goest to *Argos*, thou shalt dye before thy time.

There is *Argos* in *Peloponneso*, and *Argos Amphilocheion*, and *Argos in Orestiae*, of the which come the *Macedonians* called *Argaeides*, the which *Diomedes* did build when he fled into *Ionia*. And whatsoeuer *Argos* was named in any place, he foughte for it, and toke hede of it. But when he went to *Lyfimachia* from *Hellepont*, there was an Altare in his sight greate and goodly, and when he vnderstode the name was *Argos*, he bidde aske if the *Argonants* made it, when they sayled into *Golchos*; or the *Achaians*, when they went to the battell of *Troy*, and, if therfore the inhabitants call the Altare *Argos*, or for that the *Thyppes* was perished there, or for y<sup>e</sup> it was the Country of *Atropa*. And whyles he was asking these questions, he was killed of *Ceraunus* coming behinde hym and dispatchyng hym. *Phileterus* ruler of *Pergamo*, didde bryng *Seleucus*, brynging his bodye of *Ceraunus* for a great summe of money, and sent the ashes to hys sonne *Antiochus*, who didde make a Sepulchre for him at *Seleucia* nerte the Sea, with a temple and a Chappell, and named the Chappell

*Nicatoris*

*Nicatoris*. We learn that *Lyfimachus* was one of *Alexanders* gard and on a tyme runnyng by him a greate whyle, as faste as he rode, being weary, he helde hys horse by the tayle, and ranne on, and being hurte in the foreheade with the ende of the Kinges speare, and bleeding, the King, for lacke of other cloth stopped the wounde with his Crowne, whereby the Crowne was full of bloude: and that *Aristander*, that was *Alexanders* prophete, sayng thys chaunce of *Lyfimachus*, saide, he shoulde be a King, but he shoulde raigne with great difficultie.

He raigned xl. yeres, with them that he was a ruler, and raigned with great paines: and being lxx. yearess of age, fought a field and was slaine, *Seleucus* that killed him, liuing not long after him. His body lying on the grounde, a dog of hys kepte a long time, defending it safe from foules and beastes, till *Thorax* of *Pharsalia* found it and buryed it. Some saye that *Alexander* his son, dyd bury it, fleeing for fear to *Seleucus*, bicause *Lyfimachus* had killed *Agathocles* an other son of his, lōg seeking his body y<sup>e</sup> was kept of the dog, & finding it putrified. His bones were buryed in a Temple of *Lyfimachia*, & called it the temple of *Lyfimachus*. This ende had either of these Princes, make valiaunt of minde, and bigge of bodye, the one beeyng lxx. yearess of age, and the other thre moze, fighting with their own handes to the death. When *Seleucus* was deade, his children succeeded him in the Kingdome of *Syria*, after this sorte. First this *Antiochus* that loued his mother in lawe, who was called *Soter*, bryning awaye the *Galatians* that came out of *Europa* into *Asia*, the second, another *Antiochus*, gotten in this marriage, whome the *Milesians* called first a God, bycause he killed *Timarchus* their Tyranne. But this God hys wife killed with a potio. He had two wiues, *Laodice*, and *Berenice*, being desposued for loue, both the daughters of *Ptolomie Philadelphos*. *Laodice* killed him, and after him *Berenice* and hir childe. And *Ptolomies* the son of *Philadelphus* in reuenge, killed *Laodice*, inuaded *Syria*, and toke *Babylon*. And the *Parthians* didde begynne to reuolte from the Kingdome subiecte to the *Seleuordians*, bycause it beganne to be molested. After hym that was called God, reigned *Seleucus* his sonne by *Laodice*, named *Callinicos*.

y. y.

After

The noble king *Seleucus* is killed by treason, of *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, v whom he kept from his fathers fury.

*Argos*.

*Diomedes*.

*Ceraunus* is a name given for boldnes and crueltie of witte. *Phileterus* brought the dead body of *Seleucus* to bury it.

Token of *Lyfimachus* raigne.

*Aristander* aouthdayer.

*Thorax*.

The faythfulness of a dogge.

Two noble princes. The succession of *Seleucus*. *Antiochus Soter* that is sauours.

*Antiochus Deus*.

*Laodice*, *Berenice*.

After *Seleucus*, two children of *Seleucus* in order, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*. *Seleucus* being weak and feeble, and hauing a disol-  
 dient armie, was popsoned of his friendes, after he had reigned  
 two yeares. Then *Antiochus* the Great, of whom I haue writ-  
 ten, who was ouercome of the Romanes. He reigned xxxvij.  
 yeares. Of him and his children I haue spoken before, both being  
 kings, *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, *Seleucus* twelue yeares weak and  
 doying nothing for his fathers misfortune: *Antiochus* not fully  
 two yeares, in the whiche he ouerthwe *Artaxia* of *Armenia*,  
 and invaded *Egypt* againste *Ptolomie* the sixte, who, with his bro-  
 ther, were left Orphanes. And whiles he was in camp at *Alexan-*  
*dria*, *Popilius* the Romane Ambassadoure came, bringing a de-  
 cree, in the whiche was written, that *Antiochus* shoulde not  
 make warre vpon the *Ptolomies*, whiche when he vnderstode,  
 he saide he woulde take deliberation. Then *Popilius* made a cir-  
 cle with a rodde, and saide: In this take thee aduifement. He be-  
 ing affraide, brake vp his camp, and spoyle the Temple of *Ve-*  
*nus* of *Elymas*, after the which he died of a consumption, leauing  
 a sonne of nine yeares of age, *Antiochus Eupator*, of whom I haue  
 spoken, and of *Demetrius* his successeure, who being pledge at  
 Rome, fledde and was king, and called also *Sotor* of the *Syrians*,  
 the second after *Seleucus Nicator* son. *Alexander* counterfailing  
 hymselfe to be of the house of *Seleucides*, rose against him, whom  
*Ptolomeus* King of *Egypt* maintained for hate of *Demetrius*. And  
*Demetrius* losing his kingdome by *Ptolomie*, dyed, but *Deme-*  
*trius*, sonne to hym that was called *Sotor*, expelled *Alexander*, &  
 bicause he did ouercome a bastarde by birth, he was called *Nica-*  
*tor* of the *Syrians*, the second after *Seleucus*. He also, after *Seleu-*  
*cus*, made warre vpon the *Parthians*, where being Captiue, he  
 liued with *Phraarta* the King, whose sister *Radogine*, he married.  
 For want of a king *Diodorus* a seruant of the kings, broughte  
 in *Alexander*, sonne to *Alexander* the bastard, & *Ptolomies* sister, &  
 made him king, then he killed the child, & reigned hymself, chan-  
 ging his name into *Tryphon*. But *Antiochus*, brother to *Demetrius*  
 the captiue, hearing of his captiuitie at the *Rhodes*, with muche  
 ado killed *Tryphon*, after he was come into the Countrey. Then he

*Seleucus*,  
*Calpurnius*.

*Seleucus*, *Antio-*  
*chus Magnus*.

*Artaxia* King.

The Senate of  
*Popilius*.

*Elymas* at the  
 coast of *Eupator*.

*Alexander* the  
 counterfalte get-  
 teth the king-  
 dom of *Syria*.  
*Nicator*.

*Diodorus* brin-  
 geth in the ba-  
 stards son *Tryphon*.

he made war againste *Phraartes*, requiring his brother, *Phraartes*  
 was afraide of him, and deliuered *Demetrius*. *Antiochus* neuer  
 thelesse fighting with the *Parthians*, was ouercome, & killed him-  
 selfe. And when *Demetrius* was returned to his kingdome, *Cleopa-*  
*tra* his wife killed him, for zelousse of his other wife *Radogine*, for  
 the whiche cause he was married to *Antiochus Demetrius* bro-  
 ther. Shee had two children by *Demetrius*, *Seleucus* and *Antio-*  
*chus* called *Grypus*: by *Antiochus*, she had *Antiochus* called *Cizice-*  
*nus*. She sent *Grypus* to *Athens*, *Cyzicenus* to *Cyzico*, to be brought  
 vp. *Seleucus*, & succeeded after his father, she killed with an arrow,  
 either fearing & reuengement of his father, or & she vied a fur-  
 ous hate in al things. After *Seleucus*, *Grypus* was king, who cau-  
 sed his mother to drinke & popson that she had prepared for him.  
 Thus was she punished. *Grypus* was a fit son for such a mother,  
 for he laide waite for *Cyzicenus*, though they were both of one mo-  
 ther, which, when he perceiued, he fought with him, & droue hym  
 out of his kingdom, & reigned in his stede in *Syria*. But him did  
*Seleucus* & son of *Grypus* ouerthrow, though he was his vncle, & bi-  
 cause he was a very cruel tyrant, he was burned in a scholhouse  
 at *Mopsuestia*, *Cilicia*. *Antiochus*, so of *Cyzicenus* succeeded him, who  
 & *Syrians* thinke escaped the traines of his cousin *Seleucus*, for his  
 goodnesse, therfore they call him the Good. But his woman sa-  
 ued him, being in loue with his person. Yet I thinke the *Syri-*  
*ans* gaue him this name in derisio. For this *Eusebes* married *Selene*,  
 & was first his fathers wife, & then *Grypus* his vncles wife. Ther-  
 fore by the wil of God, he was expelled his realme by *Tigranes*,  
 who sent his son & he had by *Selene*, to be brought vp in *Asia*, and  
 therfore was called *Asiaticus*, whom *Pompey* put from & King-  
 dom of *Syria*, as we haue said, being & xvij. y. of *Syria* of the house  
 of *Seleucus*. For I leaue out *Alexander*, & *Alexanders* son as ba-  
 stards, & their seruāt *Diodorus*, reigning but one yere, whiles *Po-*  
*pey* was about other busines. The rule of *Seleucus* race continued  
 170. yeres. And if a man looke from *Alexander* to the Romanes  
 time, he muste adde to these 170. yeres. 14. of *Tigranes*.

This I thought good to write of the *Macedonians*, ruling in  
*Syria*, as in a treatise by the way.

The ende of the Romanes warre with *Antiochus* the Great, King of *Syria*.

*Antiochus* kil-  
 leth hymselfe.  
*Demetrius* is kil-  
 led of his wife.  
*Seleucus* is killed  
 of his mother.

*Grypus* killed his  
 mother to saue  
 himselfe.  
*Cyzicenus* dri-  
 ueth out *Grypus*.  
*Seleucus* drieth  
 out *Cyzicenus*.  
*Mopsus* is a free  
 Citie in *Cilicia*  
 which *Strabo*  
 calleth *Mopsuestia*  
*Eusebes* good or  
 deuotfull.

*Pompey* taketh  
 the kingdome  
 of *Syria*.

# The Romaines warres with the Carthaginenses : by Appian of Alexandria.



The proper name of Dido, was Eliza who killed her selfe rather than she would marry with a Barbarian King. Tyros is now called Poros di Sic. It was an Island, Alexander toynd it to the land. Pygmalion to King of Tyros, killed his daughter.

Syrta is an hyde or a skinner.

Phoenicia is in Syria ne at the lowe launces of letters and migration, they were Tyre and Sidon.

The Phœnicians did builde Carthage in Libya, fiftie yerres after the taking of Troy, the builders of it, Xorus and Carchedon. But as the Romanes and Carthaginians themselves think, Dido a woman of Tyria, whose husband Pygmalion a Tiran of Tyru had killed, and kept the act secret. She knowing it by a vision, wedde with a greate deale of money, and as many as hated the Tirannie of Pygmalion, and sayled to Libya, where nowe is Carthage, and beeyng driuen away by the Libyans, they desired so muche place to inhabite, as they coulde compasse with the hyde of a Bull. A laughter was made of this trilling speeche of the Phœnicians, who were ashamed to desire so little a matter: but chiefly they marvelled howe a Cittie could be made in so little a space, and being desirous to see the subtilty, by oth they promised to giue it. They cut the hide into one thinn thong, and compassed that part, where now the castle of Carthage is: and of this it was called *Birsa*. In time rounting from thence, and fighting with their neyghbours, for whom they were to good, and by the vse of their shippes, keping the sea after the Phœnitian manner, they buylde the Cittie that is without *Birsa*, and waxed so mightie, as they were Lordes of Libya, and a great parte of the sea. Then they made warres in farre Countreys, in Sicilie and *Sardinia*, and other Isles; that be in the sea, and in Spaine. They sent out many habitations, and had a dominion in power comparable to the Grecians, and in riches to the Parthians 700. yerres after the beginning, the Romanes toke from them Sicilie & *Sardinia*, and in the seconde warre Spaine also. Thus they inuading one another with gret armies, the by the conduct of Annibal, xvi. yeres together wasted Italia, the other Cornelius Scipio the elder being Captaine, afflicted Libya, til they toke from Carthage, rule, nauie, and Elephants, and appointed them to paye mony by daies. When the second peace being made between the Romanes & them, continued 50. yerres, til being broken, they made the third & last war between the. In which

## with the Carthaginians.

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whiche, the Romanes ouerthrewe Carthage, Scipio the yonger being Generall, & determined it shoulde neuer be inhabited. Yet they sent an habitation thither of their owne people, verpe nighe the former place, to be a fitte defence againste Libya. The matters of Sicilie, be tolde in that Treatise: The doings of Spaine, in the Spanishe Histories: And what Annibal did, when he inuaded Italie: in the war of Annibal. This booke doth comprehend all that was done in Libya from the beginning. The Romanes entred this war, after that of Sicilie, & with. v. C. & xxx. shippes, sayled into Libya, and toke many cities, & left Attilius Regulus with a power, General there, who toke. ij. C. cities more, whiche being wearye of Carthage, yelded to him, & he went on, & wasted their land. The Carthaginians sent to the Lacedemonians for a Captaine, thinking that they were overcome for lacke of a good leader, they sente Zantippus vnto them. Attilius encamped at a fien & in the hote tyme, went about the fien against his enemies, laden with heauy harness, and vexed with thirst, heate, and hardnesse of way, & beaten with the shot from the high places. When it was almoste night, he drewe nigh, & a floude did diuide them, therefore he passed the floud, that so he might asray Zantippus. But he hauing set his army in order, brought it forth of his cāp, thynking to ouermatch them that were hote & weary, & that the night should help his victory: and he was not deceyued of this hope, for of. xxx. sh. men which Attilius led, a few hardly escaped to the citie of Aspis, the rest were all slaine or taken, & with them Attilius the General & Consull was captiue. The Carthaginians being weary, sent hym not long after, with their Ambassadors to Rome, to worke theyr peace, or to returne, & he, in secret, with the best of the Romanes, perswaded them to continue the war earnestly, & returned willingly to the sea. The Carthaginians put him in a Caue beset with yron prickes, & killed him. This felicitie of Zantippus, brought his owne calamitie. For the Carthaginians, pretending to send him home honorably with many giftes to Lacedemonia, in certaine galleys, commaunded the Captaines to browne him and them that sayled with hym. This rewarde hadde he for his well doynge. And these werethe good and euil happes that the Romanes had

The Greeke word is *ἐν ἀπείρῳ*, which signifieth accused or a place that may not be inhabited. The habitation was ledde by C. Gracchus and Placens, when the citie was troubled for the law of standes but not then allowed.

The Carthagians send to Lacedemonia for a Captaine.

Zantippus is sent fro Lacedemonia.

Aspis or Clapea of the likeness of a buckler, is a Citie in Affrica in the promontorie of Mercurie. Regulus dissuaded peace in Rome, and is tormented to death at Carthage. The ingratitude of the Carthaginians toward Zantippus.

After 24. yeares  
vvar, the Cartha-  
gians were driue  
out of Sicilie C.  
Lucius Catullus  
being Consul.

had in the first war in *Libya*, til the *Carthaginians* gaue place to the  
in *Sicilie*: and how they gaue place, it is declared in the warre of  
*Sicilie*, after the whiche there was peace betwene Rome and  
*Carthage*.

The *Libyans* that were vnder *Carthage* and serued them in  
*Sicilie*, and the French, that were hyred, had a quarrell againste  
the *Carthaginians*, for withholding their wayes, and made them  
harpe warre. They of *Carthage* sente for helpe to Rome, as to  
their friends. The *Romaines* onely graunted them to gather  
men of *Italy* for this warre. For this also was doubtfull in the  
capitulations: and they sent some to pacifye the matter, whom  
the *Libyans* would not heare, but woulde make their Cities sub-  
iect to the *Romaines* if they would, but they did not accept the.  
The *Carthaginians* with a great nauy molested their Cities, and  
kept victuals from them by sea, and being in want also by lande,  
as is wont in warre, the *Libyans* were overcome, and the mer-  
chautes that passed, were spoyled of the needy sorte: and such of  
the *Romaines*, as they killed, they threw ouer boorde, that it shold  
not be sene: and it was not knowen a great while: and when it  
was knowen, denying to make recompence, warre was decreed  
against them by the *Romaines*, in the whiche they gaue *Sardinia*  
for a p'pnc, and it was written in the former conditions. Not  
long after the *Carthaginians* inuaded *Spain*, and got it by little  
and little, till the *Saguntines*, fleeing the *Romaines*, the limits  
of *Carthage* in *Spain*, was not past the floude *Hiberis*. These  
agreements the *Carthaginians* brake, and went beyonde, *Annibal*  
being theyr Capitayne, leauyng *Iberia* to be kept by other  
Captaines, he went into *Italy*.

The *Romaines* Captaines in *Iberia*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and  
*C. Cornelius Scipio*, being brethren, and hauing done many noble  
actes, were both slaine of the enemies, and the Captaines af-  
ter them did but cuill, till *Scipio*, the sonne of *Publius Scipio* that  
was slaine in *Iberia*, sayled thither, and putting an opinion in all  
men, that he went in gods name, and vled a diuine counsell in all  
his doings, he had a glorious victorie, and being therfore of gret  
renoume, he deliuered his army to them that were sent to be his  
suc-

The Carthagians  
kill the Ro-  
maine merchants.

Herus novv  
Iberia found in  
Spain: not diu-  
deth Aragon.

An opinion of  
diuine inspiratio  
in Scipio.

successours, and went to Rome: he obtayned an army to be sent  
into *Libya*, to driue *Annibal* out of *Italy*, and to plague the *Car-*  
*thaginians* in their own countrey. Some of the rulers of the citie,  
spake against it, that because *Italy* was troubled w<sup>th</sup> so gret war,  
*Annibal* yet wasting of it, & *Mago* in y<sup>e</sup> sides of it, hyring strage  
souldiers in *Ligurie* & *France*, it was not good to make war vpon  
*Libya*, noz to inuade another Country, til the present hurt were  
healed at home. Some thought that the *Carthaginians*, whyche  
now without feare, did ouerrunne *Italy*: because they were not  
beyer at home, if warre were made vpon them, woulde sende  
for *Annibal*. Thus it was obtained to sende *Scipio* into *Libya*,  
not suffering him to gather men in *Italy*, being yet wasted by  
*Annibal*, but graunting him to leade such, as would willingly  
goe with hym, and to vse them that were yet in *Sicilie*, gyuing  
him leaue to prepare tenne gallies, and to make supply for the,  
and to take them that were in *Sicilie*. Whence they gaue him  
none, except any man for friendshippe would contribute vnto  
him. So slenderly began they this warre at the first, which af-  
ter redounded to their great honour. Thus *Scipio*, inflamed as  
from God, against *Carthage*, and gathering. vij. thousand horse  
and footemen at the most, sayled into *Sicilie*, hauing with hym  
for his garde thre hundred chosen yong striplings, whom hee  
commaunded to folow without armour. He appointed thre  
hundred of the wealthy *Sicilians*, to come at a day assigned, fur-  
nished with as good armour and horse as they coulde. When  
they were come, he graunted them, if they would, to giue other  
to serue in their place: wherewith being all content, he brought  
forth the thre hundred that were vnarmed, and willed them to  
chaunge with them, they willingly deliuered both horse and  
barnesse: & so *Scipio* had 300. *Italians*, for as many *Sicilians*, very  
well furnished with goodly horse and armour, who gaue him  
great thanks, and he had the continually most ready in seruice.

The *Carthaginians* hearing this, sent *Asdrubal Giscones* son,  
to hunt for Elephants, and sent to *Mago*, that made men in *Zi-*  
*guria*, sixe thousande footemen, eight hundred horse, and seauen  
Elephants, commaunding him with as many more as he coulde,

Contention in  
the Senate for  
Scipio going to  
Carthage.

The slender set-  
ting forth of  
Scipio to so great  
a vvaire.

The pollicie of  
Scipio to arme  
300. *Italians*.

Liguria is that  
part of *Italy*  
whiche nowv be-  
longeth to the  
Genoais.

to scoure the *Tuscan* sea, and to kepe *Scipio* frō *Libya*. *Asago* made no haile, because he could not toyne with *Annibal* being so farre of, & also for that he euer foresaw the end. *Asdrubal* coming frō the hunting, gathered of the *Carthaginians* and *Libyans* sixthousand fote men of either 4,600. horse, and he bought 500. slaues, to row in the gallies, and 2000. horsemen of the *Numidians*, and byzed strangers, and trayned them all, 200. furlongs from *Carthage*. The Princes that were in *Libya*, were of severall dominions, of al the which, *Syphax* was of greatest honour with al men. *Masiniſſa* also the sonne of a noble king of high blood of *Masili*, was nourished and brought vp in *Carthage*, of goodly body & good behaviour. *Asdrubal* Gisco, inferiour to none in *Carthage*, had disposed him to his daughter, though she were of *Carthage* and he a *Numidian*: when he had ensured them, he carryed the yong man with him into *Spaine*, where he was Captaine. Now *Syphax* that was in loue with the mayde, invaded the *Carthaginians*, and made league with *Scipio*, coming from *Spaine* to invade *Carthage*. The *Carthaginians* hearing of it, and thinking it a great furtherance to the *Romanes* war, to haue *Syphax* ayde, they gaue the Virgin to him, unknowen to *Asdrubal* & *Masiniſſa*, being in *Spain*. *Masiniſſa* disdayning at this, did also confeder with *Scipio* in *Spain*, keeping it secret, as he thoughte from *Asdrubal*. Who vnderstanding of it, was grieved at the injury that was made to his daughter and the yong man, yet thought it beste for his Countrey, to dispatche *Masiniſſa*, and where he should go into *Libya* from *Iberia* after the death, of his father, he sent some to conduced him, commaunding, as secretly as they could, to kil *Masiniſſa*. He perceyuing it, fledde, and gotte his fathers kingdome, and gathered horsemen with continuall exercise day and night, vsing them so much shot on horsebacke, to giue onset and retire, and to charge againe, all their fight consisting in flying and chasng. And hauing gathered twenty thousande of them, he ledde them to huntings or prayes of other nations, by the which he thought to make them endure payne and labour. For the *Numidians* can abide hunger, and vse herbes in steade of coyne, and drinke water altogether. Their horse

*Masiniſſa* is made liue to *Sophonisba*.

*Syphax* in loue with *Sophonisba* maketh vwarre vpon the *Carthaginians* and alleth vith *Scipio*.

*Masiniſſa* alleth vith *Scipio*. *Sophonisba* is giue to *Syphax*.

*Masiniſſa* escape th traynes.

*Masiniſſa* trayne his men.

The hardnes of the *Numidians*.

neuer tast barley, but alwayes eate grasse, and drinke but selddome.

The *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*, thinking this exercise that this yong man made, was against them, for they were not ignorant wherein they had offended him, determined firste to make war, and overcome him, and then to meete with the *Romanes*. *Syphax* & the *Carthaginians* were many more, with chariots and cariage for aboundaunce. *Masiniſſa* would himselfe begin the labour, hauing only horsemen, no cariage nor forrage, that he might the more easily flie and turne again vpon his enemies and retire to strong places, and being many times circumvented, diuided his armie, that they might the better flie by partes, he hiding himselfe with a fewe, till they might come to him by night or day, as was appointed. He being the thyrde man, dyd once lye hidde in a caue, the enemies camping about it. He neuer stayd in campe, but euer led his army, to be vnknown where he was, so as the enemies coulde not come to hands with him, but only kepe him backe, when he came to them. His sworde was euery day, what he could get at night, were it in field, to towne or Citie, catching and spoyling euery thing, and diuiding it to his companions. Wherefore many *Numidians* came vnto him, no wagies being appointed, but to take the gayn, that was much better. Thus did *Masiniſſa* warre with the *Carthaginians*. The *Scipio* had made all thing ready in *Sicilia*, he sacrificed to *Iupiter* & *Neptune*, & came toward *Libya* with 52. long ships 400. ships of burthen, and many pinnesses and foyfts folowed. He led an army of sixtene thousand fote men, a thousand sixe hundred horsemen, he caried also much armour and munition, and much victuall, and sayled on. The *Carthaginians* and *Syphax* hearing of it, purposed to deceyue *Masiniſſa*, and to draw him to societie, till they had overcome *Scipio*. He not being ignorant of their deceit, layde the like for them, & communicated al with *Scipio*, & as he had bin reconciled, came to *Asdrubal* with his horsemen. And being all in camp not farre asunder at the Citie of *Nica*, vnto the which, *Scipio* being brought by the wynde, dyd encampe there also.

The manner of *Masiniſſa* in the warre.

*Nica* was the fayrest citie in *Africa* next *Carthage*, thirtie miles off, in the which *Cato* killed himselfe when *Casus* forloved him.

*Asdrubals* campe was not much from him, hauing twenty thousand footemen, vij. thousande horsemen, and a hundred sixtie Elephantes. *Syphax* eyther afrayde, or being distruste, of both pretending his kingdom in diuerse parts to be molested of his neyghbours, went to his countrey. *Scipio* sente to skirmish with *Asdrubal*, and toke some of his Cities. In the night *Masiniissa* came secretly to *Scipios* campe, and giuing him his hande, wished him the next day to send v. ad. to lye close at a place, x. furlongs from *Vtica*, where is a tower, that *Agathocles* Tyrane of *Syracusa* did make, and by day he perswaded *Asdrubal*, to send *Hanno* the Capytaine of his horsemen, to espie the number of the enimies, and to ride to *Vtica*, that they made no mutation when the enimie should be at hand, and he, if he would so commaund, would follow. *Hanno* toke a thousand choyse boylmen of *Carthage*, and a number of *Lybians*: and *Masiniissa* led his *Numidians*. When they were come to the tower, and *Hanno* rode towarde *Vtica* with a fewe: part of the ambushe appeared, and *Masiniissa* then commaunded him that hadde the charge of the *Carthaginian* horsemen, to set vpon them being but fewe, and he followed straight as to helpe them. The *Lybians* being in the midst, and still more of the traynes appearing, they were all killed on both sides, of the *Romanes*, and *Masiniissa*, except iij. C. which were taken prisoners. When this was don, *Masiniissa* went to *Hanno* as his friend, and toke him, and brought him to *Scipio*, and chaunged him for his mother, that was with *Asdrubal*. *Scipio* and *Masiniissa* spoyled the lande, and deliuered the *Romanes* that were bound, and dygged the fields, being sente of *Annibal*, from *Iberia* and *Sicilia*, and from *Italie* it selfe. They besieging a greate Citie called *Locha*, & had muche trouble at it, when the assault shold be giuen, the *Lochaians*, signifying to yeld vpon condicions. *Scipio* called the retire. The souldiours for anger of the businesse they hadde about it, would not heare it, but mounting the wals, killed women and childzen. *Scipio* let them go safe that were left, and toke the spoyl from the souldiours, & the Captaines that had offended, he toke by lot out of all, and thre he punished with death, and this done, waked the country.

*Asdrubal*

*Syphax* goeth from the campe

*Agathocles* was Tyrane of *Syracusa* and builded this tower when he made war against the *Carthagians*.

*Scipio* getteth a day by the policie of *Masiniissa*.

*Masiniissa* taketh *Hanno* and chyngeth him for his mother.

*Locha* is spoyled by souldiours forie.

*Asdrubal* had traines for them, sending *Mago* with the horse before, hee following behinde with the rest. The *Romanes* being in the middelt, diuided themselues, and eyther of them giuing charge vpon the other, they killed five thousand *Numidians*, and toke a thousand eight hundred prisoners, the reste they droue to the ground headlong.

*Howe* *Scipio* besieged *Vtica* both by sea and land, and sette a Tower vpon two gallies, from the which he threwe dartes of thre cubits, and great stones vpon the enimies. Muche did he anoy them, and was muche annoyed himselfe: his ships being crushed, he made greate trenches, and beat the walles with his rammes, and pulled with his hookes al the hydes and lether couertes that they hadde vpon the walles. They within undermined the rampires, and caught the hookes with strings, and brake the force of the rammes, casting beames against the bycastes of them, and sallied oute againste the engines with fire, when the winde bare the force to them. Wherefore *Scipio* despayzing so to get the Citie, determined to win it by long siege.

When *Syphax* hearde of this, he came with his army, and lodged not farre from *Asdrubal*, dissembling to be friend to both, and delaying the warre of purpose, till the other ships that were come, were arrived at *Carthage*, and the hyred souldiours of *Liguria* and *Lumbardie* were come also, and practised a peace, thinking it iuste, neyther that the *Romanes* should warre vpon *Libya*, nor the *Carthaginians* vpon *Italie*. That the *Romanes* shoulde haue *Sicilie*, *sardinia*, and the other Ilands, and *Iberia*. And them that did consent hereto, he would helpe, and be against them that did not. He practised also to winne *Masiniissa* vnto him, offering, to confirme him in the Kingdome of *Masilia*, and of his thre sisters, to giue him whiche he woulde in marriage. He that was the messenger, carried golde with him, that if he coulde not perswade hym, he shoulde giue it to one of his seruantes, that woulde promise to kyll him. When *Masiniissa* had refused these offers, the messenger gaue the golde to one to kyll him. He that toke it, shewed it to *Masiniissa*, and bewrayed the gyuer. *Syphax*, thinking he could not any longer delay, openly ayded

2. iij.

the

A second victory of *Scipio*.

The siege of *Vtica*.

These hookes were like sieges to pul the stones out of the wall.

*Syphax* cometh againe to the field.

*Syphax* dealeth for peace.

The practise of *Syphax*.

A practise to kill *Masiniissa*.

scipio taketh  
the citie in the  
which was  
the Romaynes  
promission.

The determina-  
tion of the eni-  
mie against the  
Romaynes.

scipio's faueth  
the Romaynes fro  
a greate danger.

The oration of  
scipio, touching  
the sodaine flit-  
ting of the eni-  
mye.

the Carthaginians. He tooke a citie in the byland called *Tholunt*, by using the *Romanes* manition and victualles by treason, and killed the keepers of it, bycause they would not go away vppon traicke, and he sent moze great aide of the *Numidians*.

Howe were the *Merceanrie* souldiours come, and the *Shippes* wel appoynted, when they agreed of the battel that *Syphax* should set vpon them that were at the siege, that *Asdrubal* should force *scipio* his campe, and *Shippes* should fight wth *Shyppes*, and all at once the next daye, that the *Romanes*, bycause they were so fewe, should not be able to resiste. At night *Masfiniss* vnderstanding of it by certayne *Numidians*, tolde it *scipio*. He being in doubt and afrayde, least, if his armye were muche diuided, it should be too weake in all pointes, he called the Captaines that night to a counsell, and when he sawe them in some doubt, he saide :

Woldenesse and speede, (O friendes) and fight of desperation, nowe besmeth vs. Let vs go and set vpon our enimyes. What we shall winne thereby, now learne. Our sodayne coming vpon them, shal amaze them, and the straungenesse of the feate, that a fewe would adventure vppon so many. We shall not diuide our army into manye partes, but vse it all together. For we shall not set it againste all the enimyes, but agaynste the firste that we shall choose. They are lodged seuerallye, and we shal be equal to euerye parte of them. Let vs onely preuent them with boldenesse and good lucke, and if God graunte vs to ouercome the firste, we shall contemne the reste. But who be first to be set vpon, and what time and manner of our assault we shall take, if you thinke good, I will tel you mine opinion. When they agreed to him: The time is (said he) to do the matter, as soon as we go from this meeting, being yet night, by the which, the thing will be the more fearefull, and they the lesse prepared, and none of their confederates able to helpe them in the darke. Let vs preuent their purpose in inuading vs to morrowe all at once. And where they be thre Campes, their *Shyppes* are farre off, and it is no fight wth *Shypps* by night. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* be not farre asunder. *Asdrubal* is the

heade

heade of the warre. *Syphax* shall dare do nothing in the night, a man barbarous, full of daintinesse and feare. When let vs goe agaynste *Asdrubal* with all oure armye. We shall appoynt *Masfiniss* to lye in wayte for *Syphax*, if he hap to come forth, contrary to oure opinion. Let vs goe a foote to *Asdrubals* campe, and assaulte it round about, wth god hope and lusty courage: This for the present, is most fit for the horsemen, for we cannot vse them in the night: I wil place them farre off, to compassse the Camp of our enimies, that if we be driuen backe, they may receyue vs, and we fle to oure friends, and if we do overcome them, they may chase and destroy them.

Hauiing thus saide, he sent away the Captaines to arme the hoste, and he sacrificed to Woldenesse, and feare, and that no sodaine feare without cause should happe, but his armye continue bolde. The rest of the thirde watche, was signified wth the Trumpet, and with a maruellous deepe silence, so greate an armye went, till the horsemen had compassed the enimies. The footemen went to their Trench. When a broken shoute being made, and manye soundes of trumpe and hornes to make the more terroz, they droue the watche from their place, they toke the Trench, and pulled down the rampire. Some of the boldest ranne in, and set the Tents a fyre. The *Libyans* being waked of their sleepe with terroz, and running out of order, to their order, and taking their armor, and not obeying the commaundements for the confusion, neither the Generall himselfe certainly knowing what was done, the *Romanes* toke them that leapt oute, and were arming themselves in great turmoile, they set manye Tents on fyre, & killed some of them as they came, and some being made afrayd with the crye of the enimie, and with the fight and moste fearefull businesse, being in the nyght, and ignorant of the euill indeede, thinking the Campe hadde bene taken, and fearing the fyre of the burnyng Tentes, leapt of themselves from them, and wente into the fielde, as into a more sure place, where as they came by partes, they were miserably killed, and as they fell into the *Romaine* horsemen that had compassed al, they were dispatched.

*Syphax*

This sense is

περὶ τῆς  
such as cometh  
of a cause vnto  
known, and  
can not be stat-  
ed, as *Iupiter* put  
among the *Titanes*.

Feare in the  
Carthagians camp.

An other victo-  
rye of the Ro-  
manes.

Syphax fleeth.

Scipio recei-  
veth hys souldi-  
ours.

Asdruball fleeth  
and is condem-  
ned, and ryseth  
againste hys  
Country.  
Anno.

*Syphax* hearing this crye in the night, and seeing the fire, came not forth, but sent certaine horsemen to helpe *Asdruball*, vpon whom *Massinissa* came sodainely, and killed out of hand. When daye was come, and *Syphax* hadde learned that *Asdruball* was gone, and that part of his army was destroyed, and part taken of the enimye, and some disperfed, and that the Romanes had his campe with all the munition, he departed and fledde to the midde land for feare, leauing all behinde hym, thinking that after this ouerthrowe of the *Carthaginians*, *Scipio* would followe him: so his Campe and all the furniture *Massinissa* took. Thus the Romanes, in a little part of one night did take two campeg, and ouerthrew two armies greater than themselves. There died of the Romanes aboute an hundred, and of the enimies, little lesse than thirty thousand: and of prisoners, two thousande sixe hundred were taken, and sixe hundred horsemen yelded to *Scipio* as he returned. The Elephants, some were wounded, and some were killed. *Scipio*, of the golde, siluer, armour, and much yuorie, and horses, as wel of the *Numidians* as other whiche he hadde gotte, and by one victorie moste noble, casting the *Carthaginians* on their knees, gaue gifts to the souldiours, and sent the moste precious thinges to Rome, and exercised hys souldiours chearefully, thinking that *Annibal* would come oute of *Italie*, and *Mago* from *Liguria*. And thus ended *Scipio*.

*Asdruball* the Generall of the *Carthaginians* in the fighte by night, being hurte, fled to *Anca* with fyue hundred horsemen, where he gathered some of the hyed souldiours that were escaped from the fight, and the *Numidians*, and called bondmen to libertie. And when he heard the *Carthaginians* had determined his death, as an euill Generall, and had chosen *Hanno*, *Bomilchar* sonne, in his place, he made an army of hys owne, and receyued all malefactours, and ledde them where he mighte haue relief, and trayned them, hauing thre thousande horse, and eight thousand footemen, as hauing his truste onely in fight. In doing this, he kepte it long hid from both from the Romanes and *Carthaginians*. *Scipio* led his army to the walles of *Carthage*, and boldly called

called them to fight, but none came forth.

*Amilchar* Admirall of *Carthage*, with an hundred shippes came vpon the nauy of *Scipio*, thinking to destroye it in his absence, hoping easily to take twenty gallies with an hundred.

When *Scipio* sawe him vnder sayle, he sent to shut the mouth of the Porte, and that the greate Shippes shoulde lye at anker with a distaunce one from another, that the gallies might come by them, as out of a gate, when neede shoulde require, and that they shoulde fasten and tye the ships together with their sayle yardes, that they might be as a wall: and he came to them and furthered their worke.

The *Carthaginians* were receyued both by sea and lande, and from the wall with shot and artillerie, their shippes were byrned, and other being weary, went away at night. And when they were going, the *Romane* galleis wente out of the spaces, as was appointed, and sette vpon them, and when they were too weake, they retired, one they took boorde of men, and broughte hit to *Scipio*. When they went both to their wintering harbours. The Romanes had plenty from the sea: the *Vicenses* and *Carthaginians* being in want, robbed the Merchantes, till other *Romane* shippes were sent to *Scipio*, whiche, in set places, kepte the enimie from robbing. They were more and more in hunger. Toward the end of Winter, *Syphax* being neare, *Massinissa* desired the thirde part of the Romanes armye to be ioyned to hys, the which he receiued, and by the leading of *Lelim*, pursued *Syphax*, he fleeing till he came to a floude, and there stayed to fight.

The *Numidians* (as their manner is) made shotte very thicke one againste an other. The Romanes being couered with theyr shieldes, went to the fight. *Syphax* came with fury vpon *Massinissa*, who went cherefully against him, and the fight being greate betwene them, *Syphax* men fleeing, he passed the floude, whose horse being hurte, ouerthrew his Maister. When *Massinissa* ran vpon hym, and took him, and one of his sonnes, and sente them straight to *Scipio*. There were nameten thousand of *Syphax* souldiers of the Romanes. Lxxv. of *Massinissa* thre hundred: of *Syphax* foure thousand were taken prisoners, whereof two thousand sixe hundred.

*Scipio* saue the  
Romane shippes.

*Massinissa* and  
the Romanes a-  
gainst *Syphax*.

The fighte be-  
twene the  
Kings, *Syphax*  
and *Massinissa*.

*Massinissa* ta-  
keth *Syphax*.

ozed were *Massilians*, whiche fled from *Massinissa* to *Syphax*. *Massinissa* desired them of *Lelie*, whom, when he had receyued, he killed. Then they ouerranne the *Massilians* and the land of *Syphax*, parte wherof they appointed to *Massinissa*, parte they receyued by submission, and the disobedient sorte they destroyed. There came Ambassadors to them from *Cyrtis*, to deliuer the Palatice of *Syphax* to them. And some came priuately to *Massinissa*, from *Sophonisba*, *Syphax* wife, to excuse the necessitie of that marriage. *Massinissa* receyued him gladly, and went againe to *Scipio*, leauing him at *Cyrtis*, to see what was best to be done hereafter. *Scipio* sayd to *Syphax*: What Spirit took thee, when thou wast a friend to me, & praying me to come into *Libya*, to breake thy faith with God, by whom, thou diddest sweare, & after God, to breake it w<sup>th</sup> the *Romanes*, & to choose to make warre for *Carthage*, against the *Romanes*, seeing the *Carthaginians* not long before were thyne enemies. He said: *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdrubal*, whome I loued to my losse, she louing hir Country so dearly, & able to persuade a man to what she list, turned me from you, to hir coutry, and from so greate felicitie, hath brought me to so great misery. Therefore I counsell thee (for now being yours, and put from *Sophonisba*, I ought to be sure vnto you) to keepe *Sophonisba*, least she turne *Massinissa* to what she wil: for it cannot be hoped that she wil take the *Romanes* part, so greatly doth she loue hir Citie. This he spake eyther truly, or for gelousie of *Massinissa*, to hinder him as much as he could. *Scipio* perceyuing *Syphax* to be wise, & expert in that coutry, led him about with him, & made him priuy of his mind & counsel, as *Cyrus* vsed *Crasus* king of *Libya*. When *Lelie* was come, & said he heard as much of *Sophonisba* to be of many reported, *Scipio* commanded *Massinissa* to deliuer *Sophonisba* *Syphax* wife. Heresying it, & excusing that was done afore, *Scipio* commanded him more sharply not to with-holde by violence a *Romane* prisoner, but to bring him forth, & then to alleadge and say what he could. Then went *Massinissa* with the *Romanes* to deliuer *Sophonisba*. But priuily he came firste to him, & brought him a poyson, & told him he must presently drinke it, or remayne a slave to the *Romanes*: speaking no more, he took his horse. Shew

*Cyrtis*, nowve  
Constantinople, where  
Augustus killed  
Antiochus.

A priuie mes-  
sage to *Sophonis-  
ba* to *Massinissa*.

*Syphax* hiddeh  
*Scipio* beuare  
of *Sophonisba*.

*Scipio* v<sup>th</sup> *Sy-  
phax* friendlye  
as *Cyrus* *Crasus*.

*Massinissa* is  
loath to leaue  
*Sophonisba*.

shewing the cuppe to his nurse, prayed him not to bewaile his ro-  
ble death, and drunke the poyson. *Massinissa* shewed him to the Ro-  
manes, and when he had buried him honorably, he returned to  
*Scipio*. He prayed him, and tolde him he was rid of an euill wo-  
man, and crowned him for his seruice against *Syphax*, and gaue  
him many gifts. When *Syphax* was come to *Rome*, some thought  
good to saue him, because he had bin a friend to the *Romanes*, in I-  
beria: some thought to punish him, because he had made warre a-  
gainst his friends: but he being sicke for sorow, dyed. *Asdru-  
bal* hauing wel exercised his souldiours, sent to *Mago* & was gene-  
rall of the *Carthaginians*, that he would make him his fellow in y<sup>e</sup>  
war, shewing that there were many *Iberians* with *Scipio*, whom if  
a man would corrupte with golde & promise, they might burne  
*Scipio* his Camp: and he, if the time were prescribed, would be at  
the seate. When *Hanno* heard this, he wrought willes against *As-  
drubal*, yet he dyd not refuse the enterpise, but sente a faithfull  
man with gold, as a ruse away into *Scipios* Campe, who persua-  
ding such as he found, corrupted many, & the day being appoin-  
ted, he returned to *Hanno*, who sent to *Asdrubal* of the day. When  
*Scipio* sacrificed, euident danger of fire was signified, who sent a-  
bout the campe, to see if there were any great fire, and to put it  
oute. And thus he sacrificed many dayes, and alwaies the sa-  
crifice shewed fire: wherefore he was grieved, and determined  
to change his campe. An *Iberian*, seruant to a horseman of *Rome*,  
being tolde of y<sup>e</sup> conspirators, feared as he had bin made priuie, &  
so learned al, & told it to his master, who brought him to *Scipio*, &  
betrayed al. *Scipio* killed them, & threw their heads oute of the  
camp. *Hanno* perceyued it soone, being so nighe, & came not at the  
daye appointed. But *Asdrubal* being ignorant, came, & when he  
law the number of y<sup>e</sup> dead, he suspected the matter & retired. When  
did *Hanno* greatly accuse him to the multitude, that he shoulde  
come to *Scipio* to betray him, & he would not receyue him. And  
*Asdrubal* after this was in more hate at *Carthage*.

About this tyme, *Amilchar* secretlye sayling vpon the Ro-  
mane shauye, took one galley, and sixe Shyppes.

*Hanno* came vpon them that besieged *Utica*, and was repulsed.

aa. 15.

scipio.

Shee dyeth like  
a noble harted  
Ladye.

*Syphax* is sent to  
*Rome*.

*Syphax* dyeth in  
prison.

Practise against  
*Scipio*.

Sacrifices signi-  
fying fyre.

The conspiracy  
betrayed.

*Asdrubal* is ac-  
cused falslye.

Romane ships  
taken.

Scipio leaue  
the siege at *Tica*

Upon this see-  
meth to bee the  
country of *Saint*  
*Affrica*.

Expenses.

A treatie of  
peace.  
Diverse opinions  
to the Senate.

*Scipio* hauing bin so long at the siege of *Tica*, and doeing no good, dissolued his campe, and sent his munition agaynst the Citie of *Hippon*, and doing no good there, burned his vnprofitable engines, and ranged the Countrey, some he receiued to amitie, and some he destroyed.

The *Carthaginians* being weary of so many displeasures, made *Annibal* Generall, and sent an Admirall with a nauy, to haste his commyng, and in the meane tyme, they sent Embassadors to *Scipio* for peace, thinking to obtaine one of these either to haue peace, or delay of time, till *Annibal* came. *Scipio* gaue them a truce, and taking the costes of his Campe, gaue them leaue to sende messengers to *Rome*. They sent and yet kepte warde in the Cittie, as they hadde bin still enimies.

Being brought into the Senate, they desired forgiveness of their faulte. The Senatours partely accused the *Carthaginians* of their infidelitie, whiche they had so oft made and broken, and what hurt *Annibal* had done the *Romanes*, and their confederats, the *Iberians* and *Italians*. Part of them thought this peace was as profitable for them, as for the *Carthaginians*, *Italie* being wasted with so manye euills, and uttering their feare of things to come, *Annibal* sayling out of *Italie*, and *Mago* from *Liguria*, and *Hanno* from *Carthage*, with greate armies agaynst *Scipio*. Upon the which, the Senate doubting, sent counsellours to *Scipio*, with whom, he might from henceforth conferre, and do that should seme expedient. He made peace with *Carthage* with these conditions.

- 1 That *Mago* shoulde saile from *Liguria* out of hande, and from henceforth leade no straunge armies.
- 2 That they shoulde haue no more but thirtie gallies.
- 3 That they shoulde not meddle beyonde the ditch called *Phanitian*.
- 4 That they shoulde deliuer all the prisoners and run awaies to the *Romanes*.
- 5 That they shoulde pay them in tyme. 1600. talents of siluer.
- 6 That *Masiniissa* shoulde haue the *Masilians*, and what he could get of *Syphax* laude.

These

These were the conditions, and ambassadours sayled to *Rome* to shewe to them before the Consuls, and so did some from *Rome*, to haue them swoyne at *Carthage*.

The *Romanes* rewarded *Masiniissa*, with giftes of conseruacie: they sent him a crown of gold, and a signet of gold, and a Chryze of *Iuozie*, and a purple garment, and a robe of *Rome*, and a horse trapped with golde, and an armour for his whole body. When this was done, *Annibal* sayled to *Carthage* agaynst his will, suspecting the falsythfulnesse and disobedience of the people to their rulers, and thinking the peace would not be made, and if it were made, would not long hold, he went to a Citie of *Libya*, *Adrumete*, and gathered victual, and boughte horses. And he made friendship with a prince of *Numidia*, called *Areacides*, foure thousand horsemen that fled vnto him, from *Masiniissa*, that had bene *Syphaces*, as suspected he shot to deathe, he deuided their horse to his souldiours. And *Mesofulos* another prince, came vnto him with a thousand horsemen, and *Vermine* one of *Syphax* sonnes, hauing the most part of his fathers kingdome.

The Cities of *Masiniissa* hee gotte, some by yelding, and some by force. *Narces* he got by treason after thys sort: hauing want of victuals, hee sente to them as his friendes, and when he saue it frame, he sent many with secret weapons, commanding to deale iustly with the sellers, til they heard y trumpet, then to kill euery man, and kepe the gates: and so was *Narces* taken.

The people of *Carthage*, lately making peace, and their ambassadours not yet come from *Rome*, and *Scipio* still present, spoiled the victuall of *Scipio*, that was giuen to *Carthage* by winde, and bound the bringers of it, the Senate of *Carthage* soe threatening them, and warning them not to breake the league lately made. They blamed the league, as vniustly made, and sayd there was more feare to bee had of famine, than of breaking league. *Scipio* would not beginne warre againe, after the peace, but desired, as of his friendes, that the offendours might be punished.

They would haue stayed the ambassadours also, till they came.

as tis.

came.

*Annibal* in  
*Affrica*.

*Adrumete* is so  
far from *Carthage*,  
as *Annibal* rode  
in post, two  
dayes, and two  
nights.  
*Areacides*,  
*Mesofulos*,  
*Vermine*.

*Annibal* getteth  
*Narces* by treach.

People of *Carthage* do spoile  
the *Romanes* in  
time of peace.

came from Rome. But *Hanno Magnus*, and *Asdrubal Eriphus*, did take them from the multitude, and sent them away with two gallies: other perswaded *Asdrubal* the admiral, to go to the towne of *Apollonia*, and when the gallies did returne, to set upon *Scipios* shippes, and he was perswaded. So some of the ambassadours were shotte to death, other wounded of them, got to the port of their power, and leapt out of the ship ready to be taken: so nere were they to be taken prisoners. When the Romanes in the Citie heard this, they commaunded the ambassadours, that yet were ther about the peace, to depart as enemies. They in their iourney were driven to *Scipios* nauy. When the admiral asked *Scipio* what was to be done with them, he sayde, not as the *Carthaginians* haue done with vs, and let them goe untouched. When the olde men of *Carthage* saw this, they rebuked the people of their rashnesse, and counselled them to desire *Scipio* to kepe the league, & to receiue punishment for their offence of *Carthaginians*. They being offended with the Senate for y<sup>e</sup> long euil gouernment, & being tyred of y<sup>e</sup> comon sort, as not loking wel to y<sup>e</sup> comon profite, & being deceiued with vaine hope, called *Annibal* with his army. He considering the greatnesse of y<sup>e</sup> war, caused them to cal home *Asdrubal* with his power. Thus *Asdrubal* being quit of his offence, deliuered his armour to *Annibal*: yet durst he not appeare at *Carthage*, but hid himself in the citie. *Scipio* placing his shipps before *Carthage*, kept victual from them by sea. At this time was a fight of horsemen between *Scipio* & *Annibal* at *Zama*, in y<sup>e</sup> which, *Scipio* had y<sup>e</sup> better: & there was dayly skirmishes betwixt the, til *Scipio* heard y<sup>e</sup> *Annibal* was in great wāt, & looked for his souldiers to come, & in the night sent *Thermus* against y<sup>e</sup> bringers of it. *Thermus* took annibal in a streight passage, & killed 3000. *Libyans*, & toke as many, & brought y<sup>e</sup> victual to *Scipio*. *Annibal* being driven to extreme want, & desiring how he might help y<sup>e</sup> present necessitie, set ambassadours to *Massinissa*, remēbzing to him his noysshing & bringing vp in *Carthage*, & desired him to moue *Scipio* to come to accord again, for y<sup>e</sup> offence was of the people, & of y<sup>e</sup> foolish sort of y<sup>e</sup> people. *Massinissa* remēbzing in dēet, y<sup>e</sup> he was brought vp in *Carthage*, hauing y<sup>e</sup> worthinesse

Modestie of  
*Scipio*.

Zama

A fight of horsemen.  
Victual taken from *Annibal*.

*Annibal* maketh meanes to *Massinissa* to escape present famine.

worthinesse of the citie in reuerence, & many friends yet there prayed *Scipio*, and brought them again to accord after this sort.

1 That the *Carthaginians* should deliuer the shippes, men and victuals, that they had taken of the Romanes, and all that they had taken beside, or the price of it, as *Scipio* should value it.

2 That they should pay a. 10. talents, for a fine, for the fault.

This was agreed, & truce taken, til the *Carthaginians* should hear them, & so *Annibal* escaped beyond al hope. The Senate of *Carthage*, allowed wel of the accord, and exhorted the people to stand to the same, remēbzing the long aduersity that they had, had, and the present neede in the army both of meate and money: but they, as rude people be wont, foolishly thought their gouernours agreed with the Romanes for their owne commodities, that by them they might rule their countrey, as *Annibal* dyd nowe, and *Asdrubal* had done afore, betraying the army to y<sup>e</sup> enemies in y<sup>e</sup> night, not long after meaning to yeld to *Scipio*, & then coming to the campe, and now lurking in the citie, vpon the which, a crye and tumult being made, some of them wente out of the assemblee to seeke *Asdrubal* round about. He perceiued them, flying into his fathers Sepulchre, and killed himselfe with a poyson: they dragged out his carcasse, and cut off his heade, and put it vpon a speares point, and bare it aboute the Citie. Thus *Asdrubal*, first vniuersally inturied, and secondly falsely accused of *Hanno*, & then thus brought to death by the *Carthaginians*. Was spyted after his death in this wise. They sente to *Annibal* to bryake the truce, and to make warre vpon *Scipio*, & to try it out by speedy fight, because of wāt. He bryake the truce. And *Scipio* taking a great Citie called *Parthos*, camped nere to *Annibal*, and he removed, sending thre spies to the Romanes, whome *Scipio* toke, and did not kil them according to the law of armes, but commaunded them to be led about the campe, to see the store of armour & munition, & then let them go to tell *Annibal* of euery thing. He desired to come to talke, whiche being graunted, he sayd the *Carthaginians* were grieved with the first peace, for the money, if that might be remitted, & the Romanes contented with *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, & y<sup>e</sup> Isles which they haue, y<sup>e</sup> peace should

*Annibal* escapeth famine.

The rude people of *Carthage*

The malice of the people against *Asdrubal*. *Asdrubal* killeth himselfe. The spite of the people against him.

The peace broken. *Parthos*. *Scipio* causeth *Annibals* spies to be led about his army.

Talke betwixt *Scipio* and *Annibal*

should be sure. *Scipio* answered *Annibal* should gette a greate rewarde, by flying out of *Italie*, if he myght obtayne thys of *Scipio* and forbaede him to sende anye moze to hym.

And so threathing one another, they departed to their severall campes. There was a Cittie nygh called *Cilla*, at the whiche was an hil, fytted for the campe, the which *Annibal* perceyving, sent to take it by, and folowed with his army, but finding it taken before of *Scipio*, he was left in the playne field without water, and spent that night in digging of water pittes. The army pickte out the heapes of sande, and dranke little water full of sande, and was grieved without meate or rest, and some were in their armour all night. Which *Scipio* perceyving, came upon them by day, they being weary of their way, watch and thyrst.

*Annibal* was loth to come to fighte, yet bycause he shoulde wante water if he tarryed, and, if he fledde, his enemye woulde take courage and set upon hym, considering all this, he thought it good for the necessitie, to try it. He put in order fifty. *xx*. and lxxx. Elephants. He placed them before the battell with spaces betwene to make them most terrible. After them was the thirde parte of the armye, the *Celtians* and *Ligurians*: with these were myxed archers and flyers of *Marrusia* and *Gymnasias*: after the was the seconde army, whiche was of *Carthagians* and *Libyans*. The thirde were of them that folowed him out of *Italie*, in the which, he trusted most, because they feared their case. The horsemen were aboute the wings. And thys was *Annibals* order.

*Scipio* had about. *xxiiij*. thousande, and horsemen of *Italie* and *Rome*, a thousand five hundred. *Masinissa* was there with many horsemen of *Numidia*, and *Lacamas* another prince with five hundred horse. He set his footemen in thre battels as *Annibal* did: he made a particion betwene the bandes, that the horsemenne might passe easily by them: he made to every bande a defence at the front with strong pertches layde over with yron of two Cubits long and very thicke, to kepe backe the Elephantes as an engine, and he warned them and the other footemen, to give place to the furte of those beastes, and to cast their dartes upon them as fast as they coulde, and when they were nygh, to cutte their

*Cilla*.  
*Annibal* in  
his sightes.

The order of  
*Annibals* battell.

Gymnasias be the  
Hlands called  
Balears now  
Majorca and  
Minorca.  
*Scipio*.

*Scipio*. his order.

their sinowes if they coulde. Thus were they placed of *Scipio*. The *Numidian* horse he placed in the wings, being acquainted with the sight and fury of the Elephants. The *Italians* horse, because they were not used to them, he set last of all, to be readye to passe by the distances, when the footemen had bidden the first violence of the Elephants. Both sorts of horsemen, had companies of shotte ioyned to them, to annoy the beastes. Thus were his horsemen set. The right wing he gave to *Laelius*: the left, to *Flaminius*: in the middell, was both he and *Annibal*, to kepe their glozie, having horsemen attending upon them, to helpe where neede should be. *Annibal* had thre thousand, *Scipio* had two thousande, and the thre hundred *Italians*, whom he armed in *Sicilie*. When all was ready, both of them encouraged their men. *Scipio* called the Gods to witnesse, before his army, against whom, the *Carthaginians* had offended, as ofte as they brake their promise, and required his army not to loke to the number of their enemies, but to their owne vertue, whom, being moze in number they had overthowen even in that lande: and if they that overcome, have anye feare or doubte, muche moze of necessitie must they have that have bin overcome. Thus did *Scipio* encourage and stirre his fewe number. *Annibal* recordeed to them, the feates that he hadde done in *Italie*, as an enterpryse of moste great renoume, not among the *Numidians*, but among all the *Italians* in *Italie*, and shewed how fewe the enemies were now, and exhorted them, not to be worse than a fewe, they being more, and in their own countrey. Both of them did declare unto their souldiours the daunger and greatnesse of the present fight.

*Annibal* shewed that *Carthage* and all *Libya* was to be tryed, in thys fight, whether they shoulde be slaves being overcome, or rule hereafter over all they had wonne. *Scipio* tolde his, that if they were defeated, they had no safe returne: if they byd overcome, a great dominion shoulde fall unto them, and a rest of their present paynes, a going home to their country, and a renoume for ever.

Thus eyther of them encouraging other, they went to the fight: *Annibal* sounded first: *Scipio* commaunded to answer him.

*Scipio* to his  
souldiours.

*Annibal* to his  
souldiours.

him.

The Elephants  
putt backe at  
the vyngs.The Elephants  
trouble the  
Romaynes  
men in the battelScipio leaueth  
his horle to  
fight with the  
Elephants.

The Elephants beganne the fight in most terrible manner, being spurred with pyckes of the riders. The Numidian horsemen ranne about them, and threw their dartes thicke vpon them, so as being wounded, they fledde, and troubled their own parte, that their keepers led them away: and this was the first enterpryse with the Elephants at the wings of the army, but in the midde battel of the Romaynes, they trode downe the fote-*mē*, being vnacquainted with this fight, and so heauy harnised, that they could hardly giue place, or goe forwarde, tyll *scipio* broughte forth the Italian horsemenne that were placed behynde, and with them the shotte, commaunding them to leaue their horses that were afrayde, and to goe aboute and shote at the Elephants. He was the first that alighted, and wounded the Elephant that came afoze.

The other souldiours encouraged therby, and hurtynge the beastes, made them also to go out of the battel. The fight being cleared of the beastes, and now only of men and horses, the right wing of the Romaynes whyche *Lalius* ledde, putt to flighte the Numidians that were agaynst them, when *Masiniſſa* had wounded *Masaniſſa* their pynce, and *Annibal* coming quickly vnto them, sette them againe to fight.

Masiniſſa vvoit  
both Masaniſſa.

The left battayle, whyche *Oſtanius* gouerned, had very much adoe with their enimies, the French and Ligurians.

*Scipio* sente *Thermus* to helpe them wyth choyse men. *Annibal*, hauing stayde his left battayle, roade to the Ligurians and Frenchmen, bynging another bande of Libyans and Carthaginians. Whiche when *scipio* sawe, he came againste them with another band.

Scipio and Annibal  
fighte.

When these two moste noble captaynes dyd thus contend, there was euidente emulation and care on both sides, no diligence was lesse on eyther parte: the laboure was no sharper, than their exhortations were belement. The fight being long doubtfull, and the Captaynes hauing pittie of their weary souldiours, coupled together, that by them, the ende mighte be the shorter. They threw one at another. *scipio* bytte *Annibal*

bale

bale shielde, *Annibal* stroke *scipio* Horse, and the Horse, for the wounde, ouerthrewe *scipio*. He was mounted agayne, and threw at *Annibal*, but missed him, and hurt the Horse was next him.

*Masiniſſa* vnderstanding, came thither, and the Romaynes seeing theyr Capitayne fighting lyke a Souldiour, toke the more courage agaynst their enimies, and putte them backe, and chased them, *Annibal* ryding aboute in vaine, praying them to staye, and perswading them to turne agayne to the fight.

Masiniſſa com-  
meth to the danger  
that *scipio*  
vvas in.

*Annibal* being in greate doubt, broughte the Italians that came with hym, and not yet flying from the place of succoure, into the fight, hoping to breake the Romaynes araye the more easily, because they were folowing the enimye: but they seeing that deuise, called one another diligently from the chase, and put themselves againe in order for the fight. Nowe hauing no Horse, and their shotte being spent, they fought togyther with their blades. Great was the slaughter, and manye were the woundes and the grones of them that fell, and the shoutes of them that dyd kyll, tyll the Romaynes putte them backe and made them flye also.

The Romaynes  
skil in fight.

Then was the victorie euident. *Annibal* seeing the Numidian Horsemen stande styll, ranne to them, and prayed them not to forsake hym, whom when he had perswaded, he brought them against them that chased, thinking to do a notable feate againe.

Annibal reneweth  
the fight.

Firste he mette with the *Masulians* and fought with them: and this fight was onely betwene *Masiniſſa* and *Annibal*. They fiercely going to it, *Masiniſſa* stroke *Annibal*s target, he hitte *Masiniſſa*s Horse, who being a fote, flew vpon *Annibal*, and killed his Horse, comming vpon hym before all other. The dartes of the other he receyued vpon his shielde, and drewe one of them that stucke vpon it, and threw it at *Annibal*, missing him, and killed the nexte Horse.

Masiniſſa and  
Annibal fighteth.

bb.ij.

Then

Scipio cometh  
in reliefe of  
Masinissa.

Then drawing out another, he was wounded on the arme, and went oute of the battell for a while. When *Scipio* hearde of it, he was afrayde of *Masinissa*, and came to the fraye, and found *Masinissa* horsed and going to the field againe, hauing tyed his wound.

Stroue in the  
battel.

The fight was equall agayne, and very soze on both sides, eyther being afrayde of their capitaynes, tyll *Annibal* dydde see the *Iberians* and *Frenchmen* staying vppon an hill, and roade to them to bring them forth againe. They that foughte, not knowing the cause, thinkyng his going had bin a flying, leste the fighte willyngly, and fledde disorderedly, not lookyng toward *Annibal*, but euery man where he coude. Thus they brake, and the *Romanes*, as the fiede hadde bene fully gotte, pursued them out of order, neyther they vnderstanding of *Annibals* purpose, who returned with the *Spaniards* and *Frenchmen*.

Annibal flyeth.

Wherefore *Scipio* called his men againe from the chase with spede, and set them in order, being moze than they that came from the hyll, wherefore he mighte the moze easily resist them. *Annibal* being deceptued of this laste hope, fledde, now utterly dispayring of all things.

Annibal flyeth  
to Thonne.

Manye horsemen followed him, specially *Masinissa*, beyng grieved with his wounde, euer at hande, and desirous to haue brought him prisoner to *Scipio*; but the night diuided them, and *Annibal* in the darke, with twentie horsemen, that could folow him, fled into a Cittie called *Thonne*, whither, when he vnderstode that many horsemen of *Brutia* and *Iberia* were come from the field, and fearing the *Iberians* as barbarous and cruel, and doubting the *Brutians* being *Italians* and countrey men to *Scipio*, least they woulde leade him to *Scipio*, to be forgiven their faulte against *Italie*, priuily he fled with one horseman, whom he trusted best, and running thre thousand furlongs in two nightes and two dayes, he came to a Cittie at the sea called *Adrumeto*, where parte of his armye was for victuall, sending aboute, and gathering them that fledde, he made armoure and munition.

Annibal cometh  
in hast to  
Adrumeto.

Scipio

Scipio cometh  
Lulus with the  
newes to Rome

*Scipio* hauing got so noble a victorie, burned the vnprofitable people, beyng gyrded, as the *Romanes* Generalls be wont. He sent to Rome ten talents of golde, and .ij. m. v. c. of siluer, and wrought *Quozie*, and the most noble prisoners, *Lulus* being the messenger of the victorie. The reste he toke to honoz his souldiours, and gaue gistes to them that did beste, and to *Masinissa* a Crowne, and then he went, and toke the Citties. And this was the ende of *Annibal* and *Scipios* fighte in *Libya*, and the first time that they fought togither. There dyed of the *Romaynes* two thousand five hundred, and of *Masinissas*, moze: of the enemies, five and twenty thousand: of prisoners were taken eighte thousande five hundred: of the *Iberians* thre hundred yelced to *Scipio*: of the *Numidians* eight hundred to *Masinissa*. Neyther the *Carthaginians*, nor the *Romanes* yet hearing of it, they of *Carthage* sent to *Mago*, gathering yet *Frenchmen*, to inuade *Italie* if he coude, or to sayle into *Libya* wyth hys hyzed souldiours. The *Romanes* intercepting these letters, sent to *Scipio* an other army of horse, and footemen, and shyppes and money. *Scipio* sent *Othani* by lande to *Carthage*, and hymselfe went by water. When they of *Carthage* vnderstode *Annibals* ouerthrow, they set *Ambaradours* in a pynnesse, of the which *Hanno Magnus* and *Asdrubal Hadus* were chiefe. They set vp a banner of peace on the stemme, and held vp their hands to *Scipio*, desiring pardon. He willed them to go to the Campe, where he being placed vpon an highe seate, gaue them audience.

Carthage sendeth  
to Scipio for  
peace.

Carthage cometh  
for peace.

They, with teares fell to the grounde, and being taken vp of the officers, were commaunded to say what they woulde. Then *Annibal Hadus* spake.

It is my parte (O *Romanes*), and this *Hanno*, and as manye, as be wise in *Carthage*, to cleare oure selues of this faulte that you put vppon vs. For your *Embassadours*, whom oure people, being dytten by hunger, offended, we saued and sent home, yet we muste not blame all *Carthage*, for some desired peace firste, and they had it, and kepte it firmly. Citties be some drawne to the worst, & that whiche is pleasant, preuayleth euer with the multitude, whiche we haue proued, beyng neither able to perswade

People in free  
citties disobedi-  
ent.

bb. iij.

them;

them, nor to stay them. For they that did accuse vs, and take free speche from vs, do not iudge vs (*Q Romanes*) of our obedience or counsell: but if it seemeth a faulte to be slowe to obey, blame hunger and the necessitie that droue vs to it, for it was not a constrained act of them, to desire peace before, and geue so much money, and to deliuer al our long ships, saue a fewe, and to yelde a great parte of oure dominion, and to sweare to them, and to send our othe to *Rome*, our Ambassadors being yet with you, and willingly to offend. But a manie may blame God chiefly, and the storme that droue your cozne to *Carthage*. Beside the storme, hunger took you, (that cannot consider well of other mens things) being in neede of all thinges, nor require good reason of a rude and myserable multitude. But if you iudge vs to be uniuersally, and not to be in miserie, we confesse and pray forgiuenesse. Justification is of them, that do not offend, and submission of them that do offende, to the which, the mercy of them that be in prosperitie ought to be the readier, beholding the chaunces of men, and considering the sodaine mutations, that now we do crye for pardon, that yesternow were able to do hurte as the cite of *Carthage*, the greatest and mightiest of *Libya*, both in shippes, money and Elephants, and in army of fote and horsemen, & many subiects haue flourished these 700. yeares, and ruled al *Libya*, and other nations and Ilandes, and so great a part of the sea, & coming against you, many times in contention, and now neither in shippes nor Elephants, nor horse, nor subiects, (all the which you haue taken from vs) haue any hope of helpe, but in you, whom we haue euill vsed before. The which you considering, and marking the alteration of them, ought to vse your felicitie the more temperately, and doe that shall seeme worthy for your magnanimitie (*Q Romanes*) and the fortune that *Carthage* sometime had, & to put the mutations of fate in our misfortunes boide of enuy, you may be without blame afore God, and deserue prayse of all men. There is no feare now that the *Carthaginians* will rebel, whom so great repentance and paine of their former follie, doth fall hypon. God counsell is the keeper of Innocents

ele to wise men, to offendours to repent them: for that they haue suffered, whom, it is like to be the more constant in theyr duties, than they that had neuer suche experience. Neither is it fit for you to folow the *Carthaginians*, whome you accuse of cruelty, and wickednesse. For in them that be in misery, want and calamitie, is the beginning of essence: to them that be in prosperitie, it is at their pleasure to vse humanitie. It shall be as honorable, as profitable for your authoritie, rather to saue than to kill so greate a Citie: you bee now the better Iudges of youre commodities. Wee bring but two thynges to the assurance thereof: the worthinesse of dominion that *Carthage* sometime hath had, and youre moderation towarde all men, which being ioyned wyth armes, hath brought you to so great Empire and power. What conditions you will geue vs of peace, we will take them, of the whiche, we can say no more, committing all to you.

When *Hadam* had saide thus muche, he ceased. *Scipio* willing them to auoid, conferred with the officers a while, and when he had determined, he called them, and said:

You be worthy no pardon that so ofte haue broken peace, and lastely defiled oure Embassadors, so manifestly and wickedly offending against vs, that you can neither purge youre felues, nor shewe any matter to the contrary, but that you are worthy extreame punishment. What neede I to accuse them, that confesse: you flee to prayer, that woulde not haue leste the name of *Rome*, if you had got the victorie: but we haue done no such thing to you, your Embassadors being yet in *Rome*, after you had broken the league, and violated oure Embassadors, our Citie deliuered, and being dyuen to myne armye, I sente unhurte to you, when you made warre on vs. Wherefore you ought to thinke it gaine, whatsoeuer you receiue, hauing condemned your selues, I will saye what I thinke good, and the Senate shall determine what shal please them.

Wee geue you peace once agayne (*Q Carthaginians*) if you geue all youre long shippes vnto the *Romaynes*, except,

*Scipio to the Embassadors of Carthage.*

except ten, and all the Elephants you haue, and those you toke before, and pay for the that be lost, I being iudge of the doubts, and all the prisoners and run-awayes, and so many, as *Annibal* brought out of *Italie*: and thus within thirty dayes after the peace is made. And that in threelcore dayes *Mago* shall departe out of *Liguria*, and that you take your garrisons oute of the *Cities*, whiche be wythout the ditche of *Phœnicia*, and deliuer the pledges you haue of them.

And that euery yere you shall bying two hundred talentes, of *Eubœa*, for fifty yeres.

That you shall hyze no more Frenchmen or *Ligurians*.

That you shall make no warre vpon *Massinissa*, nor any other friend of ours, nor any of *Carthage* war against them by the common consent.

That you shall haue your citie, and so muche lande, with the *Phœnicians* ditche, as you had when I sayled into *Libya*.

That you shall be friends to the *Romaynes* bothe by sea and lande, if the Senate do confirme it: and if they do confirme it, that the *Romanes* shall go out of *Libya* in a hundred and fiftie dayes, and if you will haue truce, to send to *Rome*.

You shall giue vs out of hand, an hundred and fiftie *Attages*, of such childe, as I shall choose.

And you shall giue to the expences of the warre, a thousand talentes more, and victuall for the army, and when the peace is concluded, you shall receiue your pledges.

When *Scipio* had said thus, the *Embassadours* bare the faulte to *Carthage*.

The people resorting manie dayes to the counsell; the better sorte thought it good to accept the conditions, and not to putte al in hazarde, in sticking for somewhat.

When the rogne shoulde go away, the people not considering more the present perill, than the taking awaye of that they had, did resist, and were grieved, that the rulers should take awaye their corne for the *Romanes*, in their famine, and giue it them in steade of *Citizens* during the truce. They stood aboute euery of them, and threatned to burne their houses, and spoyle them.

People resist  
peace.

them.

In the ende knowing that *Annibal* hadde gathered fire thousand footemen, and fise hundred horsemen, staying at a *Citie* named *Marthma*, they called him to be of counsell in these matters. He came, and the sober sorte being afraide, that he, being a man of warre, woulde haue stirred the people. He perswaded verie grauely to receiue the peace. The people outrageously spake euill of him, and threatned all, till the noble men fledde, some to *Massinissa*, and some to the *Romanes* willingly, despayning of the *Citie*. The *Carthaginians* vnderstanding that *Annibal* hadde gathered corne plentifully into a store-house, they made muche adoe for it, till they got it, and diuided it among them.

*Annibal* perswa-  
deth peace.

In this meane time, was newes come to *Rome*, of the newe peace, that *Scipio* had made with them of *Carthage*. And the matter being debated in the Senate house, one of the *Senatours* saide thus:

In this place the  
Greeke text is  
vniuersal.

If we shoulde not agree to this peace, it were both iniurious, and vniust to *Scipio*, the whiche he suspecting, as it seemeth, when he had declared his minde vnto vs. He added: That if, we made delay, he woulde make peace. It is like that he, considereth the matter better than we, and seeth more in it, by cause he hath al before him: if we doe otherwise, we shall of- fende his estimation, a good *Citizen*, and a noble *Captayne*, who prouoked vs vnwilling to sende into *Africa*, and hauyng, no army of vs, did gette one himselfe, and hath promoted vs so farre as we could not hope. Therefore it is to be wondered, that you that were so faint at the beginning in the warre, are now, so earnest and vehement. Nowe if any man thinketh all to be well, and yet feareth that the *Carthaginians* will breake this leagwe, it is nowe moste like they wyl keepe the peace, being so ofte afflicted for breaking of it, and that henceforth they will keepe Justice better, beyng fallen on the knee, by vnrightheous- nesse. It is not a like counsell, nowe to despise the *Carthagini- ans*, as of no power, and againe to feare, that they might rebell. It is more easie for vs to keepe them, than they shall no more,

Discorde in the  
Senate house  
touching the  
peace.

cc.

rise,

rise, than to destroy them presently. For nowe they wil fighte of desperation, whom we might kepe vnder with feare. They haue euils pnow without vs, wpth whome all their neighbours are grieved for their crueltie. And *Masiniſſa* a man moſte faithfull to vs, ſhall euer lye in wait of the. But if any man do contemne al this, and thinketh only how he may ſuccede *ſcippo*, and of hys owne commodie, and to haue the like ſucceſſe that hee hath had in the ende, what ſhall we do with the Citie if we happe to take it? ſhall we deſtroy it vtterly, bicauſe they ſpoyled our ſhips and victualls whiche they are content to deliuer with muche more? but we wil not do this, to auoide the anger of Gods, and hate of men. Shall we giue it to *Masiniſſa*? though he be our friend, yet is not he to be made too ſtrong, but to let him and them con- tende together, for the common weale of *Rome*. Wil wee make a rent of the Country? The armye that we ſhall keepe there, will ſpende all the reuennue, for we ſhall ſtand in feare of manye of the nigher nations, and of all the *Barbarians*. But we will ſend inhabitants in the middeſt of the *Numidians*, they beyng moſt ſtrong of the *Barbarians*, will alwaies worke oure wo, and if they get the better hande, they ſhall be terrible and hatefull to vs euer after, hauing ſo gret a land, and much better than ours. The whiche *ſcippo*, as I iudge, perceyuing, thoughte good for vs to heare the prayers of *Carthage*, therefore let vs conſent to the prayers, and our Generall. Thus he ſaid.

*P. Cornelius*, *Cornelius Lentulus* kinsman, being then Conſull, and thoughte good to ſuccede *ſcippo*, ſpake agaynſte it in thys ſorte.

In warres onely profite is to be conſidered: and bicauſe it hath bin declared, that this citie being yet of power, is to be maintained, we ought to take away their unfaithfulneſſe, together with their power and might: but their unfaithfulneſſe we ſhall neuer take away. There is no tyme ſo fit for vs to be deliuered from the feare of *Carthage*, as thys preſent, in the which they all bee poore and weake, before they growe to ſtrength againe: yet doe I not ſwarue from conſideration of Juſtice, nor

thinke oure Citie ſhall ſeeme to deale oute of reaſon with the *Carthaginians*, who when they be in weale, doe iniurie and deſpite to al men: in their wo, they ſal to prayers: if they obtaine, they forſake their agreement againe: neyther haue they regarde of promiſe, nor reſpect of othe, whome we muſt ſaue for the feare of God and enuy of men. I thinke the Gods themſelues haue brought the *Carthaginians* to that point, to ſuffer for their wickedneſſe, which violating the peace they made with vs in *Sicilie*, *Iberia*, and *Italie*, and in *Libya* it ſelfe, and with all other haue wrought great miſchiefe and trouble to vs, of the which I will ſhewe ſome examples of ſtrange nations, beſore I come to ours, that you may ſee that all will agree that *Carthage* ſhoulde be puniſhed. They deſtroyed *Sagunt* a noble citie of *Iberia*, conſe- derat to them, and a friend to vs, ſparing no age without cauſe.

When they hadde taken *Nuceria*, a Citie ſubiect to vs, vppon conditions, and ſwearing that euery man ſhoulde departe wpth two garmentes, they ſhut the chiefe of them within the Baths, and ſet the hot-boules aſyre, and killed them; and when the people went forth, they ſhot them to death. They putte the Senate of *Acerra*, after they hadde giuen their faith, into pittes, and ouerwhelmed them with earth. They brought *M. Cornelius* oure Conſull, vppon their othes, to ſee their Captaine that was ſicke, and carried him out of *Sicilie* into *Libya* with .xxij. ſhippes. They killed *Regulus* with torments, an other Captaine of ours, retur- ning to them to keepe his othe. What *Annibal* hath done, by force, by deceites, by periuſie, againſte our Cities and armies, and at length againſte his owne confederates, ouerthrowing ci- ties, killing his confederates, it were too long to tell. They de- faced foure hundred of oure cities, oure priſoners they putte in ditches and riuers, and vſed them for bridges: ſome they threwe to their Elephants, ſome they commaunded to fighte together, matching brethren againſte brethren, & fathers againſte ſonnes. Shortly after this, they ſent hither Ambaſſadoes for peace, they made requeſt, and gaue their othe, and they ſpoyled our ſhips in *Libya*, and putte our ſouldiours in priſon, whiles their Emba- ſadours,

Contention in  
Rome for peace  
with Carthage.

What is to be  
conſidered in  
warre.

*P. Cornelius* ſpea-  
keth againſt the  
peace that *ſcippo*  
offered to the  
*Carthaginians*.

*Sagunt* is nowve  
called *Muriedre*

Examples of the  
*Carthaginians*  
crueltie and un-  
faithfulneſſe.  
*Nuceria*, nowve  
*Nocera*.  
*Acerra*. one in  
*Fimbria*, an other  
in *Campania*.

Foure hundred  
cities deſtroyed  
in *Italy* by *Annibal*.

'sadoures were here present, to so greate madnesse diode their  
'cruelty vnto them. What pittie or moderation is to be vsed,  
'with them of others, that vse modestie or courtesie with none,  
'who, if they might ouercome vs (as *Scipio* saith) would not  
'leane the name of *Rome*? But faith and promise is sure. What  
'faith? what promise? what oth haue they not broken? what coue-  
'naunt or pardon haue not they violated? but they saye we may  
'not folow them. What couenaunt doe we breake, whiche yet  
'haue made none? but we may not folowe their crueltie, there-  
'fore we muste make most cruell men, oure friendes and conse-  
'derates: neyther of these is conuenient. But let them yeld vnto  
'vs after the lawe of them that be ouercome, as manye haue  
'yelded themselves. We will consider of them, and what we  
'gine them, let them thanke vs, and not thinke it to come of a  
'gracment, for those two differ thus: As long as they couchant  
'with vs, they will breake, as they haue done afore, alwayes  
'making some pretence for theyr purpose, as not wel vsed in the  
'conditions, for there are euer deuises to be made to call a matter  
'in question. When they giue themselves, we shall see the them  
'and their armour, and their bodies shall be with vs, they shall  
'suppose nothing to be theirs, and so their pride shall fall. They  
'shall loue whatsoeuer they shall receiue of vs, as of a thing not  
'theirs. If *Scipio* thinketh otherwise, you haue to iudge by setee:  
'if hee agreeth with the *Carthaginians*, wpythout vs, why sendeth  
'hee vnto vs? I haue saide my minde to you that be Lords, whi-  
'che I thinke fitte for the Citie. This saide *P. bliu*. The Senate  
'gaue their voices seuerallye, and the moze parte agreed wpyth  
'*Scipio*.

Thus the thirde league was made betwene the *Romanes* &  
*Carthaginians*. *Scipio* seemed to moue the *Romanes* hereto, either for  
h' reasons declared, or because he thought h' *Romane* felicitie to be  
promised, if they took away the rule of *Carthage*. There be h' think,  
that he would haue this nighe Citie, and an enemy to be left to  
keepe the *Romanes* in good temperaunce, least they shoulde grow  
insolent thorough great felicitie & securitie. The which conside-  
ration of *Scipio*, not long after, *Cato* reherced to the *Romanes*, being  
griued

Caules that  
made *Scipio* to  
make peace  
with the *Cartha-  
ginians*.

*Rhodes*, is a  
goodlye Ilande  
in the *Caporthie*  
an sea, adioy-  
ning to *Cyprus*.

griued, they were incensed against the *Rhodians*. When *Scipio*  
had set order, he sayled to *Rome* with all his army, and entred  
with a triumph, moze goodly than had bene before time. And  
the manner of it, whiche they nowe vse also, was this:

All ware garlands. The trumpetours goe before, and the  
wagons laden with the spoyle. Towers are borne with the  
images of the Cities taken, and pictures and figures of the  
things done. Then the gold and siluer vncoynd and coynd, and  
other things of that sorte, and so many Crownes as the Ci-  
ties confederats, or armies, had giuen h' general for his vertue.  
Then the whyte hene and the Elephantes. Then the *Cartha-  
ginians* and *Numidians* that were taken. Before the general, the  
Marchbearers went in purple garmets, and a company of musi-  
tians & Satyres, after the *Tuscan* maner, being gyrded and wea-  
ring a Crowne of gold, they go in order againe with song and  
daunce. They call them, *Ludi*, because as I thinke, the *Thescanes*  
be an inhabitance from *Lydia*. In the midst of them, one in a  
robe of purple, decked with rings & bracelets of gold, maketh  
diuerse shewes to moue laughter, as flouting of enemies.  
After him a multitude of Perfumers, and the generall a-  
mong these Perfumers in a chariot, diuersly garnished, for it  
was set with gold and stone of great price. He was clad with  
a purple robe with barres of gold, after his Countrey maner,  
and a Scepter of Iuorie, and a laurel, which the *Romane* thin-  
keth a token of victorie.

In the same Chariot be carried boyes and gyrls, and on ey-  
ther side going men that be of kin. Then follow they that haue  
bin scribes, ministers, and pages in the warre. After them the  
army in bandes and companies, with garlands and Laurell, e-  
very man with his giftes according to his worthynesse: some  
of the rulets they prayse, some they mocke, and some they  
taunt. For the triumph is priuiledged, and lawfull to say what  
they will.

When *Scipio* was come to the Capitol, the triumph ceased,  
and he feasted his friendes as the manner is, at the Tem-  
ple.

cc. lxx.

This

*Ἰπποσύνη*.  
The Greeke  
word sometime  
signified pyper  
but here it is said  
after the *Tuscan*  
manner.

Laurel or Bay  
dedicate to tri-  
umphes and to  
the gates of Em-  
perours houses.

Priviledge of  
triumph.

This ende had the seconde warre betwene the Romaynes and Carthage, begonne in Spaine, and ending in Libya, with these conditions, about the hundred fourtie four Greeke Olympiade.

Masiniſſa ſat-  
teth out with  
the Carthagians

Masiniſſa falling out with the Carthaginians, and truſting to the Romaines, toke a great part of the Carthagies lande, as he longing to him.

Partialitie of the  
Romaines.

The Carthaginians deſired the Romaynes to agree Maſiniſſa and them. They ſente arbitrouſ, with inſtructions to helpe Maſiniſſa as much as they might. So Maſiniſſa hadde the lande, and a league was made betwene them for fiftie yeares, in the whiche, the Carthaginians hauing peace, growe into great power and welth by the plentye of their ground, and trafficke of the ſea: and againe, as men be wonte in proſperitie, were diuided, ſome for the Romaines, ſome for the people, and ſome for Maſiniſſa. Of euery of theſe the chiefe in fame and vertue governed: for the Romaines, Hanno Magnus: for the people, Amilchar Sannus, and Carthalo: for Maſiniſſa, Annibal called Opſar.

Factions in  
Carthage.

Celiberia is that  
part of Spaine  
vvhich nowve  
they cal Aragon.  
Boetarche was an  
office of the ſtate  
hyet as appea-  
reth in Plinarch.

They wayting the Romaynes being at warre with the Celiberians, and Maſiniſſa at debate with other Iberians, perſwaded Carthalo the Boetarche, and for that office going aboute the countrey, to make a fray vpon ſuch as kept the land for Maſiniſſa. He killed ſome of them, and chaſed the other, and ſtirred the Libyans of that Countrey againſt Maſiniſſa, and many conflicts were betwene them, till the Romaines ſent other ambadaours to agree them, to whome was ſayde the like, that they ſhould ſecretely fauour Maſiniſſa: & they confirmed to Maſiniſſa al that he had taken by this craft. They ſaid nothing, nor they heard nothing, leaſt Maſiniſſa ſhould haue had the worſt: but being in the middeſt betwene the both, they held vp their hands: and thys was the comaundement, and the Attonement. Not long after, Maſiniſſa called into controuerſie the greate lande and playnes, of fiftie Citieſ, which they cal Tyſca, in the whiche the Carthaginians fledde againe to the Romaynes.

The Romaines  
partial.

To hold vp  
hands in the  
greeke phraſe is  
to decide and  
determine.  
Tyſca a country  
of fiftie Citieſ.

They

They promiſed to ſende ambadaours, and deſerred ſo long, till they thought Maſiniſſa had the better. When they ſent the Ambadaours and Cato. They comming to the bateable land, required both partes to ſtande to their arbitrement. Maſiniſſa was cōtent, bicauſe hee truſted the Romaines and got by them. The Carthaginians ſuſpected, as them that beſore hadde iudged not rightly. They ſayde the league made by ſcipio needed no iudgemente nor correctours, bycauſe there was no breach of them.

The ambadaours not allowed to iudge of parte, wente their waye, and diligently marked the grounde, berpe well laboured, with great preparation, and when they went into the Citie, perceiued of what ſtrength it was, and howe the people was encreaſed ſince ſcipio hadde overcome them, whiche was not long. Being come to Rome, they ſayde they had not ſuſpition ynough of Carthage, a Citie aduerſarie, and a neighbour, that was exceedingly increaſed. And Cato chiefly ſayde, that Rome coulde not be ſure, nor in libertie, till Carthage was deſtroyed. The Senate underſtanding it, mynded to make warre on the Carthaginians, but tarried for an occaſion, and kepte their iudgement cloſe. And Cato continuallye from that tyme, ſayde in the Counſell, that Carthage muſt not ſtande. But ſcipio Naſica ſaide the contrarie, that Carthage muſt be ſuffered, to kepe the Romaines in feare and god order.

Cato againſt  
Carthage.

ſcipio contrary  
to Cato.

The peoples parte preuayling in Carthage, putte out the friendes of Maſiniſſa, aboute the number of fourtye, and they made a decree of baniſhment, and ſware the people, that they ſhoulde neyther receyue them agayne, nor ſuffer any ſpeeche to be hadde of their reſtoring. They being baniſhed, fledde to Maſiniſſa, and prouoked him to warre.

Tumult in  
Carthage.

He ſent his two ſonnes, Galoffa and Miſſiſſa, to require them to receiue the baniſhed men. The ruler that the gates againſt them, leaſt the kinſemen of the baniſhed, might moue the people with their teares, ſayde he would not receiue them.

Tvvo ſonnes of  
Maſiniſſa ſent  
to Carthage.  
Amilchar Sannus

And

And *Amilchar Samnis* laye in wayte for them, and set upon *Gelosia*, and killed some of his men, and made him afraide. Wherefore to giue occasion of warre, *Masiniſſa* toke the Citie of *Ursicopa*, coucting it aboue the conditions.

*Orostopia.*

Captaines of  
*Masiniſſa* re-  
uolte to the  
enemies.

The *Carthaginians*, with five and twenty thousande footmen and four hundred horsemen of the Citie, the ruler of *Ursicopa* being Captaine, made warre against *Masiniſſa*, and encamping nigh *Asis* & *Sybas*, Captaines of *Masiniſſa*, contendyng with the kings children, fledde from him, and ledde awaye five thousand. *Asdrubal* encouraged by this, camped nearer *Masiniſſa*, and in the skirmishes had the better. *Masiniſſa* to deceyue him, went backe by little and little, as though he had fledde, but till he had brought him into a desert field full of hills and rocks, and boyde of victual. When he turned and camped in the playn, and *Asdrubal* came to the hills as the more surer, and thence intended to come the next day to fight.

*Scipio* the yonger.

The age, strength  
and valiantnesse  
of *Masiniſſa*.

*Scipio* the yonger that afterwarre toke *Carthage*, seruing vnder *Lucullus* in *Celtiberia*, came to *Masiniſſa* to desire him to send Elephants, *Masiniſſa* preparing his body for the fight against the next daye, sente horsemen to receiue him and discourse of his sonnes. He, by break of day, ordered his army being lxxviij. yeares of age, ryding yet very strongly, and leaping vpon the bare horse, as the manner is of the *Numidians*, being a good captaine, and a fighting souldiour.

*Numidians* of  
long life.

The *Numidians* be most strong, and among them that liue long, of most long life. The cause is peradventure, that they haue no sharpe winter, by the which euery thing is destroyed, nor the summer so hotte as the *Aethiopians* and *Indians*, therefore this region bringeth forth most strong beastes, and the men be alwayes in the ayre and in labour. they drinke little wine, and their diet is very simple and thinne.

*Masiniſſa* on horsebacke, directed his army, and *Asdrubal* brought his people, which were very many, against him, for many were come to hym out of the Countrey.

*Scipio* beholdeth  
the fight be-  
twene the  
*Carthagians* and  
*Masiniſſa*.

*Scipio* behelde the fight from an hygge place, as from a Theatre. He was wont to say that he had sene manye fieldes,

but

but neuer none with such pleasure, for he alone without care sawe a hundred and tenne thousande men fighting together, and he sayde that only two beside him, had sene the lyke warre at *Troy*. *Iupiter* from *Ida*, and *Neptune* from *Samothracia*. This fight continued from morning till night, and after many slayne on both sides, *Masiniſſa* seemed to haue the better. *Scipio* met with him as he returned, and reioyced with him: he receyued him as an auntient friende, and shewed him all pleasure he coude.

*Ida* an hill  
in *Troade*.

When the *Carthaginians* heard that *Scipio* was come, they prayed him that he woulde make an ende betwene *Masiniſſa* and them: he brought them together, and for the agreement, the *Carthaginians* offered *Masiniſſa* the lande they had at *Emporium*, and to giue him two hundred talents of silver presently, and eight hundred in time: and when he desired the outlawes to be restored, they coulde not abyde to heare it. And so they departed doing nothing. *Scipio* returned to *Spain*, with his Elephantes. *Masiniſſa* laye aboute the hyll of his enemies, wayting that no victual should be brought them. There was none nigh hande, and to himselfe, a great way off, it was brought with much ado, and very little. *Asdrubal* at the firste, might haue passed thorow his enemies, his army being strong and sounde: but because he was better stored of victual than *Masiniſſa*, he thought he woulde haue sued for peace: and he tarried also, hearing that Ambassadors came from *Rome* to make peace: To whome it was sayde: That if *Masiniſſa* were overcome, they should ende the matter, but if he had the better, they should encourage him. And so they did.

*Scipio* is made  
Emper betwixt  
*Masiniſſa*, and  
the *Carthagians*.

Partiallitle of  
the Romanes.

Prinle Instru-  
tions giuen the  
ambassadors.

The famine consumed *Asdrubal* and the *Carthaginians*, who were so weake in bodie, that they could not force the enimie. First they ate their beastes, then their horses of cariage, then they sodde their horse gythes and ate them. Manye diseases toke them, as well for their euill sustenance, as for their lack of labour, and heate of the yeare. For a multitude of men in a campe was thronged together in a little space, and heate of *Libya*, and when wode sayled them to seeth their meate, they

Famine in the  
*Carthagians* campe.

dd.

burned

burned their Targets. The dead men were not carried away, for *Masiniſſa* would not suffer it, nor they were not burned for lacke of woode. The pestilence was greate amongst them, and daunger, for the saoures and corrupted bodyes. The moste part of the army died, and the reste had no hope of life. Therefore they promised to restore to *Masiniſſa* his runawayes, & to pay him 5000. talents of silver in fifty yeres, & to receive their banished men contrary to their othes, & they to passe throughe one gate, by their enemies, only in their coats. *Celossi*, being yet grieued with them for the iniurie they did him, whither by his fathers consent, or of himselfe, sent the *Numidian* hoysenē vpon thē as they wente away, to be reuenged of them, they neyther hauing armour to defend, nor strength to flye, so that of. 58000. men fewe came safe to *Carthage*, and with them *Asdrubal* the captaine, and other of the noble men. This was the ende of the warre betwene *Masiniſſa* and the *Carthagies*. Then followed the thirde and last warre of the Romanes in *Libya*. When the *Carthaginians* were thus weakened by the ouerthrow of *Masiniſſa*, and their Citie in most feeble state, they were afrayde of *Masiniſſa*, being at hande with so great an army, and of the Romanes, euer their heauy enemies, and seeking occasion, for y was done against *Masiniſſa*, in neyther of the which they were deceyued: for as soone as the Romanes hearde of it, they appointed an army ouer all *Italie*, not steling to what vse, that they might be ready when they shoulde be called. The *Carthaginians* thinking to put away this occasion, condemned *Asdrubal* that was Captaine of the warre against *Masiniſſa*, and *Carthalone* the *Betharch*, and all other that were occasions of it, putting the blame of the warre vpo them. They sent ambassadozs to *Rome*, that accused *Masiniſſa*, and also accused these men, that so rashly and sodenly made the businesse, and brought the Citie into daunger of enimitie. One of the Senatours asked them, why they did not punish the authours of the warre at the beginning, but after they were overcome, and had good will to make war again vpon vs, and sought occasion of it: to him they answered, that the *Carthaginians* in deed had not yet satisfied the

The Carthagies  
yeide to  
*Masiniſſa*.

The Carthagies  
same.

The third yvar  
with Caribge.

*Asdrubalis* con-  
demned.  
Betharch was  
a chiefe office  
in Thebes, and  
Thebes.  
Ambassaours  
from Carthage to  
*Rome*.

Romanes.

Romanes. Therefore being troubled againe, they asked if they were thought to offend, what they mighte doe to make amendes: They sayde thus, to this woze: If you shal satisfie the Romanes. Some thoughte, in debating what this satisfaction shoulde be, that the Romanes would adde moze money to that *Scipio* had appointed. Some thoughte to graunte *Masiniſſa* the lande that was in controuersie. When they sente ambassadozs againe to *Rome*, to knowe expresse, what would satisfie the Romanes, to whom it was answered, that the *Carthaginians* knew well ynough, and so sent thē away. When they were in doubt and feare of thys matter, *Vtica* was the greatest Citie in *Libya* next *Carthage*, hauing fayre portes, and a countrey plentifull to sustaine an army, ly. furlongs from it, & fit to make war against thē: being in doubt of *Carthage*, & vttering their old hate against thē in time, sent ambassadozs to *Rome*, to pceice *Vtica* to the Romanes. The Senate that before was enclined and prepared to this warre, by the coming of so myghtie and conuenient a Citie vnto them, opened theyr mynde, and being assembled in the Capitoll, where they were wont to consulte of warre, decrede the warre againste *Carthage*. They sent out of hande the Consuls, *Marcus Manilius* with the footemenne, and *Lucius Marcius Censorinus* with the navy, to whome was giuen in secrete, that they shoulde not leaue the warre, till *Carthage* were taken.

When they hadde sacrificed, they sayled into *Sicilie*, to goe from thence to *Vtica*. They had fiftie gallies, a hundred fopps, & many Trayers, Barkes and Voyes. They had an army of .xx. thousand footemen, and foure thousand hoysenmen, al of the best sort, euery citizen & confederate, being desirous to go to so noble a voyage, and many willingly put their names in the roll. Warning, and war it selfe was giuen the *Carthagies* by one messenger. For he carried the decree of warre, and shewed the ships that sailed against thē. They wer awazed & in despaire, for want of ships, & so great a losse of their youth, neyther hauing confederates nor hired souldiers, nor victuals to endure a siege, nor any thing els in war soden & not proclaimed,

dd. ij,

1102

The doubtful  
dealing of the  
Senate vvith the  
*Carthagies*.

Prie is giuen to  
the Romanes.

The third yvar  
vvith Caribge  
is determined.

V Var made  
vvithout proe  
clamation.

no2 being able to resist the Romaines and *Masiniſſa* too. They sent other ambassado2s to *Rome* with ful autozitie, to satisfie for the present, as well as they could. The Senate sayd to the amb, if the *Carthaginians* within .xxx. dayes shall deliuer to the Consuls that be yet in *Sicilie*, thre hundred of your most noble childzen for pledges, and shall do in other things as they shal wil them, it is lauesfull for *Carthage* to be free and of it selfe, and haue all their lande in *Libya*. Thus they decreed openly, and gaue the *Carthaginians* the decree, to cary to *Carthage*: but in secrete they sent to to the Consuls, to keepe their former instructions. The *Carthaginians* suspected this determination, that the peace wold not bee firme, though they deliuered their childzen: but being in such a danger, no2 hauing where to put their trust, but with diligence to shew their readinesse, they caried their childzen to *Sicilie*, their parents and their friends lamenting, specially their mothers, the which, like madde women folowed their childzen and the shippes, and helde the souldiours and the Ancres, and pulled the tackle, and stopped the *Marriners*, and stayed the sayles: some folowed swimming a great way in the sea, weeping that they were taken from their childzen. Some vpon the lande, did teare their haire and beate their breasts, as they are wonte in a funerall. For it seemed in wo2de, a deliuerie of childzen, for a conformentie, but in dede, it was a verpe yelding of the Citie, their childzen being deliuered vpon no certaine condition: and many did prophesie in the deliuerie of their childze, that it shoulde not profite the Citie. This was the manner of the conueying of the childzen at *Carthage*. When they were come to *Sicilie*, the Consuls sente them to *Rome*. And there it was sayde vnto them, that they shoulde heare the ende of the war in *Yfrica*.

The Romaines being come thither, laye with their armye, where *Scipio* did befoze, their nauye harboured in the ports of *Yfrica*. The ambassado2s being come from *Carthage*, the Consuls satte on high seates, the Colonels and *Marishals* standing about them. The army on epyther side, in a greate length, appa2relled with sayze armour, their ensignes they holde vppe, that the

The Senate say  
eth one thing  
and meaneth  
another.

Excellent double  
dealing of the  
Romaines.

The Romaines  
true at *Pica*.

the Embassado2s might see the multitude of them. When the Consuls commaunded silence with a Trumpet. The Trumpet called the *Carthaginians* to come neare. They were led thorough the long army, not very nigh the seate of State, but at a barre, in the midst. The Consuls commaunded them to saye they2 message. They spake muche to moue pitie, and diuers things, touching the leagues made betwene them and the Romaines, & of *Carthage*, a Cittie of so long continuance, of people and power, & both by sea and land of most great dominion, which they spake not, (they saide) to extoll themselves, for in aduersitie it is no tyme to vaunte: but you (*Romaines*) may be moued to reason and modestie by our sodaine mutation. They be beste that pitie them that fall, for they make their owne hope the better, that do not deale euil with them that be in misfortune. This is a thing fit for you & your modestie, to haue chiefly considerati2 of men. But if we haue founde you sharpe enimies, the misfortunes we haue suffered, maye satisfie you, whiche are spoyled of the power we had by sea and land, and haue gyuen our ships to you, and made no more, and haue refrained from hunting and posselling of Elephants, & haue giuen our best pledges both before and now, and haue payed our tributes true, whiche were wont to receiue of other. And this was sufficient to youre fathers, with whom we made warre, who, when they hadde made peace with vs, vsed vs as friends and confederates. The other that is made in a league, is alike to both: and they were saythful to vs in peace, after we had made an end of war. But you, with whom we haue not contended, what can you alledge for breach of couenants, or that you should so sodainely decree war, & come vpon vs, befoze it was proclaymed? haue we not payed you our tributes? haue we ships or Elephants to be enuied? are we not to be pittied, that of late losse fiftie thousand men by famine: but we haue made war vpon *Masiniſſa*, who is encreased by it, and all we haue suffered for you, for being rigorous and iniurious to vs, and to the soyle in which he was nourished, and brought vppe. He gotte from vs oure lande at *Emporio*, which when he hadde, hee inuaded more, till agreement was made.

Embassado2s  
of *Carthage* to  
the Consuls at  
*Pica*.

A lueritie.

Mutation of  
Fortune.

Auntient Ro-  
manes kept cou-  
nauntres.

Othe in league.

Emporio.

dd. iiij.

made

made betwene hym and vs, by you : if this be the pretence of this warre, we condemned the offendours of him by proclamation, and sent Ambassadors to you, that myght purge vs, and others after that, with full power to make peace, as you would. What needeth then, ships, and nauy, and army againste me, not only confessing to haue offended, but yelding themselves vnto you? What we meant no deceite to you, nor refuse to suffer anye paine that you would put vpon vs, it appeareth plainely, when we lent our best chyldren in pledges to you, as you required, and that within .xxx. dayes, as the decree commaunded. The tenor of whiche decree is, that if we deliuer oure pledges: that *Carthage* should be free, and of it selfe, and enioy the land we haue. Thus saide the Embassadors. Then *Censorinus* stood vp and said: What neede we shew the causes of war to you (*Carthaginians*) sending Ambassadors to *Rome*, and learning that of the Senate: what ye sayde vnto vs, that I will reprove. For the decree is manifest, and we saide befoze vnto you in *Sicilie*, when we receiued youre pledges, that you should haue the resse of oure commaundements at *Utica*. For the choice and speede bringing of your pledges, we praise you. What needeth armour to them that keepe peace purely? Deliuer all youre publike and priuate armour that every man hath: Bring to vs youre shot and munition. Thus he saide. The Ambassadors saide, that they would obey thys also, but were afraid, that *Asdrubal* being condemned by proclamation, and leading .xx. M. men, and encamping at *Carthage*, would resist it. The Consuls saide, that the Romanes would see to that. Then they promised to deliuer this also: There was sent with them *Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, and *Cneus Cornelius Hispanus*: they brought forth .ij. C. M. harnesses, arrowes, & darts an infinite number, & slings that threwe headed arrowes, and stones. 2000. The sight of this cariage was faire & strange, so many wagons being carried of the enimies. The Ambassadors folowed them, and the best of the auntient foyle in the Citie, the priests and other of estimation, and all to moue the Consuls to chaunge, or to mercy. Being broughte with that order to the Consuls, *Censorinus* that was moze eloquent than

Decree, if pledges were deliuered.

The Romane Consull to the Carthaginians,

The Carthaginians deliuer their armour.

his fellowe, stood vp, and with a seuer countenaunce, said thus: We praise you of *Carthage* for your obedience, and readinesse in deliuering both your pledges and your armour. No men in necessity, shoulde speeche behoueth. Forsake you *Carthage*, and dwell where you wil, four score furlongs from the sea, for we be determined to deface *Carthage*. Whiles he was saying thys, they held vpon their hands with a crie to the heauens, and called vpon the Goddes, as men deceyued, and wished all euils vpon the Romanes, as men that would die, or were beside themselves, or prouoke the Romanes into hate of the Embassadors. They fel vpon the earthe, and with their hands and heads did beate it, some tore their garments, and defiled their bodies, as do men beside themselves. When the passion was past, a great silence and astonishment appeared, as though they had bin dead. The Romanes were amazed, and the Consuls knew they were stricken wth the strange commandement, & wold be in that passion for a time, perceiuing very well, that greatest griefs doe strike most vehemently at the first, but in time, necessity causeth boldnes to obey.

The Carthaginians are commended to forsake the Citie.

Sodaine passion

Thus were the *Carthaginians* afflicted, and with their silence feeling greater matter, they ceased their disdainefulnesse, & fel to weeping and lamenting themselves, and their chyldren, and their wiues by name, and their Country, as though it hadde hearde them, as a man, speaking many lamentable things. The priests called vpon their holy things, and their Gods, as though they had bin present, laying their destruction vpon them. There was a confused and miserable mourning of them that broughte both publike and priuate things, that it made the Romanes themselves to wepe. The Consuls were also stricken wth suche humaine mutation, and with seuer manner abode the fullnesse of the matter.

When they had ceased weeping, they waxed silent again, considering that their citie was naked and unarmed, hauing neither ship, sword, dart, nor engine, nor me sufficient to resist. I. M. being destroyed of late: straungers ayde had they none, nor friend, nor confederate, nor tyme. Their enimies had all, their chyldren,

their

their armour, their land, and came armed againſte their Citie with Shippes, footmen, engines and horſe. *Maſſiſſa* another enimye, was at their ſides. They refrained from rage and choller, as nothing proſiting in calamities. They turned againe to reaſon. And *Hanno* that is called *Cylla*, obtaining licence to ſpeak, ſaid thus:

*Hanno Cylla, to  
the Romanes.*

If there be any regarde with you, (*O Romanes*) of oure former ſpeeches, we would ſpeake, not as they that can bring forth any thing to iuſtifie vs, for there is no reſiſtaunce in tyme to the afflicted, but that you maye learne, it is not without reaſon or cauſe that you ſhoulde haue pittie of vs. We hauing dominion in *Libya* and the ſea, haue manye times contended with you for the Soueraintie, and at length gaue place to *ſcippo*, when we deliuered our ſhips and Elephants to you, and agreed to giue you tribute, and gaue them in tyme. Then for the *Gods* that be iudges, ſpare vs, ſpare vs alſo for the othe that *ſcippo* made vs, that the Romanes ſhould be friends and confederates to the *Carthaginians*. There is not, wherein we haue offended: we haue neither ſhips nor Elephants, nor haue leſte oure tributes, but we haue taken your part againſt iij. Kings, and it ought not to diſpleaſe you, if we ſaide thys befoze, when we deliuered you our armour. For miſery maketh men ſpeake muche: nothyng is moze ſtrong in ſupplikations, than couenaunts made, nor we haue any other thing for our refuge but words, ſaying we haue deliuered to you all oure ſtrength. Of theſe former thinges, *ſcippo* (*O Romanes*) was our aſſuraunce. If the preſent, you Conſuls be Authours and witneſſe with vs, You requyzed pledges, and he brought them to you of the beſte ſorte. You requyzed armour, and you haue it al, which they that are taken with ſiege, wil not willingly deliuer: we haue truſted the Romane cuſtome and manner, for the Senate commaunded vs, and you when you required pledges, ſaide that *Carthage* ſhoulde be free, when you hadde them, but if it were added, that we ſhoulde receyue the reſte of the commaundements, it is not right that you, aſſyrmynge in plaine ſpeeche, that oure Citie ſhoulde be free after the receit of the pledges, to appointe the ouerthrowe of *Carthage*

*Philippus.  
Perſeus.  
Antiochus.  
Miſery cauſe of  
much ſpeache.*

*Miſery.*

thage it ſelf. If you thinke you may deſtroy it, how can you giue it libertie, or to be of it ſelfe, as you ſay? This we haue to ſaye of the former league, and of that your ſelues haue done. If thys will not be accepted of you, we giue ouer all, and that which is onely leſte to men in miſery, we ſle to complainte and prayer: Each prayer is requiſite for the multitude of euills. We bee ſeeke you for the auncient Citie, inhabited by the Oracle of the Gods, and for the great glozie that it had, and the name that is ſpzed ouer all the earth, and for the holy things that be ſo manye in it, and for the Goddes that haue not offended, whoſe ſolemnities, pompe, and feaſtes do not ſpoile, nor the ſepultures and funeralls, ſince none of the deade men haue done you anye iniurie. If any pitie be in you, ſaying, you pitie vs, if you ſuffer vs to haue dwelling place, ſpare the place of publique aſſembly, ſpare the Countrey Ceremonies, ſpare the God of Counſell, and all other that to them that be aliue be fruiteful and honorable. What neede you haue anye feare of *Carthage*, when you haue oure Shippes, armour, and our Elephants that be enuied? Touching our habitation, if you wil ſo comfort vs, is it impoſſible for men that haue liued in the ſea, to dwel in y<sup>e</sup> maine land: of them an infinite number both occupy the ſea. We giue you a choice moze for our contentation, and your glozie. Suffer the Citie to ſtande that hath hurte noke of you, and kill vs, whom you woulde haue remoue. So ſhall you ſeeme to be angry with men and not with holy things, Gods and Sepulchres, and the Citie that hath not offended. You Romanes haue had regard of good fame, and rightwiſeneſſe in all your workes, and you ſhelwe modeſtie in proſperitie, add this you uſe toward all that you take. Remembze *Iupiter* and the other Goddes, that yet haue *Carthage*, and doe not bring euills vpon you and your children, do not blotte your good fame firſt vpon vs, nor deface your glozie with ſuche an acte, euill to be done, and euill to be heard of, and begon firſt of you afore all other living. There haue bene manye warres betwene the *Gretians* and the *Barbarians*, and manye betwene you *Romanes* and others, yet was there neuer anye that defaced a Ci-

ee.

tye,

Reuengement  
belongeth to  
God.

'He, giuing their handes afore fight, and deliuering theyr ar-  
'mour and childzen, and if there be any hurte in the worlde, to su-  
'fer it patiently: Bringing to you the Goddess Iuoyne, the for-  
'tune of man, and the moste fearfull Goddess of reuengement,  
'to them that be in felicitie. Woe beseeche you not to dishonoure  
'your selues vpon our state, that hath prospered, neyther to bring  
'your felicitie into infamy: giue vs leaue, if you will not suffer  
'vs to haue oure Cittie, to sende Embassadours againe to the  
'Senate, to make intercession. You see a little distance of time,  
'but bringing an heape of long toyments in a shorte while, for  
'the ducty of the thing to come: For it is in youre power to doe  
'what you will, either nowe or shortly after: Let pittie and hu-  
'manitie be present with you. This said *Hanno*.

The Consulls evidently seemed sad all the while he spake, be-  
cause they could graunt them nothing, and when they had made  
an end, *Censorinus* said.

The Romme  
Consull to the  
Carthaginians.

'Of that the Senate hath commaunded, what neede wee  
'speake much: for that it hath commaunded, it must be obeyed,  
'neither can we staye that they haue commaunded to bee done.  
'For what we commaunde oure enimyes to do, wee doe but  
'speake it, and it muste be done. And bycause the common profit  
'is in talke, bothe ours, and muche more yours, (*Carthaginians*)  
'I will not refuse to speake to you by reason, if you can be  
'perswaded rather than compelled. The Sea putting you in  
'mynde of your power and dominion, stirreth you to offende, and  
'by that to fall into aduersitie. For by that, you haue overcome  
'*Sicilie*, which being done, you sayled into *spaine*, and took it, in the  
'tyme of truce: ye robbed all *Merchaunts*, and chieflly *cures*: and  
'that it might not be knowne, ye drowned them, till ye were sa-  
'ken, and paid *sardinia* for a penaltie. So you losse *sardinia*; by  
'the Sea, which naturally prouoketh all men to couet too much,  
'because of the speedy commoditie of it. The *Atheniens* by be-  
'ing Sea-men, didde winne muche and losse all. For the Sea is  
'like *merchautes* gaires, it hath great encrease, and is losse  
'at once. You know that they whome I nowe named, dilating  
'theyr

theyr dominion from the *Ionian* sea, to the Ile of *sicilie*, did not  
cease of coueting more, before they hadde losse all their power,  
and giuen *Portes* and *Shippes* to their enimies, and recey-  
ued a garrison into their Cittie, and pulled downe their long  
wall, and then were made to dwell vpon the highe lande, the  
whiche saued the moste parte of them. Surer is the life (*Car-*  
*thaginians*) vpon the lande, labouring the earth with quyetnesse,  
peradventure the gaine is lesse, but surer. And lesse dangerous  
certainly is husbandry, than *Merchaundise*. And to me, a Cittie  
in the sea seemeth rather a shippe than a lande, hauing muche  
tossing of businesse and mutabilitie. In the Inland, the profite,  
is without perill, as vpon the grounde. And for thys, the  
auncient Kingdomes for the moste parte were in the middell,  
and of it, were the greatest made, as of the *Medians*, the *Assi-*  
*rians*, and the *Persians*, and others. But I will cease off exam-  
ples of *Kynges*, whiche do not agree wth you. I like vpon  
your owne *Libya*, in the whiche you shall haue neigh-  
bours, as you will chosse, that you maye take awaye the  
sighte and memozye that stirre you to the thynges that nowe  
trouble you, when you looke to the Sea, voyde of *Shippes*,  
remembryng the number of *Shippes* you haue hadde, and the  
prayeres you haue taken, and to what *Portes* you brought them,  
plentifullye, and filled youre *storehouses* both of *Shippes* and  
*Treasure-houses* of all preparation. Whereto serueth youre  
walls, the receipte of youre armies, horses and *Elephantes*?  
Whereto is the memozye of them to you, but grieve and a stir-  
ring, to come agayne to the same, if you can? It is the affection  
of manne, by the remembraunce of former fortune, to hope to  
come agayne to the like. The best remedy against euill fortune,  
is forgetfulness, which you cannot haue, except you take away  
the sighte. And thys is a manifest pzoofe, that being many times  
pardoned for the breach of your promise, you haue broke it stil,  
if you yet couet rule, I heare vs euil wil, that haue taken it from  
you, & wait your tyme: then haue you neede of such a citie, of such  
ports, *Arsenalls* and walls to be made to receiue your army.

*Atheniens* lost  
all by coueting  
too much by sea

Gaine vpon  
land, lesse, but  
more sure.

A Citie in the  
sea like a shippe

The great Mo-  
narchies on the  
lande.

For occasion of  
offence.

*Sicilie*.  
*spaine*.

Sea like *Mar-*  
*chautes*.

Forgetfulness  
remedie against  
miserie.

ec. ij.

And

And why shoulde we pardon you, since we finde you suche aduersaries? If you will leaue your dominion in dede, not in word, rather than in sentence, being content with the lande you haue in *Libya*, and murther without dissimulation with vs, do it & shew it in dede, go bywell in *Libya*, which you haue, and leaue the Sea, which you haue losse. Pether counterfaite pitie by holy thinges, country, Goddes, common place, and sepulchres. Whose sepulchres shall remaine vntouched, and to make the ceremonies to them, you may come and sacrifice to yere holye Goddes if you will. The reste we will take away. For you do not sacrifice in Arsenals, nor ye make no peare-minds vpon the walles, Altars, houses, and Palaices, you may builde where you goe, and they shall forthwith be your Countrey: as you left *Tyrus* and came into *Libya*, and that you possessed here, you call your country. And to be short, learne, that we do not enioine you this for euill will, but for sure agreement, and publique concord. If you can remember, that *Alba*, not an ennemie, but a mother-citie, not of euill minde, but willing inhabitaunce, for the common profite, we translated to *Rome*, and it was profitable to both people. But ye saye there be many with you, that worke for theyr liuing by the sea. This we haue foreseene, that you maye haue easie traffike by sea, and maye carrie and receive verie commodiously: for we put you not far from the Sea, but foure score furlongs. Wee that do commaunde you this, be a hundred furlongs from it: we giue you a place, choose it your selfe, and when you are there, to be of your selfe. Why is it we saide before, that *Carthage* shoulde be free, if she obeyed vs. Wee thinke you to be *Carthage*, and not the ground. When *Censorinus* had said thus, he ceased. The *Carthagians* being astonished, said nothing. When he saide againe. I haue spoken what I thought might perswade you, and comforte you. But the Senates commaundement muste be done, and that out of hande. Wherefore goe your waye, for yet you be Embassadors. Thus he spake, and they were removed by the Sergeants. And foreseeing what might follow of it at *Carthage*, they desired leaue to speake againe, and being brought in, they saide:

¶ We see your commaundement must be obeyed, for you will not let vs sende to *Rome*. We do not hope to retaine to you, for we shall be killed of the *Carthaginians*, while we tell them your commaundement: we beseech you, not for our selues, for we be ready to suffer all things, but for *Carthage*, if it maye be driuen to suffer calamitie by feare, sende your shippes thither, whiles we go, that hearing and seeing your commaundement, they may beare it if they can. Into such extreme necessitie, we are driuen, as we desire you to sende your shippes against our owne countrey. When they had thus sayde, they went their way.

*Censorinus* with twentie gallies, shoared about the Cittie. Some of the ambassadors stode in the waye, the more parte wente on with silence. The *Carthaginians* looking for the ambassadors comming on the wals, were troubled with their terrour, and some to see their heare, some woulde not tarry, but went to meete them, so desirous to learne the truth. When they sawe them heaue, they stroke their faces, and did aske some, of them al, some of their friends and acquaintance, and when they had saluted them, and asked them, and had none answer, they lamented, as in an euident distraction: and some that heard them from the wals, lamented with them, not knowing any thing, as in a manifest and gret aduersitie. At the entry of the gates, they had almost thrust one another to death, & almoste toke the ambassadors in pieces, but that this saued them, that they must first speake with the Seniors. Some left them, and some went on with them, desirous to know with the soonest. When they were entred the Senate house, the Seniors commaunded the other to auoyde, and they onely remained, the people stode without. The Ambassadors shewed the commaundement of the Consuls. The Senate cryed out, the people without did the like. The ambassadors shewing further what they had alleaged to the contrary, and what prayers they had made to sende ambassadors to *Rome*, the Senate was in a deepe silence againe, abyding to heare the end, and the people was in silence also, but when they heard, they might not see to *Rome*, they were turned into an exceeding chynking. The

*Carthagians speak  
against*

Trouble in  
*Carthage* at the  
sight of the  
Ambassadors.

Fury of the  
*Carthagians*.

*Carthaginians  
come of Tyrus.*

*Alba.*

*Sea men.*

When he the citie,  
and not house.

The description  
of Carthage.

The Citie standeth, in a gret deepe gulfe, almost as an Island: a place called a neck did diuide it fro the lād, 25 furlongs brode, from the which, a narrow piece of ground called a towne halfe a furlong brode, goeth to the weast in the midst of the poole and the sea, with a simple wall among the rockes, towards the south lande warde, where the olde Citie *Byrsa* was. In the neck was a triple wall: Euerie one of these, was thirtie Cubites high, besido the batlements, and towers, distaunt two acres asunder, stayde by foure plinchers, thirtie foote deepe, at the placher was the highth of euery wall, and in it, being rounde and strong, three hundred Elephants were placed belowe, and the treasure of their stoe. Upon the was stables for four thousand horses, with granaries for wheate and barley. There was receytes for men, twentie thousand a foote, and foure thousande on horse: so greate prouision of warre, was appointed to be placed in the walles only. One walke about the narrow part, did how from the wall to the portes, which was only weake and lowe, not regarded at the beginning. They sayled out of one porte to another, and from the sea there was one entre lxx. foote brode, which they did shut with chaynes of yron. The Citie was for merchautes, in the which were manie and diuerse places of receipt. Within this in the midst was an Ile, and both the Ile and the poole was compassed with greate holwe coyners, the which were full of munition for shippes, able to receiue two hundred & twentie ships, and Cellers for preparation of shippes and gallies furniture: two pillars of Ionian fashion, stood before euery porte of shippes, like a gallery in the sight of them that passed by the Island and the port. In the Ile was the stoe for the admiral, fro where the Trumpeter must giue warning, and the crier tel the time, and the Admirall see abroad. The Island was right against them that sayled, by a great length, that the Admirall might see all in the sea, and they that sayled by, should not see the places of the portes perfectly. Neither could the Merchants in their port, see the stoe for the shippes. For a double wall was set about them, & gates did let the Merchants to go into the Citie, not passing by the

One weake  
place.

The admirals  
port.

the storehouses of the shippes. At that time thus stood the Citie of Carthage.

The Consuls diuided their businesse and came against their enemies. *Manlius*, from the lande, against the necke, to fill the ditch, to beate down the little wal, and so to appoach to the high walles. *Censorinus* brought ladders both from the lande and the shippes, against the part of the bowing wall. They both made little accompte, as of vnarmed men: tyll they founde them to haue new armour, and great courage, at the wounder of the which, they gaue backe, and at the beginning sayled of theyr purpose, thinking to get the Citie without any fight. The seconde time attempting, and againe reiected, the courage of the Carthagies encreased. The Consuls being afrayde of *Asdruball*, which had his campe at their backe not far off, at the poole, defended both their campes. *Censorinus*, at the poole, vnder the walles of the Citie, *Manlius*, in the necke, the way to the lande. And thus their camps being made strong, *Censorinus* with his, passed the poole, for stiffe to make engines, where hee lost fife hundred workemen, and much armour, *Imilco* the generall of the horse of Carthage, comming sodaynely vppon hym, who was surnamed *Phameas*. Yet getting matter, he made engines and ladders, and agayne they both gaue assault, and were repulled.

*Manlius* beginning a little, and hardly breaking any part of the wall, dispayred and left it off. *Censorinus* filling a trenche next the narrow earth at the poole, to make it the more passable, brought two greate engines that caried rammes, the one was heaued with fife thousand footemen, the Colonels guiding it, the other of the Hariners by the conduct of the Admiralles. And contention being which should doe best, both of the Captaines and souldiours, a piece of the wall was throlwen down, and they might see into the Citie.

The Carthaginians to repulse them, repayred the breach in the night: and because they could not finishe all by night, and were afrayde, that that was already done, shoulde be throlwen down in the daye by the Romaynes engines, being newe made and  
ff. gréne,

The Consuls a-  
gainst Carthage  
by sea and land,

*Imilco*.  
*Censorinus* loseth  
men.

The Ro-  
maines haue  
three repulses,

The Carthagies  
burn part of the  
Romanes  
engines.

Scipio sheweth  
his wisedome,  
being an inferi-  
our officer in  
the campe.

In this place is a  
want of text.

The Carthagies  
burne part of  
the Romanes  
flauy.

green, they ranne vpon the engines of the enimies, some armed, some naked, hauing only burning lampes. They burned not all, bycause they could not preuent the Romanes, but that they came out: yet they made them all vnpofytable, and returned. Day being come, the Romanes had boldnesse to assault y place that was fallen & not fully made vp: for within appeared a plain fit for to fight, in the fronte of the which, the armed Carthagies stood, & behynde, the vnarmed, with stones & stauces: & other placed in the next houses, to entertaine the approaching enimie, the which, seeing such contempt of naked men, leapt in boldly. Scipio (that not long after destroyed Carthage, & was called Affricane,) being a Marshall at that time, stayed, & diuiding his bands into many partes, and standing a distaunce from the wal, would not let anye of his to enter the Citie, but receyued them that were driuen out by the Carthaginians, and saued them. And this was the beginning of his glorie, appearing more wise than the Consul. The army of Censorinus was sicke, lying at the Fenne ful of standing and corrupt water, & not receiuing winde from y sea, bicause of the high wals. Therfore Censorinus remoued into the sea.

The Carthaginians, whē y winde blew toward the Romanes, filled their boates with flaxe and brusse, within the wals, that the enimies should not see it from the shippes, and when they came forth and should be scene, they layd on sulphure and pitch, and then set by sayle, and threwe fire into the vessels. the which being carried with the winde y blew lustily, into the Romane nauye, sette the shippes on fire and almost burned them all.

Not long after, Censorinus went to Rome for the election.

The Carthagies were the bolder vpon Manlius, and in the night some armed and some vnarmed carrying bridges, assaulted the next trenche of Manlius, and beganne to pull downe the rampire.

The souldiours within beyng troubled in the nighte time, scipio came with his hozsemen by a contrarpe parte, where no enimies were, and feared the Carthagies, when he was comming vpon them, and they retired into the Citie.

In

In this fight the souldiours disordered by night, scipio was thought to haue saued them once againe very nobly, and Manlius kepte his campe more sure, making a wall where the rampire was, and erecting a tower toward the sea, for the shippes that brought him victual. Then turning to the lande with ten thousande footemenne, and two thousande hozse, he wasted the countrey, gathering woode, cozne and victuall, and one Tribune after another, did serue the turne. Phameas the Captaine of the hozsemen, being yong, and desirous to fight, and vsing little and light hozses, that were fedde with grasse, when they had none other, and to suffer hunger and thirst, when neede was, keeping secret in ballies and woods, whē he saw the negligēt, came forth of the sodayn, like an Eagle, and when he had spoyled, he retired, but whē scipio commaunded y army, he would not apeare.

For scipio led his people cuer in order, the hozsemen keeping on hozsebacke, and in his raunging, would not dissolue his order, before he had beset the field which he would spoyle, with hozsemen and armed footemen. And he roade about with other bandes, and kepte in the foragers, that lefte their companie, or went out of the compasse. Therfore Phameas would not come vpon him. And this being often done, scipio had great glorie. The other Captaynes enuying, gaue out, that there was friendship between the auncestours of Phameas, and the grandfather of this scipio. The Libyans that fledde into towers and fortes, that were many in y country, the other Tribunes would couenaunt with them to depart, & assaile thē as they went, but scipio would send them home. Therfore there was such a fame of his valiantnesse and faith, as they would not trust, except scipio gaue his word, so as he was honoured both of his owne & of his enimies. Comming from foraging, the Libyans assaulted the castle of the nauy, in the night: & the confusion being great, by the eseries y the Carthagies made, to cause y more terror, Manlius kept his mē within, not knowing the matter. scipio takyng two bandes of hozsemen, came forth with burning lightes, commaunding his men not to fight, bycause of the darke, but onely to run about wyth the fire, to seme y more, & afray the enemy, so as the Carthaginians

ff. y.

being

Phameas,

The circumsp-  
cion of scipio.

Enuie against  
scipio.

scipio iust of  
promisse.

being made afrayde both wayes, fledde into the citie. Thys also rebounded muche to *Scipio* his glorie. Wherefoze he was well spoken of by euerie man, and thought a worthy sonne, of *Paulus* that conquered *Macedonie*, and of the *Scipios*, into whose family he was adopted.

The progenie  
of *Scipio*.

Nepheris.

*Scipio* Counsell  
is rejected.

The Romanes  
are overthrowen  
by *Asdrubal*.

*Scipio* saueth the  
Consul and  
his army.

*Manlius* going to *Nepheris* against *Asdrubal*, *Scipio* was not contente, seeing al wooddes and hilly places, and the high places gotten befoze: and as they were thre furlongs from *Asdrubal*, and coming to a river must ascend to *Asdrubal*, he stayd then, and counsellled him to retire, and that another time and pollicie should be moze fitte to match with *Asdrubal*. The other Tribunes speaking against him for enuy and malice, not thinking it good counsell to giue place in the sight of the enemye, where by they might contemne them, and set vpon them as flying, hee againe desired them, to put their campe on the hyther side of the river, that if they were put to it, they might haue a place to resozte, where as now they hadde none, wherevnto they might flye. They laughed at this, and one threathned to caste away his sword, if not *Manlius*, but *Scipio* did rule. Wherefoze *Manlius* went on, not verie skilfull in the warre. *Asdrubal* encountred with him, and there was greate slaughter on both sides. When *Asdrubal* ranne into a castle where was no peril, and wayted to set on them as they wente, who repenting that they had done, they retired to the floud in order, but the floud being hard to passe, bycause of fewe swordes and painful, they wer forced to break their order. Whych, when *Asdrubal* saw, he came downe manfully, and killed many, that did not resiste, but fledde, and thre of the Captaines were slaine, that brought the army to that conflicte. But *Scipio* with thre hundred horsemen that he had, and as many as he coulde get together, diuided into thre companies, gaue charge vpon the enemye with greafe vehemence, by portions darting at them, and repyring then vpon them, and agayne returning. For so he tolde them, that halfe of them should assaile the enemyes, and throw their dartes, as being in a circle. This being est done, and the *Libyans* without any staye, being shotte at continuallye, and all turning

turning vpon *Scipio*, the other had the lesse trouble to passe the riuer. And *Scipio* rode after them, being stroke at verie sore. Foure companies at the beginning of the fray being put from the floud by the enemyes, ranne to an hill, where *Asdrubal* besieged them, unknowne to the Romanes, till they slayed. When they knewe it, some thoughte good to goe their waye and not to aduenture many for a felwe. *Scipio* tolde them, that befoze a matter is begonne, good counsell muste be hadde, but so manye menne and ensignes being in daunger, the uttermoste boldnesse muste be vled. He chose certaine trouces of horsemen, and said he would returne with them, or gladly die with them. He took with him two dayes victuall, and freight went forth, all the army being afrayde, least he also shoulde perish. When he came to the hill where they were besieged, he with great speede took another hill ouer-against it, diuided by a little valley. Then the *Libyans* didde giue an hote charge vpon them that were besieged, thinking *Scipio* coulde not succoure them, being in so long a iorney. But he seeing the bottomes of the hills compassing the valley, did not omit the occasion, but ranne and took a place aboue the enemyes. They beyng now beset rounde aboute, fled without order, *Scipio* suffering them to go freely, bycause they were a great deale moze than he.

Thus *Scipio* saued these also, that were in desperation. When the army saue him come a farre off, beyng saued beyond hope, and hauing saued the other, they made great reioyce, and thoughte God wrought with him, as he did with his Grandfather, that seemed to knowe what was to come. *Manlius* led his army to the Cittie againe, putting great faulte in them that woulde not obey *Scipio*, when he counsellled to retire with the army. All were muche grieued, that they that were killed, laye vnburied, specially the Tribunes. Therfoze *Scipio* losed a prisoner, and sent him to *Asdrubal*, praying him to bury the Tribunes. He sought among the dead bodies, and found them by their rings of golde. For the Tribunes of an army weare gold, and the inferiours, yron. He buried them, either as an acte of humanitie, and comon among warriors, or reuerencing and seruing *Scipio* his glorie.

Counsell better  
doyns.

*Scipio* saueth 4.  
bands that vver  
in daunger.

Opinio of Gods  
working in *Scipio*.

Griefe for the  
vnburied soul.  
dioures.

Tribunes were  
rings of golde,  
the other of yron.

ff. iij.

glorie.

glozie.

When the Romanes were come from *Asdrubal*, *Phameas* troubled them, being yet afraide of their losse. And some issued oute of *Carthage*, and killed some of their cariage.

At this time the Senate sent certaine men to see the Campe, and to marke euery thing diligently. And *Manlius* and the counsell, and the Tribunes that were left, enuy beyng now exting by vertue, & al the army, testified what actes *Scipio* had done for the. The which, the Ambassadors at their returne, tolde the Senate what diligence and experience was in *Scipio*, and what goodwill of the army was toward him.

The Senate was glad of it. And bicause of their many losses, they sent to *Masiniissa*, and required him to send friendlye aide to them againste *Carthage*. But he was not found of the Embassadors. For being decayed with age and infirmittie, and hauing many base sonnes, to whome he had giuen much, and thre lawfull, of diuers conditiōs, he called *Scipio*, for the amittie that was betwene him and his grandfather, to be a counsellor for his children and kinsmen. He went oute of hande, but before he came, *Masiniissa* dying, commaunded his children to obey *Scipio*, as he shoulde take order for them. Which, when he had saide, he died, a man in all thinges fortunate, to whome, God graunted to recover his fathers kingdom from the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*, and to increase it from a greate parte of *Mauritania* by Sea, to the dominion of *Cyrene* by land, and caused a great portion to be inhabited. And many of the *Numidiās* that liued with hearbs, and vsed no tillage, he left them with treasures of mony and army well practised. Of his enemies, he tooke *Syphax* prisoner with his own hand. Beyng the cause of the variance with *Carthage*, he left it weake to the Romanes. He hadde a body big, and strong of nature, to his laste age, and tried fight till his death, and woulde leape on horse without stirrups. And this may be a great coniecture of his good health, for hauing many children, & they sometime dying, he hadde foure little ones, and leste one of foure yeares of age, when he was 900, years olde. Thus *Masiniissa*, of these yeares and body, dyed.

Scipio

*Scipio* gaue to the bastards, other gifts, to the Legitimate, treasures and reuenue, and to haue the name of a King common to them, and diuided other things among them, as he thoughte good. To *Misipsa* that was eldest, and moste desirous of peace, he gaue the Citie of *Cyrtā*, and all the royall thinges in it. To *Gelossa* that was a souldiour, and second in age, he appointed to be the Lord of peace and warre. To *Mastanaba* the youngest, and giuen to Justice, he gaue the authoritie of iudgements and deciding controuersies.

Thus did *Scipio* diuide the kingdome and substance of *Masiniissa* to his children, and presently made *Gelossa* a companion of the warre: and he founde oute the traynes, by the whiche, *Phameas* many times bered the Romanes, and stayed them.

In a winter *Scipio* and *Phameas* encamped nighe together, hauing in the midst a valley that could not be passed, nor doe any thing the one against the other.

And *Scipio* fearing that some traine might be laide before him, went to viewe it with thre friends. When *Phameas* saue him, he came toward him with one. *Scipio* thinking he wold say some what, rode toward him with one also. And when they might heare one another, *Scipio* saide: The *Carthaginians* being gone before why dost thou not consider of thine owne health, seeing thou canst doe nothing for the common wealth? Howe can I (quoth he) see for my safety, the *Carthaginians* standing as they do, and the Romanes being so oft hurte by me? I promise thee (saide *Scipio*) if I be worthy to be trusted, safetie and forgiveness of the Romanes, and to haue thanks. He accepting him to be most worthy, saide: I thinke so of thee, and if it be possible thou canst tel, and so they departed.

*Manlius* being ashamed of the losse he had of *Asdrubal*, marched againe to *Nepheris*, taking with him xv. dayes victualles, and being at hande, made a trench, and encamped (as *Scipio* counselled him) in the former tozney. And doyng no good, he was in a more feare and greater shame, least *Asdrubal* should come vpon him, as he went away. And whiles he was in this doubt, one of *Gelossa* army brought a letter to *Scipio*, and he deliuered it

sealed

The order that  
*Scipio* tooke vpon  
*Masiniissa*  
children.  
*Misipsa*, *Gelossa*,  
and *Mastanaba*.

The talke be-  
tweene *Scipio* &  
*Phameas*.

A newe rodde  
of *Manlius* to  
*Nepheris*.

A letter to *Scipio*.

A general good  
reporte of *Scipio*

*Masiniissa* maketh  
*Scipio* his  
executor.

*Masiniissa* dyeth.  
A fortunate man.

*Cyrene*, nowe  
*Cyrene*, contain-  
ing the pro-  
vince of *Lyce*  
Cities.

*Masiniissa* of  
900. yeares of  
age had a child  
of foure yeares  
olde.

sealed as it was, to the Generall. When they had opened it, they founde thys. Suche a daye I will take suche a place, come thou with as many as thou wilt, and bid the foremoste watche, receiue him that shall come in the night. The letter without anye name saide thus muche. *scipio* thought it was touching *Phamea*, *Manlius* was afraide of *scipio*, leaste he shoulde be deceyued of a man that was all bent to deceites. But when he sawe him haue good hope in the matter, he sente him, willing him to giue assurance for *Phameas* safety, but for his thanks, to determine nothing, but to promise him that the Romanes shoulde consider of him. There was no neede of suche promises. For when *Phameas* was come to the place appointed, he trusted *scipio* for his safetie, giuing him his right hande: and as for thanks, let the Romanes consider it. When he had said thus, he determined to fighte the nexte day, & going befoze with his Captains, as to consider some other matter, he said: If I could any longer helpe my country, I am ready: But that standing as it doth, I am to forseeke for mine owne safety, hauing receyued assurance for my selfe, I will receiue it for you, that will be perswaded by me: now is the time for you to consider for your selues. Thus he saide. Some of the captaines with their bands yielded, and were in number. 2200. horsemen. The rest, *Manno*, called The White, did retaine. When *scipio* came, *Phameas* army met with hym, and extolled *scipio*, as in a triumphe. *Manlius* being very glad, not thinking any longer his returne to be rebukefull to him, nor afraide that *Asdrubal* woulde follow him, he remoued straight for want, being now the .xviij. daie, appointing but .xv. and so muste suffer paine for thre daies *scipio* taking *Phamea* and *Geloffa*, with their horsemen, and certaine *Italians*, went to a field called the Great Dungeo, and from thence brought much pray and victuall for their camp by night. *Manlius* vnderstanding that *Calphurnius Piso* shold come as his successoz, set *scipio* and *Phamea* to Rome afoze, and the army following *scipio* to the ship, praised *scipio*, and prayed he might be sent Consul into *Libya*, as he that only could ouerthrow *Carthage*. For it was an opinion among the proceeding from God, & only *scipio* could conquere *Carthage*. And many wrote so to their friends

*Phameas* yeeldeth to *Scipio*.

*Phameas* to his Captaynes.

Among the white.

The great Dungeo.

*Scipio* and *Phameas* to Rome.

The peoples opinion of *scipio*.

friends in Rome. The Senate commended *scipio*, and honored *Phameas* with pretious gifts of golde and purple, and an horse trapped with golde, and an armour for his whole body, and .x. M. siluer drammes, & an hundred pound waite of siluer plate, and a tent & furniture according, and badde him hope for better gifts, if he did his endeuor in the rest of the war. He promised so to do, and sailed into *Libya* to the Romanes camp. At the Spring, *Calphurnius Piso* the Consul came, & with him, *Lucius Mancinus* to the navy. They neither did any thing against *Carthage* nor *Asdrubal*, but besieged Cities, & were driuen fro *Clupea*, when they had beset it both by sea and land. *Piso* took another city nigh, & spoiled it, offering to come to accorde. From thence they went to *Hypozareta*, a great Cittie, wel walled, with a Castle, Ports, ships and houses, which *Agathocles* the Tyranne of *Scicilie* did builde beyfayze. It was in the middest between *Carthage* & *Libya*, whiche robbed the Romanes prouision by sea, & therfoze was very rich. *Calphurnius* thought to punish the same, and to take awaye the profit, but being at it an whole sommer, did no good, & they twice sallying oute with the helpe of the *Carthaginians*, burned the engines of *Calphurnius*, and he hauing done nothing, retired to *Vrica* to winter. The *Carthaginians* hauing *Asdrubals* army safe, and they the stronger for the fight, with *Piso* at *Hypozareta*, for *Bythius Nonias* was fled to them from *Geloffa* with eight hundred horse, & seeing that *Micipsa* and *Mastanaba* the sons of *Masinissa*, did neuer promise the Romanes armes and money, and deferred and looked for the ende, were increased in their hartes, & went boldly about *Libya*, winning grounde, & speaking euill of the Romanes, in the assemblies of euery citie, shewing their faintnesse at *Nepheris* twice, & what they had lately losse at *Hypagreta*, & could not yet get *Carthage*, being vharmed and vnprouided. They sent to *Micipsa* and *Mastanaba*, and to the free *Mauritanians*, exhorting them, and also shewing them, that they were in daunger, if the Romanes ouercame them. They sent some into *Macedonia*, to him that was thought to be the sonne of *Perseus*, & at war with the Romanes, and perswaded him to follow the warre earnestly, & they shoulde not lacke ships nor money fro *Carthage*. And

*Hypozareta*. This citie of *Hippo*, was builded of the house men, and was the Countie of *S. Austen*.

Another *Hippo* was builded in the Fenne, and called therefore, *Dilutus*, builded also by the horse men.

They burne the Consulls munition. *Bythius* reuolte to the *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginians* procure friends.

The lustinesse of the *Carthaginians*.

in summe, set not a little by themselves, now that they were armed, but increased by degree, in harte, courage and preparation.

And *Asdrubal* for his parte, was aloft to, chiefe of the warre abroad: for ouercomming *Manlius* twice, and coueting the rule of the Citie also, did accuse *Asdrubal* the Generall of it, to the Senate of *Carthage*, beyng nephew to *Gelassu*, that he would betray *Carthage* to him. When he was examined of thys matter, and for the sodaine, could not answer for hymselfe, he was killed with the scates of the house.

When the small doings of *Piso*, and the prouision of *Carthage*, was tolde at *Rome*, the people was griened, and feared that if the warre increased, beyng greate, continuall and at hande, they coude looke for no rest, because they had broken faith wyth them befoze. And remembryng the actes that *Scipio* had lately done in *Libya* when he was a Tribune, and comparng them, with the present, & the letters that were sent from the Camp euery man to his friendes, they required that *Scipio* might be sente Consull into *Libya*, for the Election was at hande. But the lawe forbod *Scipio* to be Consull yet, because of his age. He desired to be an Edile, but they would haue him Consul. Which beyng against the Lawe, and the Consuls brynging forth the Lawe, they were griened and offended, affirming, that by the Lawes of *Remulus* and *Tullius*, the people was Lord of the Elections, and mighte allowe and disallowe what Law they would.

In the ende, one of the Tribunes saide, if the Consuls would not agree to the people, they woulde take the Election from the Consulls. So the Senate perswaded the people to breake the Lawe for one yeare, and then to resume it againe. As the *Lacedemonians* in a necessitie dissolued a Lawe for them that were taken at *Pylus*, and saide: Let the Lawes sleepe for thys daye. So *Scipio* desiring to be Edile, was made Consull, whose fellowe *Drusus* required to allotte the prouinces, til one of the Tribunes saide, that the iudgement of prouinces, was the peoples, the whiche people chose *Scipio*.

An army was giuen him of ordinarie, so many as might supplie the number of the deade, and to take as manye confederates

*Asdrubal* with  
out accuseth  
*Asdrubal* with-  
out.

*Asdrubal* youth  
is killed.

Ediles had rule  
of houses and  
prouision.

Authoritie of  
people.

*Scipio* is chosen  
Consull before  
his tyme,  
and the Lawe  
broken for one  
yeare, by exam-  
ple of the *Lace-  
demonians*.  
*Pylus* a citie or  
tyme in *Pelopon-  
neso*.  
*Scipio* is appoin-  
ted to *Libya* by  
the people.

as he coulde perswade, and to write to Kings and Citties in the people of *Romes* name, as many as he thoughte would send him aide. So had he helpe from Citics and Kings. He went into *sicilie*, and from *sicilie* to *Ptica*. *Calphurnius Piso* made war in the land, and *Mancinus* lay at *Carthage*, a parte of the wall he perceiued to be neglected, where were rocks that could not be attempt-  
ed. He thinking he shoulde not be perceyued, prepared hys lab-  
ders to get the wall. He did so, and some of the souldiours went to it boldly.

*Piso* attempteth  
the vvall.

The *Carthaginians* seeing them so fewe, despised them, and set open the gates that goe to the rockes, and ranne vppon the *Romanes*. And the *Romanes* dzyuing them backe, and following them, ranne into the Citie at the gate with them. When making a crie of victorie, *Mancinus* leaping for ioy, and in other things rathe and light, with the other multitude leauing their shippes, ranne to the wall, halfe armed and naked. The Sunne nowe being ready to set, they toke a forte befoze the wall, and rested.

*Mancinus* giueth  
a rashe attempt.

And *Mancinus* wanting victuall, sente to *Piso* and the rulers of *Ptica*, to helpe him in his daunger, and to bring him swde with speede. So was he in daunger, least by breake of daye, the *Carthaginians* should throwe him headlong from the rockes. *Scipio* that night came to *Ptica*, and at midnight, vnderstanding what *Mancinus* had wrytten, sounded to the battaile, & sent the messengers to call the seamen of *Italie* and *Ptica*. He had the auntients carpe victualls into the galleys, and deliuered a prisoner of *Carthage*, to go tell them that *Scipio* was commyng. And he sent to *Piso* horsmen after horsmen, to call him awaye with all speede. When the laste watch was come, he commaunded to sayle, and they to stand right vppe in the decktes, to seme the moze to the enimyes. Thus he did.

*Mancinus* in dan-  
ger.

*Scipio* at his ar-  
riuall doth a  
feat.

*Mancinus*, when the *Carthagies*, early in the morning fel vpon him, compassed thre thousand being naked, with only fye hundred which he had armed: being hurte and beaten of them, he was dzyuen into the rockes of the wall. When *Scipios* shippes were sen, sayling with all force, & euery where full of armed souldiours.

*Mancinus* is hurt  
and beaten.

The Carthaginians hearing it by the prisoner, did not thinke the contrary, and brought the Romanes an helpe vntilke for. The Carthaginians giuing place by little and little, *Scipio* receiued the Romanes that were in danger, into hys ships, and by and by sent *Manlius* to Rome. *Serranus* was come to be his successor in the nauy. *Scipio* encamped not far off *Carthage*. The Carthaginians comming fure furlongs oute of the towne, made a trench against him. And to this trench came to them, *Asdrubal* the Captaine of the army abroad, and *Bythias* Captaine of the horsemen, leading fire thousand footemen, and a thousande horsemen, practised with time and diligence. *Scipio* perceiuing no order, nor good rule among the souldiours, but giuen to polenesse, & spoyle, and rauine vnder *Piso*, and an other straunge multitude among them, that for spoile followed the bolder sorte, and ranne wyth them to robbe, going without warning, where the law of war take: h him for a forsaker of the army, that goeth withoute the sound of the Trumpe: and what offence they make, is imputed to the whole army: and the desire of spoile to be occasion of other evils and contention among them. Many contemning their felowes for lucre, made murders, hurtes and mischief against the lawes, the whi. he *Scipio* considering, & thinking netter to overcome his enimie, except he coulde rule hys owne, called them by an assembye, and goyng vp to the highe seate, thus rebuked them: When I was a souldior wyth you vnder *Manlius*, I gaue you experience to witnesse of mine obedience: the which now being Generall I require of you, hauing power to punishe the disobediet to y vttermost, I haue thought it good to warne you: You know what you do, and what should I speake that I am ashamed of: Pe rob rather than make war: yea, and you scatter, not encampe, and be like sickers of pray, & not siegers of Cities. You will liue delicatelye, yet being in warre withoute victorie. Whereby the enimies power beyond all hope, the little tyme that I haue bin away, is growne so greate, that by thys negligence, my labour is growne the greater. The causes, if I didde stand to be in you, I woulde punishe them oute of hand; but by cause I impute them to an other, I knowe forgine all you haue done

Scipio's speech  
to Manlius.

Serranus.

Asdrubal & Bythias

A way of war.

The exhortatiō  
of Scipio to the  
souldiours that  
were out of  
order.

done till this time. I come not to rob, but to conquer: not to get money before victorie, but firste to beate mine enimies. Goe you, al from the army this day that be no souldiours, except them, that shall haue leaue of me to tarry: and they that do go, I wil not suffer to come againe, till they bring some victuall fit for the camp & good. A time shall be appointed, in the which they shal place their things, & the price of them, I, & the tresorer, shall appoint. And this he saide to the superfluous. But to you that bee my souldiours, let one comendement be common to you all, in all affaires, that is, my maner & labor. For if you follow them, you shal not erre in youre enterprises, nor be boide of thankses. For now we muste labour where perill is. Lettelucre alone, till a fitte time maye serue vs to be merce. Thus doe I commaund, and the law. and they that will be obedient shal be pertakers of muche good, and they that be disobedient, shall repent. Thus *Scipio* saide, & by and by put away al y multitude of vnprofitable mē, & with them, al things that wer superfluous, vaine, and delicate. His army being purged, & with reuerence readie to do his comendement, he attempted a place called *Megara*, in two places in one night. *Megara* is a very great place in the Cittie, toyning to the wall, into the whiche sending other about, he went wyth pike-axes, ladders & bars, vnsen, & with silence. While they aboue heard them come nere, they made a crie from the wall, he made the countre crie firste, & after him the army, & in diuerse parts it was made very great. This was the first feare the Carthaginians had, so many enimies in the sides of them, so sodainely being come vpon them. He coulde do no good against the wall, though he proued al wayes, but he gote a Tower, of a private Citizen, boide, without the wall, & as high as the wall, by the courage of his pong men, which dreue away the watch from the wall with their darts, & laying bridges & planks the space betwene, gote into *Megara*, and breaking down the gate, let in *Scipio*. He entred with iiij. M. men & the Carthaginians fled into *Byrsa*, as the reste of the Cittie had bin taken. There was a strange crie and tumulte, some were taken, & some left their camp without, & ran with other into *Byrsa*. *Scipio* because *Megara* was full of *Orcharde* &

Example: good  
lesson.

*Megara* one of  
the strong places  
of *Carthage*.

*Scipio* gayerne  
a Tower.

Great alteratiō  
in *Carthage*.

gg. iiij.

Croues

groves of fruite, diuided with hedges, and sets and byters, and with riuers running diuersely, fearing least the army folowing him, shoulde finde a troublesome passage without waye, and ignozantly going in y<sup>e</sup> night, might haply fall into some traynes, blew the retreat. When day was come, *Asdrubal* being angry with the taking of *Megara*, as many prisoners as he had of the Romaynes he brought them to the wall, where the Romaynes might see what shoulde be done, he pulled out their eyes, their tongues, the sinowes, and priuie members, with hookes of yron: of some he pulled of the skinne of their booye: some he cutte the soles of their fete: of some he cut of the fingers, and threw them downe being yet aliue, shewing there was no hope of con corde betwene the Romaines, and the *Carthagies*. Thus did he stirre them to haue their hope only in fight. But it came other wise to passe than he thoughte, for the *Carthagies*, by conscience of these horrible actes, were made fearefull in steade of bloud, and they hated *Asdrubal* that hadde taken awaye hope of pardon, and specially the Senate who excla ymed agaynst him, as one that committed too cruell and proude dedes, in the countries calamitic. But he toke certaine of the Senate and killed them, and being wahren fearefull toward all, was rather a Tirame, than a Captaine, as he that had his safety only in this, to be terrible vnto them, and therefore wared intollerable.

The crueltie of  
*Asdrubal*.

Crueltie oute of  
humane.

The *Carthagini*  
are fled into  
*Byrsa*.

VVorkes of  
*Scipio*.

*Scipio* burned the campe of his enemies, which they left when they fled into *Byrsa*, and hauing gotten the grounde betwene the water, he trenched it from sea to sea, separate from the enemy, as far as they might cast a darte. They resisted it, and the worke was from the head, five and twenty furlongs, and was sayne to worke and fight at once: When he had finished this, he made another ditch equall to it, not farre from the former, drawing it toward the land, and after that, two more, that his whole trenche was a quadrate. He made it strong with pale sharpe at the end, and at the pale, he made other ditches. That part that was toward *Carthage*, he fenced with a wall five and twenty furlongs, in high twelue fote, beside towers & holds, which were set with a dissaunce on the wal. The breadth was

halfe so much as the high. The tower in the midst was highest of all, and in it a kepe of woodde foure square, from the whiche he might see all that was done in the Cittie. This he dyd in twentie dayes and nightes, all the army labouring, and working, and fighting by turne, and not greatly passing for their victuals. He brought the army within the trench, which serued both as a long wall against the enemy, when he woulde, & to take the reliefe that was brought to *Carthage* by land also: for except this part that was called the necke, the water dyd beate on *Carthage* every where. And this was the chiefe cause of their hunger and destruction. For what the multitude of the Cittie had from the felde, neyther coulde it be brought for this siege, nor strangers coming to them, for the warre, only they had their victuall of *Libya*, a little, and by sea, when wynde woulde serue, the reste came by lande, the whiche waye after it was stopped, they were so vexed with famine. *Bythias* that was the Captaine of horsemen, and was sent for victuall a long tyme, neyther durst come neare, nor passe *Scipios* trenche, but seldome and slowly sent them fode by ship, albeit the Romanes nauy, laye at the towne, not continuallye, nor many at once, because the sea was dangerous and tempestuous, and they could not approche the Cittie, the *Carthagies* being on the walles, and the waues being great there, by cause of the rocke. Therefore the *Hopes* of *Bythias*, or if any merchant came for gaine caring nothing for perill, they obserued when the winde was greate, and made full sayle, the gallies not being able to folowe them, when they were blowen in with such vehemence from the sea. And whatsoeuer these ships brought, *Asdrubal* distributed it, vpon thirtie thousand, which he had for the war, little regarding the other people: wherefore they were sore troubled wyth famine.

The great trench  
that *Scipio* made

Straightnesse  
of victuall in  
*Carthage*.

The only way  
to victuall *Car*  
*thage*.

*Asdrubal* see-  
deth his foulds  
oures.

When *Scipio* percepued this, he purposed to shutte the mouthe of the porte toward the *Mleaste*, and not farre from the lande, he made a long Trenche, beginning from the streight betwene the *Jenne* and the sea called the *Tongue*. He wrought in the sea, and stopped the passage,

scipio stoppeth  
the port of  
Carthage.

The Carthagies  
make a new  
port, and new  
shippes.

passage, making it sure with great thicke stones, that it should not be broken of the billow. And the breadth of the trench, was foure and twenty fote, and square in the bottome. The Carthaginians at the beginning contemned the worke, as a thing asking long time, and peradventure, impossible to be done. But the army applying it earnestly, ceasing neither daye nor night, they were astrayde, and digged out another mouth on the other side of the porte, into the midde sea, where no trench coulde come for the depth and vehement windes: Women and chyl- dzen digged within, and were not perceyued: and they made shippes of olde stufte, both great and little gallies, leauing for no want of courage and boldnesse. They kepte all so secrete, that neuer a prisoner could tell scipio what they did certainly, but that there was a noyse within their portes day and night not ceasing, but to what vse, they coulde not tell: till at be- ing readye, the Carthagies brake open the mouthe by dauning of the daye, and then issued with fiftie gallies, Foystes and Brigandines, and many other small vessels, wel set forth for terrour.

Carthagies come  
forth with a  
new navy, and  
lose their  
occasion.  
Fate vnrrecoverable

The fight on  
the sea by the  
Carthagies.

Carthagies give  
place and  
confounde  
themselves.

The Romaines were so amazed at the sodayn opening of the mouth, and at such a company of shippes, that if the Carthagies had then set vpon the Romayne navy, the men being occupied at the wall, and neyther Mariner nor other present to defend it, they mighte haue gotten al the same. But it was nowe come, that Carthage must perish. They made a shew only, with a bolde countenaunce, and returned. The thirde daye, after, they came forth to fight, when the Romaines had their shippes and other thinges prepared to resiste. The crie and call being made on both sides, and courage shewed both of Mariners and maisters, the Carthagies, for their liues, and the Romaines for the full vi- ctory, there were many hurt and slaine on both sides, til it was midde day. In this fight, the little boates of the Carthagies, ran vnder the great shippes sides of the Romaines, and now brake at the stemmes, and now, the sternes and the oares, and did much other hurt, easily flying, and easily returning. The fighte being doubtfull, and toward night, the Carthagies thoughte it

god

god to retire, not as overcome, but to prepare themselves against the next day. The small vessels fledde first, and shutte the mouth, being altogether, so as the great shippes were put from the mouth, and fledde to the trench, whiche was made for the Merchants befoze the wall, large to receyue the packes of occupiers, and a little bray was made in this warre, that the enimies should not plant in so playne a place. To this trench, the Carthagies shippes fledde, for lacke of a porte, and stode with their stemmes against their enimies, whom some resisted from the shippes, some from the trench, and some from the bray. The Romaines easly gaue onset vpon them, bycause they fought with shippes that stode: but their departing, for the turning of their long shippes was slow and hurtfull, so as they had little aduantage, for when they turned, they were beaten of the Carthagies.

Fine shippes of the Sidents that accompanied scipio for good will, renewed the fight in this wise: They let fall their ankers a- loose off in the sea, and waying their longest Cables, being fast moored, charged their enimie, and when they had encountred them, shortning vp their Cables, retyped backe, and so haled forward and backward, alwayes fighting with their faces vpon the enimie.

The rest of the navy, seeing the deuise of the Sidents, folowed it, and did their enimies much hurt, night making an end. The rest of the Carthage shippes fled into the Citie. scipio by daye toke the trench, for it was a place fitte to annoy the port. Therfore bea- ring the bray with his rammes, and bringing manie engines, he toke part of it. The Carthagies, although they were afflicted with famine and diuerse euils, they ranne vpon the Romaines engines in the night, not by lande, for there was no way, nor by shippe, for the sea was shallowe, but naked, with linches not light, that they should not be seene a far off. They came by sea where no man would haue thought, some to the breastes wa- ded in the shalows, some swamme, til they came to the engines, they threw the fire, and were perceyued, receyuing much hurt, bycause they were naked, and did much by their boldnesse, for being stroke on the breastes and faces, with darts and speares,

bb.

they

A feate of the  
Sidents.

The Carthagies  
run vpon the Ro-  
manes munition  
with desperat-  
nesse.

they woulde not giue place, as wilde beasts offering themselves to the strikers, til they had set the artillery on fyre, and drine the Romanes away that kepte, them with confusion, as there was suche feare and trouble in the Camp and whole army, as hadde not bene before, and all by the furie of naked entraies. Wherefore *Scipio* being afrayde, came forth with his hozimien, and commanded to beate them down that would not leaue their flight, And some he beate downe and killed, till they retourned to the Camp, for necessitie to saue themselves, and watched that night in armes, fearing the desperation of the enemies, who when they had burned the artillerye, swamme home againe.

When it was daye, the *Carthaginians* being sure from the engines, builde vpp the fore parte of the wall againe, and made many Towers vpon it, by a certaine dissaunce. The Romanes made other engines, and erected a trenche against the Towers, making fire worke of pitche and sulphure, and threw them vpon yemintie. And when they had burned many of the Towers, they chased the *Carthaginians* that fledde. But where the ground was slippery with blood and myze, they left the chase of themselves. *Scipio* hauing got all the trench, compassed it with a ditch, & wyth a wall of stone, not verie neare, nor farre off the enemies. And when the wall was vppe, he put in foure thousand, whiche did not much passe of the enimie, throwing dartes and weapons vpon them with contempt, and because they were of like heigth, they were sure to hit them. And thus the Sommer was spent. Winter being come, *Scipio* determined to take from the *Carthaginians*, al the power and friends that they had by lande, and sente some one way, and some another, & he himselfe went to *Nepheris* by water, where *Diogenes* that fauoured *Asdrubal*, lay in camp, and sent *C. Lelius* thither by land. When they were come, they encamped two furlongs from *Diogenes*. Where he left *Gelossa* to molest *Diogenes* continually, and returned to *Carthage*, & so vled to go between *Carthage* and *Nepheris*, to see the doings. Two of *Diogenes* Towers fel, wherfore *Scipio* went and laid a choice souldiours behind in an ambush, and brought 3000. tried men against the front, & willed them to giue the assault at the broken towers, not al at once, but by ranches, til following one another, that the former being putte backe, should not hinder them that followed.

The Crie being greate, and the fraye hotte, al the *Libyans* turned to the defence, the thousand, as was appointed the, came forth, and were not sene: and when the first were entred they were some percepued: wherfore the *Libyans* fled, not seeing how many they wer, but thinking they had bin many more than they were. *Celossa* set vpon the with his *Numidians* & *Elephants*, and made great slaughter, so as there were killed, lxx. M. wyth them of the countrey, & 10000. taken, and 4000. fled. When the Citie of *Nepheris* taken, in xxy. dayes with great difficultie, for the winter and the moyst place: & this seate did chiefly cause the destruction of *Carthage*. For this army sent them victuals, & by this campe, the *Libyans* were the bolder to come abzode, but when it was taken, the other places of *Libya* yelded to *Scipios* Captaines without any businesse: and victuall was to seeke at *Carthage*, neyther hauing it out of *Libya*, being an other mans power, nor by sea, because of the war and winter season.

In the beginning of the spring, *Scipio* set vpon *Byrsa*, & the port called *Agathos*, *Asdrubal* in the night burned that parte of *Agathos* that was quadrate, and thinking that *Scipio* would haue come vpon him there, he being ready to resist with the *Carthagians*, *Lelius* on the other side, set on that part which was round. And shoute being made as in a victorie, they were afrayde, and the Romanes without dreade, clymed vp, and set their beames, engines and bridges, vpon the broken places, the warders being weake in bodies for hunger, and out of hart. The wall y was about *Cathone* being taken, y market place that was nigh, *Scipio* also toke, & because he could not passe further being night, he remayned in armes till it was day, which being come, he called other 3000. fresh men, & they went into *Apollons* temple, & stole his picture, & the rouse couered with leaues of gold, waying a M. talents, cutting it with their swords, their captains forbidding them, til they had diuided it, & then went to their businesse. *Scipio* was earnestly bent to take *Byrsa*, which was y strongest place of the Citie, & the most part was got into it. And wher there was thre ways fro y market place to it, many houses & very hye were on euery side, where y Romanes being shot at, they take y first of the, & there beleeved themselves fro the next, wher they had

*Nepheris* taken  
wyth a great  
slaughter.

Victual kept fro  
*Carthage*.

*Agathos* one of  
the port of  
*Carthage*.

*Lelius* assault.

Three streetes  
to *Byrsa*.

Feare in the Ro-  
manes Camp.  
*Scipio* is forced  
to kill his owne  
soldiours to kepe  
them from flying.

The *Carthagians*  
trenche gotten.

*Scipio* endama-  
geth the *Cartha-*  
*ginians* by lande.

The assaulte at  
*Nepheris*.

The miserable  
murder.

gotten them, they layde planches and boardes betwene the streyghtes of them, and went as vpon bridges. And the battell was now, as vpon chambers, and vpon the streightes, as they mette there. All was filled with sighes, cries, and lamentes for diuerse passions, some being killed at hande, and some throwen downe from the loftes to the grounde, and some receiued vpon the speares being held vp, or swordes, or pykes. Nothing was burned, for them that were on the Solares, till *scipio* came to *Byrsa*.

The attempt  
ag. with *Byrsa*.

Then were thre narrow places burned at once, and as they were burned, they were bidden to go to the next, that the army might haue an easie way. An other sight ful of grieve ther was of the flaming fire consuming all, of men and houses, not falling by little and little, but by heapes violently ouerthrowen: a great noyse followed, for men some deade, some alie, specially olde men, women, and children that fell with the stones, that were hid in the secrete places, some, full of woundes, some halfe burned, making most pitifull crie. Other driuen fro the solares, fell with the fire and tymber, being broken and tozne horribly diuerse ways to behold. Yet was not this y end of y evils. For y masons with their ares and raners, & some with the pointes of their foxkes, did rake the deade, and the liuing also, into holwe places of the earth, turning and tossing them like stones and tymber. The holes were filled with men, turned vpside downe. Some were set on their heades, with their legges sharking aboute the ground. Some with their face downeward, stode with their heads aboute the ground. The horses treading vpon them, brake their faces and theyr baynes, not for that they were put on by other, but of purpose, and the makers of y way, did all things of purpose, the vehemence of the fight, and the glorie of the victorie that was at hande, and the forwardnesse of the army, the Trumpets and the criers, making noyse euery where, the Tribunes and the Capitaines, going wyth their men, and encouraging them, made all men furious, and not to passe of that they did see for great desire. This continued in this boyle fire dayes and nightes, euery freshe men beyng sette in, that they shoulde not be overladen with watche and labour,

labour, and slaughter, and grievous fighte. But *scipio* continued without ceassing, encouraging them, without sleape, and taking meate as he wente aboute his businesse, tyll beyng tyred he staved and stode aboute to see what was done. Manye being yet slaine, and the euill like to continue longer, some the seauenth day fledde with garlandes, such as were vled for *Aesculapius*, who had a temple in the Castle most rich & goodly. They desiring pardon, prayed *scipio* y they that wold go out of *Byrsa*, y they might haue their liues onely. He graunted it, the fugitiues only except, and there came forth by & by, fifty thousand men and women, being thrust together in a maruellous streightnesse, whom he commaunded to be kepte. The runnawayes of Rome which were about nine hundred, being without al hope, fled into *Aesculapius* temple, with *Asdrubal*, his wife & two male children, fro whence they fought fiercely, although they were but fewe, from the high and rockye places of the temple, to the whiche, in time of peace, men went by thre score payze of stappes. But when hunger, watche, feare, and payne of the euil at hand beset them, they left the low parte of the temple, and fledde to the toppe of it, in the which time, *Asdrubal* fled secretly to *scipio* with bzaunches of Oliue. *scipio* put him at his ferte, and shewed him to the runnawayes, whiche when they saw, they desired a silence to be given them, which being done, they reuiled *Asdrubal* many and diuerse wayes, and then burned the temple and themselves. And they say that the wife of *Asdrubal*, when the fire toke, being ouer againste *scipio*, in as good behauiour as the time would suffer, and shewing hir children, sayde in the hearing of *scipio*: To the (O Rome, mayne,) there is no reuenge of god, for thou doest accordyng to y order of war. But *Asdrubal* my husbände, the betrayer of his country, of the temples, & of me & his children, y gods of *Carthage* shal punish, thou, with the gods. And turning to *Asdrubal*, saide: Thou wicked, vnfaithfull, and moste coward of all men, me and these children this fire shal burne, but thou shalt honoz the triumphe, that arte the great Captaine of *Carthage*, what paine shalt thou not suffer, by him, befoze whome

*scipio*'s pain and  
abstinence.

*Aesculapius*  
temple.  
*Carthagians* aske  
pardon and so,  
thousand goe  
out of *Byrsa*.

Runnawayes  
of Rome.

*Asdrubal* flyeth  
to *scipio*.

The fugitiues  
set themselves  
on fire.

thou now knéeleſt? Whē the had thus vpbzaided him, ſhe killed hir childzen, and thzew them in the fire, and hir ſelfe after. Thus they ſay *Aſdrubals* wife ſpake, and died, which had rather haue bin ſit for *Aſdrubal* himſelfe to haue done.

*Scipio* ſeeing the Citie that hadde continued ſeauen hundred yeares, ruling ouer ſo many nations aboute them, of ſuch power on the lande, and alſo of ſhippes by ſea, and Ilands in the ſame, full of armoz, manie, Elephants and mony, equall with the greateſt kingdoms, and in boldneſſe and courage ſurpaſſing: the whiche, when they were ſpoyled of their ſhips, and al their armoz, yet abode the warre thre whole yeares, wpth ſo greate famine. When ſeeing it vtterly deſtroyed by extreame ſiege, they ſaye he wept, and openly pitied them that were ouercome, calling to his remembrance, and perceyuing, that al cities, nations and kingdoms, were ſubiet to mutation, as the deſtinies of menne. So ſuffred *Troy* a noble citie. So ſuffred the *Aſſyrians*, the *Medians*, and *Persians*, whiche were the great Monarches of the worlde, & laſtlye, the moſte glorioſous ſtate of *Macedonie*, ſo that eyther of purpoſe, or by chaunce, this worde fel from him.

The day ſhall come when mighty *Troy* muſte fall,  
And *Priamus* and his warlike nation all.

*Polibius* that was his Scholemaiſter, diſaſke him freely, what he ment by that ſpeech, and that he ſaid, not for bearing to name his own country plainly, of the whiche he was afraid for the alteration of men. Thus both *Polibius* write of him that hearde him. When *Carthage* was taken, *Scipio* gaue the ſouldiours leaue for certaine daies to ſpoile it, eachye excepting golde, ſiluer, and holy things. When he gaue giſtes to al, except to them that had ſpoiled *Appollos* Temple. When he ſent a ſwift ſhip laden wpth ſpoiles, to ſignifie the victorie at *Rome*. He ſent into *Sicilie*, that al the ſacred & publique things, that the *Carthagians* had taken from them in the war, which they coulde chalenge & know, ſhoulde be reſtored, which got him gret loue of the people, as one, that with an hoſpitall beſed humanitie, diſtending the ſpoile that remained to be ſold, he ſacrificed the vnpromitable ſhipperies and engins, to *Minerua* and *Minerva*, pyded after the Roman manner. They at

The death of  
*Aſdrubals* wife.

*Scipio* weepeth  
at the ſight of  
*Carthage* ouer-  
throwne.  
Mutations of  
ſtates in the  
worlde.

The wordes of  
*Scipio*.

*Polibius* was  
ſcholemaiſter  
to *Scipio* borne  
in *Arcadia*.

*Scipio* ſendeth the  
ſpoile to the ſol-  
dours.  
*Scipio* giueth a  
giſte to them  
that ſpoiled *Appo-  
llo*.

The goodneſſe  
of *Scipio*.

*Rome* ſeeing the ſhippes, and learning the newes, in the eue-  
ning, came into the ſtreets, and ſpente all that night in  
ioye and embzacements, as now we made free of feare, now  
ruling other with ſafety, not hauing their Citie firme and ſure,  
& hauing ſuch a victorie, as they neuer had the like. Many noble  
ſeates came to their remembrance, what their fathers hadde  
done in *Macedonia*, in *Iberia*, and againſt *Antiochus* the gret, and  
in *Italie* it ſelfe: but no war was ſo feareful vnto them as this  
at their owne doores, for the manhede, pollicie and boldneſſe of  
the enimie, and the more dangerous for their vnfaythfulneſſe.  
They rehearſed what they had ſuffred of *Carthage* in *Sicilie*,  
*Iberia* and *Italie* it ſelfe, ſixtē yeares, when *Annibal* toke. iij.  
hundred Cities, and ouerthrewe in ſighte onely thre hundred  
thouſande men, manye tymes approaching to the Cittie, and  
putting that in gret feare: for all the whiche, they were like  
men beſide themſelues, for the victorie, that was beyonde their  
hope. And again, they asked one of another, if *Carthage* were ta-  
ken in dede: They ſpente all the night in talke, howe the ar-  
mour was taken from them, and how they, beyond all hope,  
made more. Howe their ſhippes were taken from them, and  
howe they made a newe nauy of olde matter: howe the mouth  
of the porte was ſhutte, and howe in ſewe dayes they opened  
another, and howe highe the walles were aboute the mouth,  
and the greatneſſe of the ſtones, and the fire whiche manye  
tymes they brought againſt the Engines: and ſette out a plat  
of all the warre, as though they hadde then ſene it done,  
and expreſſed the fantasies of their mindes with the moti-  
ons of their bodyes, thinking they ſawe *Scipio* wpth the ſca-  
lyng ladders, with the ſhippes at the gates, at the ſyghtes  
euer occupied. Thus did the Romanes ſpende the  
night.

When day was come, ſacrifices & feaſts were made to the  
Gods by the companies, & playes with the, & diuers ſhewes. The  
Senat ſent tenne of the beſt of them into *Libya*, to appoint that  
country with *Scipio*. They commanded that *Scipio* ſhould deſtroy  
that was left in *Carthage*, and ſhoulde any man to dwel there.  
They accuſed al them that ſhould dwel in *Byſa*, or in the place  
that

The Romanes  
make feaſtes of  
the report of  
the newes.

Remembrance  
of ſome way  
in *Rome*.

Supplications  
made at *Rome*.  
Ten men ſent  
into *Libya*.

The inhabita-  
ce of *Carthage* for-  
bidden.

Punishments.

Reverdes.

A. Scipio triumpheth.

Phendrophippus  
And his son  
reverted to be  
Philip's sonne  
King of Macedo-  
nia.

Mummius was  
Corinth.  
C. Gracchus was  
brother to Sem-  
pronius Gracchus.  
The plat of the  
habitation at  
Carthage is con-  
founded.

A vision that  
Cæsar had, he saw  
a beere come to  
be made, not  
farre from the  
olde, by his fac-  
celor Octavian.  
The Autho-  
rithy. Appianus  
lib. viii. Cæsar.

It was called *Megara*. But to come thither they did not forbid, so many cities as holpe the enemies, they commanded to destroy, & to give to cities that were friends to the Romanes, the land that was conquered: and chiefly to *Vrica*, that, which was as far as *Carthage* and *Hippo*, on bothe sides. The other they made tributarie, as wel lands as borderies, men and woman alike, and determined to send euery yere a President to them from *Rome*. Whē they had done this, they sayled to *Rome*. *Scipio* hauing done all things accordingly, finished the sacrifices, and the plaies for the victory. And things being ordered, he sayled home, and made as passing a triumphe, as euer manne didde, full of golde and monuments of holy things, which the *Carthaginians* in so long time, and so ofte victories had brought from all the worlde into *Libya*. This hapned when they triumphed of *Macedonia* the third time. *Andrisco* that counterfainted himselfe to be *Philip* sonne being overcome, & the first of *Grecia* by *Mummius*. And this was about the C. L. X. Olympiade. Afterwarde, when *Caius Gracchus* was Tribune in *Rome*, and Insurrection being made for want, he thought good to send 6000. to inhabite in *Libya*. And whē they had drawn the plat about *Carthage*, the *Tolues* destroyed all the plat, & confounded it. So the Senate refrained from sending that habitatio. But again in time, when *Caius Cæsar*, who was made the second Dictator, after his victorie, had driven *Pompey* into *Egypt*, & *Pompey's* frendes from *Egypt* to *Libya*, they saye, when he encamped at *Carthage*, a mighty army appered to him in his sleepe, weeping, which troubling him, he called to remembrance, and made a note, that *Carthage* should be inhabited. And not long after, the pooreouldiers requiring land of him at *Rome*, he gaue order that some shoulde be sent to *Carthage* and some to *Corinth*, but he being shortly after killed in the Senate house of his enemies, by his son *Cæsar*, called *Augustus*, finding three remembrances of his father, sent an inhabitation of that *Carthage*, that now is, as nigh the olde as might be, to auoide the olde execration. The Romanes sente thither 3000. to inhabite, & to place the rest in the country about. Thus *Libya*, that was vnder *Carthage*, was conquered of the Romanes, and *Carthage* destroyed, and inhabited againe after the destruction two hundred and two yeres.

The ende of the Romanes ywarres with the Carthaginians

## Appianus Alexandrinus, of the Romane warres with the Parthians.



After them that folowed *Popey* to rule *Syria* being overcome, *Gabinus* an officer of the Romanes, was sent to gouerne the same. He marching againste the *Arabians*, *Mithridates* King of *Parthia*, being driuen out of his kingdome by *Orodes* his brother, tourned hym from the *Arabians* to the *Parthians*. But *Ptolomeus* the eleauenth King of *Aegypt* perswaded him by mony, to leaue the *Parthians*, and make warre vppon *Alexandria*. And he overcoming them of *Alexandria*, restored *Ptolomeus* to his kingdome, but being banished of the Romanes, because he made warre againste the *Aegyptians*, which they accompted vnjuste, bycause it was forbidden by *Syllus* booke, he fledde. After *Gabinus*, I thinke, *Crassus* gouerned *Syria*, and making warre vpon the *Parthians*, was ouerthrowen with great calamitie, after whome *Bibulus* being president, the *Parthians* inuaded *Syria*. And in the time of *Saxa* ruling after *Bibulus*, they ranne as farre as *Ionia*, the Romanes being at debate among themselves. They didde no greate thing worthe of writing, rather like robbers, than warriors. These things folloved, after the ouerthrow of *Crassus*, by which they toke so gret boldnesse, whiche was repressed by *Antony*. Howe *Crassus* made his voiage against them, we thinke it meete to shewe.

When the day of election of chiefe officers was come, there were three Competitors of the Consulshippe, *Caius Cæsar*, *Pompey* the Great, and *Crassus* called *Marcus*. These relecting *Cicero*, & *Cato* and other resistors, by force gotte the office, and gaue *Cæsar* five yeres moze, to be Lieutenant of *Fraunce*, *Cassius* & *Pompey* casting

*Parthia*, a Region of *Assyria*, the inhabitaunce, at the which came out of *Syria*.

*Gabinus* is banished for making warre vppon *Aegypt*.

*Crassus*.

*Bibulus*.

*Saxa*.

*Cæsar*,  
*Pompey*,  
*Crassus*.

Provinces by  
lotte.

Pompey, Exoritur.

Crassus proude  
of his prouince.

The Parthians  
were not in the  
decree.  
Lucullus,  
Tigranes,  
Pompey.

casting lottes for the prouinces of spaine and syria; spaine fell to Pompey, and syria to Crassus. The lot fell acceptable unto bothe. For the people woulde haue Pompey from the Cittie, and Pompey louing his wife, was desirous to tarrye moſte there. Crassus shewed openly that he was glad that the lot had so fallen, thinking no greater felicitie could hap vnto him than this prouince, insomuch as he could not bee quiet, but made great auantes and bzags among his friends, other wise in al his life being a verie smal boaster or setter forth of hymselfe. But now beyng puffed and exalted, he had not onely an hope to get Parthia to syria, and by make it the boundes of his Dominion, making but a play of that Lucullus dyde agaynst Tigranes, or Pompey agaynst Mithridates, but also to winne Baetria and Indus, and all beyonde the Sea. Yet in the decree of warre, the Parthians were not contained.

Every man did feare that Crassus would meddle with it. And Caesar wrote letters, prayſing hys purpose, and prouoking hym to the warre.

But when Attius the Tribune diide ſtop his voyage with threats, and manye consented to him, being grieved that any man shoulde make warre vpon men that had offended nothing, but also were in league, Crassus was afraide, and prayed Pompey to helpe to set him forthwarde: For great was the peoples opinion of him. Notwithſtanding, when he ſawe manye readye to resist and exclaime, then with a gentle looke & countenance he appeared the, & they were quiet, and ſuffered them to passe. Yet Attius stopped them first with voice, forbidding and protesting not to go. Then he commanded the officer to lay hands vpon his body and deteine him: which when the other Tribunes would not suffer, he lette goe Crassus.

Attius ran to the gate, and set there a burning hart, and as Crassus came with infense and sacrifice, he pronounced sharpe execrations, & horrible, calling and naming cruell and strange Gods therewith. The Romanes thinke that these curses secret & auncient haue such a power, as no man can auoide them against whom they be made, and that they do naughte that vse them.

Where

Therefore they be not vsed vnauidedly, nor in manye cases. And many blamed Attius, that by this cursing of Crassus he brought the Cittie into misfortune. Crassus for all this wente to Brundise, the Sea being yet vnauidable for the winter, and woulde not tarry the tyme, but toke the Sea, and losse many Shyppes.

And receyuing an other power of foemen, he ledde them a longest Galatia, and finding King Deiotarus a very olde manne, building of a Cittie, he tested, saying: O King, you beginne to builde at twelue of the clocke. The King laughing saide: And you (O Generall) as farre as I can see, goe not againste the Parthians very early. For Crassus was threescore yeres of age, when he went, and older to see to, than he was indeede. Marching forth, matters at the firste fell oute according to his hope. For easlye he made a bridge ouer Enphrates, and conueyed ouer his armye safely, and got many Citties in Mesopotamia, by yelding vnto hym. In one of them, Appollonius was Tyranne, who had slaine one hundred souldiours. He brought his power thither, and wayne it, toke the money, and solde the men.

The Grekes call the Cittie Zenodotium. By taking of this, he woulde needes be called Imperator of his souldiours, which caused muche discredite vnto him, and was the lesse esteemed, as one that distrust of any greates victorie, taking occasion of so little matter.

He sette garrisons in the Citties that were taken, the number whereof, was seauen thousande foemenne, and one thousande horse. And he went into syria to winter, where hys son came to him from Caesar oute of Fraunce, rewarded wyth the greates honoures of a souldioure, brynging one thousande picked horsemen. And this was the firste great error of Crassus, after the greates offence of leading his armye, that where he oughte to haue gone to Babilon and Seleucia, Citties euer enemies to the Parthians, he gaue the enemies tyme to prepare themselves. His tarrying in syria was blamed, beyng rather lyke a retyner of Rentes, than a Captayne of souldiours.

He did not searche the number of his souldiours, nor vse them

Attius blamed.

Galatia is Asia  
the lesse.

A liest betwene en  
Deiotarus and  
Crassus.  
Age of Crassus.

Zenodotium a  
Cittie of Oſroene.

Crassus sonne  
from Caesar.

Error of  
Crassus.

Babilon the chief  
cittie of Chaldeas.

Caesar writeth  
Crassus to the  
warre of the  
Parthians.

Execrations as  
gainst Crassus.

Curses not to be  
vsed.

with exercises, but he gathered the reuenues of Cities, and spent many dayes in waying and paying the Goddes moilety, in the holy Citie, appointing Cities and Dynies to kinde him souldi-  
ers, and after sending them awaye againe for mony, whereby he came into contempt and disdayne. The first token he had of this Capuelle, which some call *Venus*, some *Iuno*, some name hir *Nature*, the beginning and seede to al things ministring cause by moisture: for going oute of the Temple, firste yong *Crassus* fell at the doores. When the olde man fell bypon hym.

So he gathering his power from the winter places, Embas-  
sadors came to him from *Asaces*, with a brieft speach, for thus he saide: If the army were sent against them of the Romanes, the warre was made contrary to the league, and neuer woulde ende. But if he, without authozitie of hys countrey, and for hys owne gaine, (as they hearde) did come in armes againste the *Parthians*, and take their lande, *Asaces* woulde temper hymself, and pitie *Crassus* age, and let the Romanes go, that were rather like a garrison, than an army. *Crassus* swelling at this, sayde, he woulde make an answer at *Selencide*.

When the most auncient of the Embassadors *Vagises*, shew-  
ing the bare palme of his hollowe hand, said: Souer shall hairs grow here, than thou shalt see *Selencin*. Thus he boldeley spake, signifying, that *Orodes* must first be overcome.

They of the Romanes garrisons in the Citie of *Mesopotamia*,  
escaping with much danger, did tell fearefull matter, that they sawe the multitude of their enemies and their exercises, & howe they hadde fortified their Cities, and some of purpose telling all things to the uttermost, that they were vnresistable what they came to fight, and irrecoverable when they fled.

Their arrows swift woulde prevent the sight, and before they coulde see the shuter, he woulde be at hande to strike them thorow. The men of armes beate downe all afoze them, and coulde not be resisted. When the army hearde this, they began to faint, thinking the *Parthians* had disforded nothing from the *Armenians* or *Cappadocians*, whome *Lucullus* overcame without any resistance, therefore thought all the paine shoulde be in the long

long iorney. But when they shoulde come to blowes, the di-  
minies woulde not abide them, whereas nowe otherwise than they supposed, they had a great trauaile and dannger in hande, insomuche, as some of the officers of the Camp, thought it good to stape *Crassus*, and to take a newe aduise of all the mat-  
ter, and secretlye the Paisters of the Sacrifices, shewed that manye euill and harde tokens appeared to *Crassus* in the Sacri-  
fices: But hee, neither woulde heare them, nor no other, but them that exhorted hym to goe forwarde. Among the whych, *Artabases* King of *Armenia* didde not let to prouoke him, who  
was come to the Campe, with fire thousande horsemenne, and these were called the Garde and Defence of the King, promi-  
sing other tenne thousande menne of armes, and thre thou-  
sande footemenne at his charges. Hee perswaded *Crassus* to  
inuaide *Parthia* by *Armenia*, whereby he shoulde leade his armye  
not onely safely, he ministring all thynges for him, but also tho-  
rowe Mountaynes and continuall hille, places combersome to  
the *Parthian* horsemenne, wherein consisted all theyr strength,  
*Crassus* praised the good wyll of hym, and his goodly preparati-  
on, yet hee sayde hee woulde enter by *Mesopotamia*, where he had  
lite many good Romanes souldiours, and the *Armenian* went  
his way.

*Crassus* ledde his armye ouer a brydge, when manye terrible  
thunders brake oute, and greate lightninges flashed in the fa-  
ces of the souldiours, and a winde mixed wyth a cloudy pet-  
tyards, all brake and consumed muche of the matter of the  
made bypoge. And the place that was appointed for the  
Campe, was twice stricken with lightning. An horse of  
the *Centuralls*, verreye eladde, carrying awaye the rider  
by violence, was slayned in theyr sight. And they saye that  
the chiefe standers beinge sette taken of the beaver, did turne  
backe of it selfe. Beside this, it chaunced, that after a iorney,  
when meate shoulde be giuen the souldiours, firste of all, they  
hadde *Montilles* and *Soppes*, whiche the Romanes thinke  
mournfull, and be used at battails. And when *Crassus* made  
hys Oracion, hys voyce failed hym, whyche the armye toke  
ii. liij. beaully.

Sacrifices  
shewe euill to  
kens.

*Artabasis* King  
of *Armenia* en-  
duced wyth all  
leuing, vv hom  
*Antony* took by  
treason, and ca-  
ried him in tri-  
umphe at *Alexa-  
ndria* to please  
*Cleopatra*.  
*Crassus* refuseth  
good counsell.

Euill tokens to  
*Crassus*.

The temple is o-  
f the goddes *Lao-  
dine*.

The goddes *He-  
cete* of *Thrace*.  
*Nature*.

The *Parthians*  
message to *Crassus*.  
*Asaces* King of  
*Parthia* for  
whose good  
rule, the *Parthians*  
call all their  
Kings *Asaces*.  
*Selencide*, one in  
*Syria* *Antiochena*  
other at *Euphra-  
tes*, third at *Babylonia*.

The Italian text  
saith.

A sharp answer

Report encrea-  
sing feare.

*Armenia* is be-  
tweene *Taurus*  
and *Caucasus*.  
*Cappadocia* a Re-  
gion of *Pontus*.  
saith *Lucius*.

A foolish vworde  
passeth Crassus.

heauily. He sayd he had cut down the byrge, that no man should  
returne ouer it. The which word being vncomefly spoken, wher  
he shoulde haue repeated it and declared it to them that weie  
made asfayde by it, he woulde not do it for very slowdnesse.  
At last when he hadde killed the sacrifice to make the soleinne  
biewe of his armye, and the minister giuen him the bowels,  
they fell out of his handes: at the whiche, they that were pre-  
sent being most griued, he smiled, saying: These be the incom-  
modities of age, but my weapon shall neuer fal out of my hāds.  
Then he ledde his army by the floude, hauing seauen legions,  
and little lesse than foure thousande hoise, and a number of  
shotte, equal to them.

Crassus excuseth  
his vweakenes.

The skoutes that went to see the way, returned and brought  
worde, that the countrey was voyde of men, but that there  
were prints of hoise fete, that were gone backe. Whereat  
Crassus tooke good hope, and all the souldiours beganne to  
despise the Parthians, as asfayde to come to handes: yet Cassius  
and others spake to Crassus, perswading him to stay his menne  
in some Cittie where a garrison was, till he was better in-  
struced of the enemies force, if not, that he would go to Seleu-  
cia by the floude, where he shoulde haue aboundaunce of  
victuals, for the souldiours to be solde, and also a defence and  
safegarde for the armye, not to be enuironed, for the floude,  
beeing euer equall to fyghte wyth the enemye at the  
face.

Crassus in a  
vaine hope.  
Seleucia, a plenti-  
full place.

The Counsel of  
Cassius not for-  
sawed.

Acbarus, vsceth  
craft vwith  
Crassus.

Crassus considering and pondering these things: there  
came to him a president of Arabia, Acbarus by name, a sub-  
tile and dissembling manne, the greatest prouoker of euyl  
fortune, that was vente to theyr destruction. Some of them  
that hadde serued vnder Pompey, knewe him, receyuing some  
humanitie at hys hande, and shewing to be a friende to the  
Romaines. He was sente to Crassus, by the consent of the kings  
counsel, to turne him, if he coulde, from the floude and fote of  
the hils, into the playn field, where he might be compassed. For  
they deuised to do any other thing, rather than to come to fight  
with

wyth the Romanes at hande.

This Acbarus came to Crassus, and sayde probablye,  
firste of the prayse of Pompey, that was his benefactoure,  
then of Crassus, blaming him, that hauing so greate a power  
he lost time in delay and preparation, as though he had need of  
armour, and not rather of handes and swifte fete, against me  
that alreadye seeke and gather their moste precious riches, to  
carrie them into Scythia and Hircania: but, sayde he, if you wyll  
fghte, you must do it quicklye, before the whole power be  
gathered, the king taking harte to him againe. And noise Su-  
renas Sillaces, commeth to make the warre against you, but the  
king will not be lene. All these were lyes.

Acbarus decey-  
ueth Crassus.

Scythia in Asia.  
Hircania, a playn  
region most  
abundant.

For the king went streight with his power to invade Ar-  
menia, and punish Artabaze, and sent Surenas againste the Ro-  
maynes, not in contempt of them (as some saye) for it was not  
like, that he would contemne Crassus sent against hym and one  
of the chiefe Romaynes, and go against Artabazes to destroye  
the towncs of Armenida. But, I thinke he was asfayde of the  
daunger, and laye in wayte to see the ende, and appoynted  
Surenas, beyng otherwyse expert and acquainted wyth the war.  
For Surenas was none of the common sorte, but in ri-  
ches and gloze, and bloude, nexte the king, and the chiefe of  
Parthia: in strength and youth, in beautye and goodlynesse of the  
bodye, inferiour to none. He carried alwayes with him a thou-  
sand laden Camels, and two hundred chariots of Concubines,  
and a thousand men of armes, and moze light hoisemen. So as  
he had of his tenants and seruantes, no lesse than ten thousand  
hoise.

The Parthian  
king invaderth  
Armenia and se-  
deth Surenas as  
gainst the Ro-  
manes.

Surenas is sent  
against Crassus.

And as touching his bloud, it was giuen him from the begin-  
ning, to set the Crowne vpon the kings head. When a new king  
was made. He called Orades out of exile into hys Kingdome:  
he toke the great citie of Seleucia, & was the first that sealed the  
walles, and with his owne hande repulsd them that resisted,  
and was not yet thyrty yeares of age, yet had the greatest glo-  
ry for wisdom and experience, by the which, he did not a little  
beguile

The nobility  
of Surenas.

Orades is brow-  
ght out of exile  
by Surenas.

The text  
varieth.

beguile *Crassus*, first thorough his pride and boldnesse, and after by his feare, and aduersitie, easily to be entrapped.

*Acharus* that hadde brought *Crassus* from the floud into the playne fieldes, wythout wodde and water, and wythout any ende to reste as it appeared, and not only trauelled wyth thirst and difficultie, but also with an vncomfortable prospect to the eye, seeing neyther tree, nor riuer, nor appaunce of hyl, nor growing of grasse, but a very shape like a sea of fearful desarts, did besette the armie. And then the craste beganne to be espied.

*Artabazes* signifi-  
fith he is inua-  
ded.

Furthermore, there came messengers from *Artabazes* the king of *Armenia*, shewing how he was deteyned with greate warre, *Orodes* hauing inuaded him: and that he coulde sende no helpe to *Crassus*. Yet he wished hym, in anye wise to turne, and make his waye by *Armenia*, that they togither mighte goe against *Orodes*, if not, allwayes to marche and encampe so, as hee might auoyde the horsemen, and to go by the hylles. *Crassus* wyl-  
ting nothing againe, for anger, and straungenesse, aunswered, that now he had no leysure to deale with *Armenia*, but when he returned, he would punish *Artabazes* for his treason. *Cassius* and they, were agayne grieved, and leauing *Crassus*, that woulde not heare good Counsel, they playnely rebuked *Acha-*

*Orodes* king of  
*Parthia*.

*Crassus* maketh  
a forward aunc-  
tyvere.

*Crassus* maketh  
the iourney.

*rus*.  
O you naughtie wight, O you most wicked mā, who brought thee to vs: with what passion or witchcraftes hast thou made *Crassus* to leade his army by desarts and vglye wildernesse, fitter for an Archtheefe of *Numidia*, than a chiefe generall of the Romanes?

*Acharus* decei-  
ueth him and all  
the rest.

*Arbarus* a crafty man, dyd speake them sayze, and comforted and exhorted them, to endure a while, and riding among the souldiours, he iested at them. You thinke you were goyng by *Campania*, by fountaines, riuers, shadowes, brookes and byayes, and ostantes, all the wayes.

*Arabia* is two  
parts barrenne,  
*Asiria* the fur-  
ther part of  
*Syria*.

Do you remember that you go by confines of *Arabia* and *Asiria*. Thus did *Acharus* playe the scholer among the Romanes, and befoze his craft was perceyued, he roade about not  
unknownen

unknownen to *Crassus*, but agreeing to it, as though he woulde prouide and defeate the enemies. It is sayde, that *Crassus* that daye came not abroade in purple, as the manner was of a Ro-  
maine General, but in a blacke garmente, the which he chan-  
ged againe, when he perceyued it. Some of the ensignebearers  
could not without great labour pull vpp their ensignes, they  
stucke so fast. *Crassus* laughing, went the faster, and bad the le-  
gions follow the horsemen. But then came some of the espies  
that had bin abroade, in haste, shewing that their felowes were  
killed of the enemies, and they only escaped, and that the eni-  
mies came on, with great power and speed. This troubled them  
all, and *Crassus* most of all, so as he set his men in order, not ve-  
ry orderlye. But *Cassius* moued him to set his legions as thinne  
as he could, to fill the playne, for fear of compassing, and diuide  
the horsemen into wings. When he altered and made the same  
to serue both wayes, and a square battayle, and euerye of the  
sides going on with twelue bandes, and with a troupe of horse-  
men, that no part shoulde be voyde of the helpe of horsemen, but  
on euery side be a like defended for the fight. He appointed one  
wing to *Cassius*, and an other to yong *Crassus*, and he went in the  
middest. Thus marching, they came to a riuer, which they call  
*Balissus*, not very great, nor full of water, but acceptable to the  
souldiours, in that hote and dry iourney, with so greate payne  
and penurie of water.

More tokens  
of cull.

*Balissus*.

Manye of the Captaines thoughte it good to staye there, til certaine knowledge were come of the enemies force and purpose, and when daye was come, to goe againste them.

But *Crassus* commaunded his sonne and the horsemen wyth hym to go on, and to be ready for the fight. He badde them that did eate, to eate and drinke as they kept their order, and befoze all was well done, hee led on, not with leysure, nor pausing, as they that shoulde fight, but with much speede and haste, tyl they sawe their enemies, not in so great a shewe, neyther appearing many, nor fearefull to the Romanes. For *Sirenas* had putte the multitude behinde, and hydden the bryghtnesse of theyr harnesse, with their clokes and skinnies. After they were come  
kk.

nygh.

The Parthians  
manner in go-  
ing to fight.

nygh, and a token giuen of the Captaines, firste they filled all the playne wyth barbarous noyse and fearefull shoutes. For the Parthians go not to battell wyth hoznes and trumpets, but with drummes, in many places at once, made of leather, and hollow, stretched with yron barres, and beatē vpon continually. This maketh a noyse holow and deepe, like the roaring of wilde beastes, intermedled with the sharpnesse of thunder, as nothing could be harde for the sence of hearing, byingeth most trouble to the minde, and by it is swnest moued, and most troubleth the vnderstanding. The Romanes being astonished at this noyse, they of Parthia threwe away the couers of their harness sodainely, and appeared shyning with sats and armoure made of the beste steele and bright, and the hozemen barbed with Caparison likewise. The goodliest and the greatest was Surenas, he being in finesse of his womannish aray not like the glozie of his valiauntnesse, but rather decked after the Median fashion, in the trymning of his person, and diuision of his haire. The other Parthians being vgly of purpose, to the terrour shodding of their heare. First they gaue y on set with their spears, to diuide and breake the foze warde. But when they saue the firmnesse of the battel, and the stable abiding of the men, they went backe, as though they would haue scattered and diuided their order: and they compassed the battell in a circle, and went about it. Crassus commaunded the light harness to giue charge vppon them. They went not farre, but they were ouerlaide with shotte, and they turned againe, and thrust among the legions, and gaue the beginning of disorder and feare, to them that saw the might of the shot, and the continuall course, breaching harness, and beating down alike the vnarmed and well armed. The Parthians distant a little, beganne to shote at all aduentures, not directing their shotte, for the Romanes battayle was so thicke, as they coulde not mysse though they would, gyuing continuall hurte and woundes with their strong and great bowes, and with their violence of the drawing, drawing the arrow the stronger. This was the vndoing of the Romanes, for continuing in their order, they were stricken, and trying to

The beginning  
of disorder in  
the Romanes  
Campe.

goe

go vpon their enemy, or to keepe close againe, they suffered as like.

The Parthians, when they shotte, fledde, and this they thinke the beste seate according to the Scythians, being a moste wise parte, to hurte other, and saue themselves, and hid the shame of their fleeing, by this pretence. So long as the Romanes hoped, that their shot being done, they would haue come to hand, they abode it: but when they saw numbers of Camells come laden with newe shotte, to the whiche, they that firste spent their arrowes, went to receiue more, then Crassus himselfe thought it would haue no ende. Wherefore he sente messengers to his sonne, that he shoulde set vppon the ennemie, because they were inclosed, for they were moste busy vpon him, and rode about him, to come vpon his backe. The yong man took. xiiij. C. hozse, whercof a thousand were Casars, and eight bands of the next footemen, and badde them set vpon the enemies. The Parthians that were foremoste, either because they were in myrie groundes, (as some saye,) or because they would drawe Crassus by pollicie, as farre as they coulde, furnished and fledde. Then yong Crassus crying, as though they would not haue turned againe, gaue them the chase, and with him Censorinus, and Megabacchus: these passed in valiantnes and strength, Censorinus being of the order of a Senatoure and eloquent, friend to yong Crassus, and of like age. The hozemen going on, the footmen followed with courage and fearefulnesse of hope, for they thoughte to haue the victorie by the chase. They had not gone farre, but they percepued the deceit. They that seemed to flee, turned againe, many adcomming to them. When they stayed, thinking they would haue come to hand with them, because they were so fewe: but they set the men of armes vpon the Romanes, and with their other hozse, confusedly rode vpon them, troubling the playne, rasing heapes of sande, and making all full of dust, that the Romanes coulde neither see nor speake. So being drawn and thrust together, they were muche broken and dyed, not easily, nor a shote death, but with syking in soowfull manner, laboring

The Parthians  
manner in the  
warre.

The Parthians  
renue their  
shotte.

Yong Crassus  
with Censorinus  
and Megabacchus

The Romanes  
killed.

kk.y.

to

Romanes vn-  
zble to helpe.

The valiantnes  
of the Galatians.

Publius Crassus  
fore wounded.

Garrus the great  
in Asia.  
Irene.

A noble answer  
of a yong man.

to breake the arrowes in their woundes, prouing by violence, to pul out the forked heades that were entred their vaines and sinowes, they toze and lamented themselves. When many were thus dead, they that were alieue were vnprofitable to helpe, and when as *Publius* exhorted them to set vpon the men of armes, they shewed their handes nayed to their shieldes, and they faste fastened to the grounse, that they coulde neyther flye nor fight. Then he brought his horsemen fiercely vpon them, but he was too weake, stryking and defendyng both at once, with weake and little speares, vpon the strong armour of stele, and his *Galatians* being stryken with long speares vpon their vnarmmed bodies: in them he trusted muche, and by them he did maruellous feates. For they toke the speares, and bare down the men from their horse, which could not be moued for the waight of their harnesse. Many left their horses, & stroke their enemies horses in the bellies, the which for payne, threw off theyr ryders, and trode vpon them and their enemies, tyll they dyed also. But the heate and thirst, most troubled the *Galatians*, being accustomed to neyther of them, and many of them hauing lefte their horses, with their haues, fought with the contrary. Therefore they did what they could to haue gotten to the legions, hauing *Publius* among them, being euill bestadde for his wounds: and seeing an hyll of sande not farre off, they went thither, putting their horse in the middell, and defending the outwarde partes with their Targets, they thoughte they mighte easily put backe the *Barbarians*; but it came otherwise to passe, for being in the playne, the sorymer keppe the hindermost from hurte: but when they went to a mounting ground, and all was in the daunger, and they that came behinde moste of all, there was none escaped, but all were shotte indifferently, lamenting their deathes boyde of reuenge and glozie. There were about *Publius*, two men, both *Grecians*, dwelling in *Carria*, *Ieronimus* and *Nichomachus*. They moued him to goe with them, and flye to *Irene*, a towne that helde of the *Romaynes*. He answered, there was no death so grisuous, for feare of the whiche, *Publius* woulde leaue them that dyed for him. Therefore he prayed them to saue themselves,

themselues, and gently sent them away. He coulde not vse his hande, for it was hurte with an arrowe. Therefore he commanded his page to take his sword, and runne him thorow the syde. *Censurinus* died after that sort. *Magabactus* killed himselfe, and so dyed the most noble of the other.

The death off  
Crassus his euy  
friendes.

The rest, the *Parthians* killed with their speares, fighting for themselves, and onelye fye hundred were taken alieue.

When they hadde cutte off the heades of *Publius* and his company, they tourned toward *Crassus*. He stode after this sorte. When he hadde sente his sonne to encounter the *Parthians*, and one hadde tolde hym that there was a greate fleeing, and a sore chase of the ennimies, and saue that they came no more vpon him, for they went also from that part, he beganne to take comferte, leading his army to a rising place, thinking his son woulde haue come straight from the chase. They that were firste sent of *Publius* to tell in what daunger he was, were taken of the enemies and slaine.

Crassus in hope.

The other hardely escaping, shewed that *Publius* was vndone, except speedy and great helpe were sent. Soe was *Crassus* dyuerly troubled, he could not see by reason, howe to vse his matters: on the one side, feare of the whole, on the other, desire to saue his sonne, doubting if he might helpe him, or not helpe him, yet in the ende, went forward with his power. Soe were the enemies come, with terrible shout declaring Victorie, and stryking many *Armenians*, and feared the *Romanes*, looking for an other battell. They brought the head of *Publius* vpon a spears point, appoaching nigh, and with despight asking, who was his parents and kinned. For they could not thinke that he was the sonne of *Crassus* so cowardly and lewd a man, being a yong man of so noble a renowned vertue. This sight most of all was greeuous to the *Romanes*, directing and breaking their harts, not to anger and reuenge, as it oughte, but utterly to feare and dreade. And then did *Crassus* shew him selfe most noble, as in such a case, (as they say) he went aboute the hoste and cried: This, (O *Romanes*) is my proper losse. The greate gloze and fortune of *Rome*, is in you to keepe vnbroken and vntouched, and if

Crassus pers  
plexed.

The Parthians  
shew their  
spight.

Crassus shewet  
himselfe noble.

The wordes of  
Crassus to con-  
forte his souldi-  
oures.

you haue pittie of me, that haue losse so good a sonne, shewe youre anger vppon your enimies, take away this ioy from them, reuenge the crueltie, be not dismaide with that is done, for they that do great feats, must sometime suffer. *Lucullus* ouercame not *Tigranes* without bloudeshed, nor *scipio*, *Antiochus*. Our Aunces-  
fours losse a thousande Shippes in *Sicilie*. In *Italy* manye Capi-  
taines and armies woulde not lette for their losse, but to get the  
victorie againe. The Romanes haue not come to so great domi-  
nion by fortune, but by sufferaunce and manhooe in calamitie. When *Crassus* had saide this, to encourage them, he didde not see  
many willingly heare hym, therfore he badde make a noise, the  
whiche bewrayed the faintnesse of the army, for they made a fee-  
ble and weakie crie, whiche was answered of the *Barbarians*, wpth  
chearefull and bolde sounde. Comming together, the shotte of  
the enimies, troubled the Romanes on the sides. The other com-  
ming vppon them with their speares at the face, droue them into  
a litle cownth, yet some slepyng death by the shotte, came oute to  
fight at hande, to litle purpose, being so dispatched with greates  
and mortall woundes, many times the sharpe and long speares  
passing thowse horse and man.

A declaration  
of the Romanes  
faintnesse.

The fight.

The Parthian  
retire.  
*Asiaticus*.

Thus the night brake the battaille, they saying they woulde  
gratifie *Crassus* with one night to bury his sonne, and to consider  
with hymselfe, whither it were better for him to go to *Asiaticus*,  
or to be led to him. They thus going to a place nigh hande,  
were in greates hope. But the Romanes hadde an heauy night,  
neither burying the deade, nor healing the hurte, some dying, and  
all lamenting themselues, for all things appeared wpythout  
helpe.

They remembred the day woulde bying more care: If they  
shoulde goe awaye in the night by those huge playnes, and carry  
the hurte souldiours with them, it woulde be a lette vnto them;  
if they lefte them behinde, they woulde crye and disclose they  
going away.

And althoughe they thoughte *Crassus* to be the Authour of al  
this euill, yet they desired to see hym and heare hym speake. He  
was by hymselfe with his face covered in the darke. An example  
to

to the comon sort of fortune, and to the wisse, of want of wisdom,  
and ambition, by the which, he was not contente to be one of the  
chiese & grettest among many thousands suche as he was, but bi-  
cause he was iudged inferiour onely to two men, he thought hym-  
selfe the least of all. *Octavius* his Legate and *Cassius*, raised him,  
and badde him be of good chere.

*Crassus* an ex-  
ple of Fortunes  
mutabilitie.

But when they saue him in vtter desperatton, they called  
the officers and captaines, shewing it was no tarrying there, but  
to departe withoute sounde of trumpe and secreately, whiche be-  
ing done, and the hurte men percepuing they were forsaken, a  
great lamentation with sorrowfull crie was made in the Camp,  
whiche staide them, with trouble and feare, as though the euill  
had come vpon them.

Then resting to take the wounded men, and to bestow them,  
and cary them, it was a lette vnto them, sauing to thre hundred  
whiche *Egnatius* led to *Carras* at midnight, and speaking latin to  
the watch, he willed to tel *Coponius*, that was captain them of the  
garrison, that a great felde was fought betwene *Crassus* and the  
*Parthians*. Woze he saide not, nor they asked what he was, and so  
he went to the brydge and saued his bande: yet he was euill  
thought of, bicause he forsoke his Generall: Notwithstanding,  
that worde spoken to *Coponius*, did good to *Crassus*. For he thinking  
that all was not well, bicause of the sodaine and straunge speech,  
gathered his men together, and went to meeete *Crassus* in the way,  
and receiue his souldiours into the Cittie. The *Parthians* hearing  
the going awaye by night, did not folow them.

*Egnatius*,  
*Carras*,  
*Coponius*.

*Egnatius* euill  
thought of,  
though he sa-  
ued his bande.

But when daye was come, they killed them that were lefte,  
whiche were no lesse than foure thousande. In the playne they  
ouertoke manye with their horsemen and killed them. Foure  
bandes that *Vargunteius* led in the night, losing their waye, were  
slaine, not without resistance, except twentie.

Romanes kil-  
led.

*Vargunteius*, bys  
bandes slaine.

They breaking thowse with their naked swordes, the enni-  
mies marnelling at their manhooe, they suffred to passe a souldi-  
ours marche to *Carras*.

Twentie soul-  
diours are suff-  
red to passe the  
enimies.

A false tale was tolde *Surenas*, that *Crassus* wpth the chiese,  
was fledde, and the comon sorte were receyued at *Carras*. He  
thinking

*Surenas* vnteth an  
other craite to  
gette *Crassus*.

thinking the victorie was not yet gotten, standing in doubt, and cōuening to learne the truthe, that eithre he might besiege the Cittie, or followe *Crassus*, or let hym goe, he sent one of his men that could speake both tongues, to the walls, commaunding him to speake Latine, and to call *Crassus* or *Cassius*, and to tel them that *Surenas* would speake with them. He doing so, and it being tolde to *Crassus*, the message was receiued.

Shortly after came certaine *Arabians* that knewe *Crassus* and *Cassius*, hauing bin in their camp befoze the fight.

They seeing *Cassius* vpon the wall, saide, *Surenas* would make them friendes with the King, and saue them, so they would departe with *Mesopotamia*, so it were better to do, than trie the vttermost.

The deceipt of  
*Surenas*.

*Cassius* accepting it, and requiring a time and place for *Crassus* and him to meete together, they answering so to doe, departed.

When *Surenas* hearde this of the messengers, being glad that they were in a place as besieged, he willed the *Parthians* the next daye to goe with a greate crie, and require, that if the Romanes would haue peace with the *Parthians*, to sende *Crassus* and *Cassius* bounde to the King.

*Crassus* deceived  
by *Andromachus*.

They were grieved that they were deceiued, and counsellid *Crassus* to leaue the long and vaine hope of *Armenia*, and to saue himselfe, and to let none of the *Carrenans* knowe it. But he made it knowne to *Andromachus* a very false fellowe, whome he trusted, and made him guide of the way, so as nothing was kepte from the *Parthians*, all being tolde by *Andromachus*. And where it is not their custome to fight by night, nor no sure thing to the, and where *Crassus* went out by night, that they shoulde not be too farre off in folowing the fleeing Capitaines, *Andromachus* ledde the Romanes this way and that way, and at laste putte them in a fenny and marryth place, which should be hard for the footme to folow. Some thought not wel of *Andromachus* turning & compassing & followed not. Therefore *Cassius* went againe to *Carras*, when he guides which were *Arabians*, willed him to make hast, befoze the Moone were paste *Scorpion*, but he, (saide he) feare more *Sagittarie*, and then went into *Syria* with five hundred horses.

*Cassius* retour-  
neth.

They

They hauing gode good guides, went by the hilly places, whiche are called *Synacha*, and they were safe, and befoze daye hadde ouertaken aboute five thousande. *Ostanius* a good man, was leader of them. The daye being come, *Crassus* had a weary iorney by the fenne and strange way, ledde by *Andromachus*. He had foure bandes of Legatemen with him, and fewe horse, and five Sergeants, with whome hauing this weary iorney, and scarcely staying for rest, the enimies were at hand. He hadde a myle and halfe to ioyne with *Ostanius*, and therefore to an other little hyl, not able to kepe the horse backe, nor otherwise sure, but ioyning to *Synaces*, and stretching with a long space thowowe a large field, that was nighe it. They with *Ostanius* might see in what daunger he was, and firste *Ostanius* went with a fewe to saue hym. The other reprouing themselves folowed, & kept the enimies from the hyl, and compassed *Crassus* in the middell, and defended him with their *Tergets*, so as the shot of the *Parthians* shoulde not hurte the Generall, befoze, they all fighting for him, were slaine. When *Surenas* sawe the *Parthians* slowly doing their feate, & if the night came on, that the Romanes by going in hilly places, should not be ouertaken of them, he wroughte wiles wth *Crassus*. He caused talke to be in the Campe, so as some *Romane* captaines might heare it, that the King would not make war continually with the Romanes, but would be gladde of their friendship. And vse *Crassus* gently. And they wente and tolde it.

*Synacha*, hilles.

*Ostanius* cometh  
to helpe *Crassus*.

Neve vvytzh  
of *Surenas*.

*Crassus* continu-  
ally deceiued,

The Barbarians ceased from the fight. *Surenas* with the chiefe went quietly to the hyl, he vn bent his bowe, he offered his righte hande, and called *Crassus* to truce, saying: It was agaynst the Kings will, that he had proued his force and power, & nowe hee shoulde willingly feele his clemencie and mildenesse, and being confedered, suffer all to goe safe. When *Surenas* had saide this, the other were gladde of it, and would haue it folowed. Only *Crassus* did not credite it, and thoughte this sodaine change was not to be taken, therefore he thoughte it not good to do it, but to take aduice: yet the souldiours cried, and were angry, objecting he would caste them to be villainously slaine of the enimies,

II.

to

The souldiours  
compell *Crassus*  
to take the  
vvoild way.

*Crassus* to the  
army.

*Riscus*.

A scoole of  
*Surenas*.

*Surenas* vvith  
out faith.

Aunt to the  
Romanes.

*Crassus* horsed  
and led away.

to whom he durst not go to talke, they being vnarmed. He began to desire them to abide the rest of the day, & in the night to passe by the hilles and safe wayes, and shewed the waye, and prayed them not to caste away the hope of health, whiche was at hand. But they reuiling him, and bending their weapons against him, compelled him: So he being afrayde, went, and turning him, said thus. *Octanius* and *Petronio*, and you other Captaines of the Romanes (that be presente, you see the necessitie of my going, and you can tell being with me, the fowle violence that I suffer. Wherefore tell al other men, if you escape, that *Crassus* being deceyued of his enimies, died, and not forsaken of his citizens. *Octanius* souldiours did not tarry, but came from the hill. The Mace-bearers *Crassus* put away.

The firste that came to hym of the Barbarians, were two halfe Grækes, who alighting from their horses, honozed him, and saluting hym in Græke, wished hym to sende some, to whome *Surenus* mighte shewe that he, and they that were with him, were without armes and weapons. To whom *Crassus* answered, that if he hadde anye little hope of this life, he woulde not go to them at all. Yet he sente *Riscus* two byethzen, to learne to what, and howe many shoulde come, whome, beinge me, *Surenas* Detained, and with the chiefe he came down on horsebacke.

What meaneth this (saide he) the Romanes Generall aske? and we mounted: and commaunded an horse to be broughte for *Crassus*. *Crassus* answered, that neyther he nor they did offend: For they came to talke after the maner of their Country. Then *Surenas* saide, that from henceforth, good peace shoulde be betwene the Romanes and the King. But the conditions must be written at the floude, whither they woulde goe. For you, Romanes (saide he) are not mindfull of youre couenaunts, and helde for the his right hand to him. When *Crassus* called for an horse, it shall not neede, (quoth *Surenas*) for the King giueth thee this, and by an horse was brought to *Crassus* trapped with gold. They setting him vppe, went about him, and stroke the horse to go away with him. *Octanius* was the first that took the bzidle, and with

with him, *Petronius* a Tribune, and then the rest stood about him: the one struing to make the horse to goe, and the other to keepe them backe, and to stay the horse, by the whiche a tumulte and fray, began betwene them.

*Octanius* drew his sword, and killed one of the Barbarian horse-keepers, an other killed *Octanius*, thrusting him thorow behinde. *Petronius* had no weapon, and being stroke on the Curet, he escaped unhurt. *Maxarthes* a Parthian killed *Crassus*: they saye an other killed him, and that he did cutte off his heade, and his right hande. This is rather coniectured than knowne. For they that were present, fought aboute *Crassus*, and some were killed, and some fledde againe to the hyll. The Parthians went away saying, that *Crassus* had his worthy punishment, al the other, *Surenas* hadde come downe boldely: some yelod, and some fledde by night, of the whiche, very fewe were saued. The other were chased by the Arabians and killed.

They say twenty thousand were slaine, and tenne thousande taken. *Surenas* sent *Crassus* head and his hand to *Orodes* into Armenia. He spreading rumors at Seleucia, that he broughte *Crassus* alieue, sente messengers to prepare a mocking spozte, in iest calling it a Triumphe. For one Caius among the captiues most like to *Crassus*, was cladde with a Quenes robe, and commanded that whensoever he were called *Crassus* and Generall, he shoulde answer, and was ledde on horsebacke. Before him were certaine Trumpeters and Mace-bearers, riding on Camelles. Burser were tyed to the roddes, and the heades of the Romaynes that were cutte off to the axes. There folowed a greate company of Harlottes, and Baudes of Seleucia, speaking many opprobrious and laughing matter againste the effeminate cowardisse of *Crassus*, and al the other folowed them.

When calling the auntients of Seleucia together, he shewed the wanton wrytings of *Aristides* of Milefia, and therein he did not lie, for they were founde in the carriage of *Rescius*, and ministred great matter to them, to reprove and blame the Romanes, that even in their warres doe not refraine from suche fonde manner of wryting.

*Octanius* slaine.

*Maxarthes*.  
*Crassus* killed.

Miserable ende  
of *Crassus* and  
the Romanes.

The number of  
the Romanes  
slaine.

*Caius*.  
Spight done to  
*Crassus* after his  
death.

Ballades founde  
and red in spire  
*Aristides* of Milefia.  
*Rescius*.

*Agave* was a vir-  
tue of vices, by  
the which, *Sure-  
nas* taketh occas-  
ion to raile vpon  
the *Romans*.  
*Sylvestre* is the  
worde signifying  
the that fol-  
lowe all vvan-  
tonnesse.

*Asacides* the  
Kings house of  
*Parthia* cometh  
out of *Milefia*.  
Hea he be-  
come.  
the Kings of  
*Armenia* and *Par-  
thia*.  
*Robur* in Kinges  
learned.  
*Pacorus*.

*Agave* in his fu-  
ry killed his son.  
A play at the  
bringing of  
*Crassus* heade.  
*Silaces* brangeth  
*Crassus* heade.  
*Pentheus* was  
the sonne of *A-  
gave*.

To the *Seleucians*, *Aesopus* seemeth a wise man, seeing *Surenas* blame a bag of the *Milesian* ballads before him, and bringing the wantonnesse of *Parthia*, with so many wagons of Concubines, behind him, a certaine shewe of a newe forme of straunge fight most tall and dangerous, though the fore part were fayre, fearful and cruel, carrying speares, bowes, and hortes, at the tayle of the hoste, ending with dauncing, singing, and saying, with women, and all kinde of lewdnesse. *Rustinus* was to be blamed, and the *Parthians* shamelesse, that rebuke the *Milesians*, of the which, some of their Kings, called *Asacides*, haue come of *Milesian* or *Ionian* strumpets. This being done, *Orodes* made league with *Artabanes* the *Armenian*, and gaue his sister to wife, to his sonne *Pacorus*. There were many feastes between them, and other friendships, insomuche as they came to *Greece* pastimes. For *Orodes* was not to learne the tongue nor the doctrine of *Greece*. And *Artabanes* made *Tragedies*, and wrote *Histories*, of the which, some are faued.

When *Crassus* head was brought to the doores, the tables were spreade. Then the letter forth of *Tragedies*, called *Iason* of *Trachia*, shewed *Bacchus* of *Euripides*, touching *Agave*. He being well liked, *Silaces* came into the dyning Parlour, and making reuerence, shewe *Crassus* heade into the middlest. The *Parthians* making a reioice with a shoute of joy, the Ministers putte by *Silaces*, the King commaunding it, and *Iason* delivered the preparation of *Pentheus*, to one of the dauncers, and taking *Crassus* head, he sung these verses of it, like a man caught with a furie.

We bring from the circuite of the Mountaines a newe killed game,

A blessed happy hunting.

This did all they repeate. And when it came aboute agayne, that the Quye shoulde sing this, Mine, Mine is the rewarde, *Macarthes* leapt forth, for he was set at the Table, and toke the head, saying, it appertained more to him, than he that hadde it. The King was glad, for it was to be giuen to him with rewarde after the Country maner, & to *Iason* he gaue a talent. After this maner of play did the trauaile of *Crassus* ende as a *Tragedie*.

Both

Both *Orodes* for his crueltie, and *Surenas* for his perturie, hadde worthy punishment. For not long after, *Orodes* killed *Surenas* enuying his glozie. *Pacorus*, *Orodes* sonne, after *Pacorus* was slaine of the *Romaynes*, and *Orodes* sicke of the dropsie, gaue his father payson, whiche when he vnderstoode it would be consumed by a laske, he left paysoning, & toke a readier way, by choking him: and the *Parthian* army being gone to *Mesopotamia*, the Kings Captaines made *Labinius* the *Romayne* their General, meaning to inuade *Syria*, or to go with hym as farre as *Alexandria*, and he leading the *Parthians* from *Euphrates* and *Syria* to *Lydia* & *Ionis*, waisting *Asia*, *Antonie* hearing of it, prepared to go against the *Parthians*, but being called home by the letters of his wife *Fulvia*, sent to him with weeping, he turned into *Italie*, and being at accord with *Cesar* and *Pompey* that ruled *Sicilie*, he sent againe into *Asia*, *Ventidius*, to repress the *Parthians* coming forewarde, and for fauour, was made the holy minister of the former *Cesar*. Other things they did in comon and friendly, in ciuil and moste greate matters. There was a prophete with him of *Aegypt*, that was cunning in mens natiuities: he eyther to gratifye *Cleopatra*, or to tell the truth, spake to *Antonie* freely, saying. Thy fortune that is most noble and great, is overlaid of *Cesars*, and counselled him to be as farre of, as he coulde from the yong man. For thine Angel, sayd the wise man, feareth his Angell, and it appeared that *Antonie* gaue credite to it, and thought the better of the *Aegyptian*. So committynge his things to *Cesar*, he sayled into *Grecia*. And whylest he was at *Athenes*, the first newes came of *Ventidius* good proceedings, & he had overcome the *Parthians*, and slaine *Labinius* and *Phraortes*, the chiefe Captaynes of King *Orodes*. After this, he feasted the *Grecians*, & was made ruler of the *Athenians* schole. When he went to the warre, he ware a garlande of holy *Olive*, and according to an oracle, carried with hym a vesselful of *holy* fountain of *Clepsidra*. When was it tolde *Ventidius* had ouerthrowne *Pacorus* the Kings sonne, with a great armie of the *Parthians* inuading *Syria* agayne at *Cyrislica*, and that many were slain, among the which, *Pacorus* was one of the firste. This acte was one of

*Surenas* is killed  
of *Orodes*, and  
*Orodes* of his son  
*Phraortes*.

*Labinius*.

*Antonie*.

*Ventidius*.

*Antonie* is made  
minister of di-  
uine *Cesar*.

A Southsayer.

*Antonies* Angel,  
afraide of *Othas-  
us* Angel.

*Ventidius* hath  
good lucke in  
*Parthia*.

*Clepsidra* was  
well in the ca-  
stle of *Athenes*.

*Pacorus* slaine.

II. ii.

the

The killers of  
*Crassus* reuol-  
ted.

*Ventidius* lea-  
ueth to do fur-  
der againſt the  
Parthians for  
feare of *Anto-  
nies* enmy.  
*Samofata* brings  
eth forth an  
earth that let-  
teth water a-  
fire, in that parte  
of Syria, that is  
called *Comagene*

*Antonie* is de-  
ceyued of his  
hope and retur-  
neth doying no-  
thing.

*Ventidius* trium-  
pheth of the  
Parthians.

*Antonie* and *Ant-  
onie* more fortu-  
nate by their  
Lieutenants,  
than themſelves.

*Sofius*,  
*Canidius*.

*Phraartes* killeth  
his father *Orodes*

\* This *Iberia* is  
nigh the hylle  
*Caucasus*, full of

venime, from  
whence, they  
came, that now

inhabite *Spaine*.

*Antonie* would  
giue rewarde

comparable to  
the kings of

*Persia*.

*Lariſſa*, there be  
many of that  
name,

One in *Aſia*,  
nigh *Tralus*.

*Arcthuſa*, one in  
Syria, another in

*Eubaa*.

*Hierapolis* in  
*Meſopotamia*.

the nobleſt, in the which the *Romanes* reuenged the miſfortune of *Crassus*, and droue the *Parthians* againe into *Media* and *Meſopotamia*, being ouercome in three battells together. *Ventidius* refrayned to followe the *Parthians*, any further fearing the enuy of *Antonie*. Them that reuolted he recouered againe, and beſieged *Antiochus Comagenus* in the Cittie of *Samofata*, offering a thouſand talents, and to doe what *Antonie* ſhould command him. *Ventidius* badde him ſende to *Antonie*, ſo he was at hand, and *Ventidius* wold haue *Antiochus* make his peace there, that this acte mighte redounde to his honoure, leaſte all ſhoulde ſeeme to be done by *Ventidius*. But the ſiege continuing longer, and the inhabitance ſo deſperatis of peace, turning to courage of heartes, *Antonie* was content to let *Antiochus* go ſo three hundred talents. And when he had tarried a while in Syria, he returned to *Athens*, and reſtarding *Ventidius*, as he was wor- thie, ſent him to triumphe. He only to that day, did triumphe of the *Parthians*, a man of baſe birth, comming to ſo great an eſtimation of waighty matters by *Antonies* friendſhip, which he vſing wiſely, made the ſaying of *Cesar* & *Antonie* to be found true, that they were moze fortunate by other Captaines, than by themſelues. For *Sofius*, *Antonies* Lieutenant in Syria, dydde many things, and *Canidius* leſte of him in *Armenia*. He ouer- came the *Hiberian* and *Albanian* Kings, and droue them as farre as \* *Caucasus*, whereby *Antonies* name was renoumed among the *Barbarians*. After that *Phraartes* had killed his father *Orodes*, and taken the Kingdome, many *Parthians* fledde away, & *Moneſius* a noble and a mighty man, fledde to *Antonie*. Where he ſaying this mans fortune with *Themistocles*, and compar- ing his power, with the kings of *Persia*, gaue him three Citties, *Lariſſa*, *Arcthuſa*, and *Hierapolis*, whom beſore they called *Bam- byce*. But when *Moneſius* was called home againe by the king, he did let him goe, meaning ſo to deceiue the King by hope of peace, and being deſirous to recouer the enſignes of *Crassus*, and the captiues that were aliue, he ſent *Cleopatra* into *Aegypt*, and went into *Arabia* and *Armenia*, to gather his power and the confederate kings, ſo they were many. But the greateſt was

*Artaba-*

*Artabazes* of *Armenia*, giuing ſixe thouſande horſe, and ſeauen thouſand footmen. When he muſtred his men, there were. lx. M. footmen, and of the *Romanes* ordinarie hoſemen, and the *Iberi- ans* and *Frenchmen*, ten thouſand. Of other nations there was thirty thouſand with hoſmen and ſhotte. This ſo great prepa- ration and power, that made the *Bactrians* and *Indians* afrayde, and all *Aſia* to ſhake, they ſaye, that *Cleopatra* made to come to little profite, ſo making haſte to winter with hir, he toke not due time ſo the warre, vſing al things confuſedly, not as one that had his wittes, but abuſed with his ſozceries and witch- crafts of hir, that he thought moze to make haſte to hir, than to get victorie of his ennimies. For where he oughte to haue win- tred in *Armenia*, and reſted his weary army that had gone. viij. M. furlongs, and beſore the *Parthians* had come from their win- terings, to inuade *Media* in the beginning of Spring, he would not tarry the time, but ſo led his army, as he had *Armenia* on his leſte hande, and when he came to *Atropatea*, he waſted that re- gion. When hauing engines neceſſarie ſo to ouerthowe cities, which followed the campe with three hundred Chariots, in the whiche, there was one called a *Ramme*, of the length of foure ſcore ſote, which if it were broken, coulde not be made againe, bicauſe he ledde the armye in a Countrey plaine and barren of wood of any length or hardneſſe, he left the behind him, as impe- diment to his haſte, appointing a band and a Captain, to kepe the ſame, and he beſieged *Phraata* a greate Cittie, in the whiche, the wife and children of the King of *Media* were. And then feeling the want of the engines, he knelwe he had erred in lea- uing them behind him, and therefore would winne the Cittie by mountes, whiche was a great labour, and a ſlowe diuiſe. Nowe came the King *Phraartes* with a great army, who hearing of the leauing of the cariage of the engines, ſent many hoſme ſo the, of whom *Statiannus* being chiefe of the *Romanes*, was killed, and ten thouſande with him.

The *Barbarians* toke the engines, and deſtroyed manye peo- ple, in the whiche was *Polemon* a King. This made *Antonies* ar- my afrayde, as it might, to receiue ſuch a loſſe at the beginning.

*Artabazes*

Forces of *Anto-  
nie*.  
*Bactrians*, people  
in *Scythia* of *Aſ-  
ia*.

*Cleopatra* is  
cauſe of the de-  
cay of a greate  
preparation.

*Antonie* abuſed  
by *Cleopatra*.

Eight furlongs  
maketh a myle.

*Atropatea* is part  
is a parte of *Meſ-  
dia*.

*Ramme* an en-  
gine to beate  
vvalles of a cit-  
tie.

*Antonie* leaueth  
hys artillerie  
behinde him.  
*Phraata* beſieged

*Antonies* error.

The artillerie is  
taken, and the  
keepers killed.

*Statiannus* and *Po-  
lemon* be killed.

Armbages for-  
sake the  
Romanes.

Artabasses the Armenian king, dyspayring of the Romanes, re-  
turned home with his army, albeit he was the cause of the war.  
They that were besieged, trusted vpon the Parthians so much,  
as they vsed spitefull language. Antonie, not thinking good his  
souldiours courage shoulde be abated, by lying vnder there, toke  
tenne legions, and three bandes of the garde, and all his  
horsemen, and wente to forage, thinking so to prouoke his  
enimies to fight, and to deale with them orderly. Being gone  
one onely dayes iourney, when he sawe the Parthians fetching  
their compasse, and seeking to stoppe his waye, he commaun-  
ded the token of fight to be giuen, and the campe to be leauied,  
not as though he woulde fight, but marche. He passed by the  
Barbarians, who were sette like a crescent, commaunding the  
horsemen, that when the footemen were so nigh as they mighte  
fight, that the horsemen shoulde turne vpon them. The Parthi-  
ans did iudge the Romanes order to be better by reason, and  
behelde them marching wyth equall distaunce quietly, and  
with silence, shaking their weapons. When the token was gi-  
uen, and they went on with shoute, the horsemen turned vpon  
the enimie, who receyued them with defence, although they  
were within the shotte. But when the footemen came with crye  
& clashing of armour, the horsemen of the Parthians gaue place  
with disorder, and fledde before they came to handes. Antonie  
followed the chase, hauing greate hope to make an ende ey-  
ther of the whole warre, or of a great part of it, when they had  
folowed the chase, the footemen sixe miles, and the horsemen no  
rhize so muche.

They found no more taken but thirtie, nor no more slayne  
but foure score, euery manne thinking it an harde case,  
that they hauing victorie, shoulde kyll so fewe, and losyng  
they. Engines with so manye. When they were ouer-  
come, they fell into a greate discourage and doubt of them-  
selues.

The next daye they passed to Phraartes Campe, and by  
the waye, founde first a fewe enimies, then more, at last all,  
as inuincibly, and not to be hurte, they prouoked him, & euerye  
where

The Parthians  
marueiled at the  
good order of  
the Romanes.

The Romanes  
haue a victorie  
& final accompt.

where set vpon him, so as hardly, and with muche adoe, the Ro-  
manes went to their Campe. And where they of the Citie hadde  
maade a sallie, and put some of the Romanes from their trenche,  
Antony was so angry, as he punished euery tenth man by death,  
atcozding to the desert, taking euery tenth by lotte, that hadde  
forsaken his place, and to the other in steade of wheate, he gaue  
barley. The warre was painefull to bothe, and the continuance  
more fearefull, Antonie perceyuing hunger woulde solowe, for he  
coule get no forage without death and hurte of his souldiours.  
Phraates knowing the Parthians had rather doe any thing, than to  
lie in felds, and in an other land, in the winter, was afraide, that  
if the Romanes did hold out and tarry, that they woulde leaue  
hym, the ayre beginning to chaunge, and the time of equall day  
and night being at hande: he deuised this craffe. The best of the  
Parthians, vsed the Romanes more gently in their foraging and  
other encounters, suffering them to carry away some things, and  
praising their vertue, as of men moste valiant in warre, and in  
great estimation with their king, as they were wel worthy. And  
by this meane coming nearer together, and suffering the horse-  
men to passe, spake euill of Antonie, because Phraates woulde  
gladly haue peace, and spare so good and so many menne, that had  
giuen none occasion, but that he would tarry and abide two yere  
and harde enimies, that is, Winter and Hunger, from the whi-  
che, they coule hardly escape, though the Parthians woulde suf-  
fer them.

Many declaring this to Antonie, and he deceiued by this hope,  
deferred to sende an Heraulte to the Parthians king, till he knewe  
of those wel willing Barbarians, if they spake so muche with the  
kings consent. They affirming and promising, that he ought not  
doubt nor dreade, he sent one of his friends againe, requiring to  
receiue the ensignes & the Captiues, that he might not be thought  
altogether to saue himselfe, and to escape. The Parthians answer-  
ring, he shoulde not passe of that, but if he did departe, he shoulde  
haue peace and safete by and by: wherefore wythin fewe dayes  
he brake vpp and went his way. And whereas he was eloquent  
in perswading, and was wonte to moue the people, and the ar-  
my.

The Romanes  
hardly gette  
to their Campe.

The Romanes  
punished by lot.

Autumne.  
A craffe pra-  
uise.

Winter and  
Hunger two  
greate enimies.

Antony decey-  
ued.

Antonie com-  
misseth the  
speeche to his  
foolishours, and  
the country  
to his vvorre.

my by his orations, now for shame and heavinesse, he omitted to speake to the multitude, and commaunded *Domitius Ahenobarbus* to do it. Some were angry as though he despised them, but the more parte were content and perceyved the matter, & therefore thought the rather to graunt and obey their Generall.

Marke the people  
in Hyrcania  
Nirida taketh  
vppon him to  
leade the armye  
the best way.

Being aboute to leade them the playne and barren waye, a man that by kinde was called *Mardus*, acquainted with the *Parthian* fashon, faithfull to the Romanes, and at the felde of the engins, came to *Antonie*, and willed him to slee on the right hand of the hills, and not to caste his armye laden with harnesse, and weary with iourneys, to suche a mighte of horse and shotte, and that *Phraates* vnder shewe of beneuolence, went aboute to entrap him, and that he woulde leade hym a shorter way, in the whiche he shoulde haue sufficiencie of all things.

*Mardus* bounde.

The *Parthians*  
come vppon  
*Antonie* on the  
sodaine.

When *Antonie* heard this, he toke counfel, and said he would not seme to distrust the *Parthians*, touching the peace, but for the shortnesse of the way, and the plentifull Townes inhabited, he praysed *Mardus*, and requyred faith of him. He offered to be bound till he brought them into *Armenia*. Being bound, he leade them .ij. days very quietlie. The which done, *Antony* not looking for *Parthians*, and going negligently because of his boldnesse, made saue the banke of the floud newe broken, and much water ouer running the place where they shoulde passe. He knewe it was the *Parthians* worke to make their way the harder, and to set that floude as an impediment vnto them, and willed *Antonie* to looke about him, for the ennemie was not farre off. Whiles he set his men in order, and commaunded the shotte to encounter with the, beholde the *Parthians* appeared, and came as they woulde haue compassed and dissolued the army. The shotte comming vppon them, and hurte being done on both sides, they retized, and after came againe. When the French hozsmen encountered with them, and putte them backe, so as that day they did no more attempte.

French hozsmen.

By this, *Antonie* learning what he shoulde do, he placed manye shotte, not onely at the taile, but on the sides, leadyng the armye in a square, commaunding the hozsmen to putte backe the ennemies, but not to followe them too farre. So the *Parthians*

in these foure dayes hauyng done no more hurte than receiued, waxed slowe, and entended to goe their waye, making wynter their pretence. The fifth daye, *Flaminus Gallus* a good Shouldeioner and a forwarde in seates of warre, required *Antonie* to giue him some shotte for his rerewarde, and hozsmen for his fore warre, and he woulde do a good sernice. He gaue him, and he kept backe the ennemies. But nowe not returning to the footemen as he did befoze, but following and fighting with more courage, when the leaders of the taile saw him go too far, they called hym backe, but he would not. They say *Titus* did take the Ensigne to turne him backe, and rebuke *Gallus*, that woulde lose so manye, and so good men, and that he rebuked him agayne, and hadde him medle with his owne matters, and so *Titus* went his way.

*Flaminus Gallus*

The rashenesse  
of *Gallus*.  
The sobernesse  
of *Titus*.

*Gallus* setting vppon the face of them, was compassed at the backe, and being besette rounde aboute, sent for more helpe.

They byying the footemen, among the whiche was *Canidius*, a man in great fauour with *Antonie*, who seemed to committe a greate erroure, for he oughte to haue broughte forth the whole battaile, and to haue sent them forth in bands, one ready to help another, whiche being too weake, to haue supplied more, they perceyved not that it wanted but little that the whole army was not putte to the worke, and to flight, if *Antonie* hadde not by and by brought the legions, and set them in the face of them, and the thirde legion had not passed among them that fledde, and stayed the entente from further chase. There was slaine no lesse than thre thousande, and there came to their tentes wounded syue thousande. And *Gallus* among them, shotte thozowe with four arrowes, coulde not be healed of his woundes. The other *Antonie* went about and comforted, and wyth teares bad them be of good cheare, but they chearfully taking him by the hande, prayed hym to comfort himselfe, & not to be diseased, calling him Chiefe Generall, saying, they were well, if he were whole: for generally, there was no captain led a more noble armie, neither in strength nor in patience, nor in boldnesse, in those dayes, than he, nor more reuerence and obedience, with beneuolence of all indifferentlye, noble, vnbribble, Rulers, and priuate men, was ever giuen to any

*Canidius* com-  
mitte a greate  
errour.

A slaughter of  
the Romanes.

*Antonie* comforteth  
his menne,  
and they him.

*Antonie* a verye  
good Capitaine.

mm. ij.

Captaine,

Causes of the  
souldiours slow  
forwarde. An-  
97.

Captaine, than to *Antonie*, preferring hym before their owne liues and health, wherein he might compare with the aunciente Romanes. Diuers causes were of this, (as we haue laide) gentleness, eloquence, plainenesse, liberalitie, and magnificence, & courtesie in myzt and speeche, and for that he woulde pite and comforte the sicke, and giue what they needed, he made the sicke and the hurte, the more assured to him.

The enimies for this victorie, were in such a pride, though they were weary and almost refusing the fight, contemning the Romanes, as that night they encamped hard by them, thinking straight to haue spoiled the voided tents, and sacked the money of them being fled.

When day was come, they were many more, and they saie they were not lesse than fortie thousande horsemenne, the king sending still more vnto them, as to a sure and certaine victorie, but he was not with them, whither they wonne or lost.

*Antony discoura-  
ged.*

When *Antonie* shoulde speake to the souldiours, he woulde haue a blacke garment, that he might the more be pitied, but his friends not suffering it, he came in a Captaines purple robe, and spake vnto the, prayling the that had done well, and displaying them that fledde, of the whiche, some prayed him to be of good comforte, some confessed their faulte, and offered to be punished every tenth man, or any other waye to chastice them, onely they prayed him to cease his sorowe and grieve. Then holding vpp his hands, he prayed the Goddes, that if there were any reuenge towarde, for his former felicitie, that it mighte lighte on hym, and that the reste of the armye mighte haue health, and victorie.

*Antonies prayer*

The nexte day, they marched better guarded: and the *Parthians* that followed were much deceiued of their purpose, for where they thought to come to spoile and pray, and not to fight, being resisted with great cherefulness of the souldiours, they were wearie againe. And as the Romanes went down certaine hills, they came vpon them, and they made a sharpe shotte. The Target men turned vpon them, and couered their shotte with their shielocs, for the Targets hid them easily, they kneeling on their knees.

The manner of  
the Romanes a-  
gainste the Par-  
thians.

knees. They that stood behind, defended them with their armour, and so did the other. This manner of forme, bowing alike euery way, made a figure of a Theatre, and it is the surest waye to a usyde shotte, the arrowes sliding away. The *Parthians* thinking the stooping of the Romanes vpon their knees had bin for heale and thirst, vnbent their bowes, and with their spears came nigh, the then the Romanes rising sodainly with a crye, set vpon them, and wriuing their weapons out of their handes, killed the foremost of them, and made all the other to runne away. The like was done other dayes. They giuing little way, and famine falling into the army, little meate being had, because of their often fights, wanting Millers to grinde their corne, being losse wylh the engines, for they were leste behinde, and because many of the beasts were killed, the sicke and wounded men were bozne. So as they say, an *Athens* bushel of wheate was worth fiftie drams, and barley was worth the waighte in silver.

The Parthians  
deceyued.  
The fight at hand

The miserie of  
the Romanes.

*Chanky attica es-  
taineth. 2. Sexta-  
ry. and Sextary,*  
is the sixte part  
of Congio.

*Dragma* was as  
much as a Ro-  
mane Penny.

Hearbs hurteful  
vylche the sol-  
diours eat.

An hearbe ma-  
king men mad.

When being diuened to hearbs and rootes, some they found of the small sorte, but being compelled to proue them that were vnknoone, they first lighted vpon an hearbe that brought death with a maddenesse. For he that ate it remembred nothing, nor knew nothing. Only one thing they did, moue and turne a stone, as a thing of great waighte to be done. The fiede was full of them that stooped to the ground and digged, and remoned stones.

At length vomiting their choller, they dyed, when wine, whiche was the only remedy, was spent, many being deade, and the *Parthians* not ceassing. They say *Antonie* many times cried (O the tenne thousande,) praising them that with *Xenophon* did go a farre longer way from *Babilon*, and fighting many battells saued themselves.

Ten thousande  
Greclians passed  
from the field of  
their losse. Cap-  
taine without  
hurte.

The *Parthians* could not draw them asunder, nor breake their order, and being diuers times put to the worse, they fled, waring quiet againe: then they gotte among them that went for forage, & shewing the strings of their bowes loose, they said they would retire and make an ende of their chace. A few *Medians* folowed yet a daye or two, doing no hurte, but onely guarding the towns

mm. ii.

of

of Media. By these wordes they gaue salutations and went on with gentlenesse, in so much as the Romanes were cheerefull as gayne: whiche when Antonie hearde, hee sayde he would go by the playne, rather than the hilles, where was lacke of water. And myndyng thus to doe, one named Mithridates came from the enimies, beyng coufine to Monese, that had bene with Antonie, and had the thre Citties gyuen hym, and desired some mighte come to hym that coulde speake the Parthian or Median tongue. And Alexander of Antiochia, in credite with Antonie, beyng sente to hym, hee sayde, that he was come to yelde thanks for Monesus, and asked Alexander, if hee sawe those highe and long hilles before hym, and when he sayde he did, vnder them sayde hee, the Parthians lie in wayte for you, with all their army. This greate fiede stretcheth to those hilles, and they thinke that beyng deceyued by them, you will leaue the way by the hilles, bycause there is thirst and labour: but if Antonie goe this way, lette him knowe to fall in Crassus calamitie.

Antonie grieved.

Antonie beyng troubled, when he harde this, conferred with his friends, and Mardus the guide of the way, who thought no lesse, he knewe that though there were none enimies, the journey by the playnesse was waylesse, vncertaine, harde and strange to finde. The way by the hilles, had none other difficultie, but wante of water for one day. Beyng turned to this, he commaunded to goe by night, and to carie water. There was wante of vessels, therefore they caried water in their head peeces, and some in skines. Their goyng beyng knowne to the Parthians, they came vpon them by night contrary to their manner, and by the ryng of the Sunne, they molested the taylor, now weary with watchyng and labour, for they had gone that night two hundred and fortie furlongs, and not thinking their enimies would haue come so sone, they were discouraged, for neyther had they drinke, and muste fight as they went.

Water hurtful

The former chaunced to mete with a floudde whose water was colde and cleare, but salte and veremous. The whiche being

Antonie feared  
to hope.

Mithridates sent  
by Monesus gi-  
ueth Antonie  
warning.

The Parthians  
come by night.

ing drinke dyd wyng the belly with torment, and inflamed their drouthe. And though Mardus gaue them warnyng of it, notwithstanding, they beate them off that would haue stayed them, and dronke it. Antonie came among them, and prayed them to be content for a whyle, for there was an other floudde of good water not farre off, and that the residue of the way was sharpe and not for horsemen, at the whiche, their enimies would leaue them.

When blowing the retreat, he commaunded to pitch the tentes, that at the least, the Soldiours might repose them in the shadowe. The tentes beyng sette, and the Parthians goyng their way as they were wonte, Mithridates came agayne, and willed Alexander that came to him, to see that the armie shoulde take little reste, but goe and make haste to the floudde, because the Parthians would goe no further, but thither they would follow them.

A new way  
ning.

This beyng tolde to Antonie, Alexander brought from hym, cuppes and vessels of golde, of the which Alexander taking so many as hee coulde carie vnder his cloke, wente his way. They remoued, and went the reste of that day, without any trouble of their enimies. But the night, they made to theselues mosse vnquiet and fearefull, for they killed them that had any Golde or Siluer, and they spoyled the money that was caried, and in the ende ransacked Antonies cariage, and tooke alwaye his vessel and tables of Golde, and diuided them amongst them.

Disorder in the  
Romanes campe  
among theselues.

There was great feare & confusion in the whole armie, for they thought the enimies had turned and spoyled their people. Antonie called one of his garde, whose name was Ramnus, and made hym to sweare, that when hee commaunded hym, hee shoulde thruste his sworde thorough him, and cut off his head, that it mighte neyther be taken aliue of the enimie, nor knowne when hee was deade. His friends wepyng, Mardus comforted Antonie, that the floudde was nere at hande,

Antonie in  
dispayre.

for

A colde aire declared  
a floude to be at hande.

for a moiff breath was felt, and a colde ayre came vnto the, that made the breathing swete: and the time (quoth he) of our tozney, doth agree with þ measure, for there was but a little of the night left. And then came other and said the tumult did rise of iniurie & spoile among themselves. Wherefore bringing the multitude from confusion and feare, to order, he commanded to encamp.

Now day began to shewe, and the army beginning to take a little rest, the archers of the *Parthians*, fel vpon the hindermost: wherefore token of fight was given to the shotte. The armed men couering themselves agaise with the shields, staid to ioine with the enemy. The forewarde going on, a little after the floud appeared, and the horsemen keeping the enemies off, they carped over the sicke men first, and whiles these were fighting, they had leisure and quiet to drinke.

When the *Parthians* saw the floud, they unbended their bows, and badde the *Romanes* go on boldly, commending much their vertue. When they were passed with quiet, they gathered together againe, for they had no great truste in the *Parthians*, as they went. The sixte day after the last fighte, they came to the floude, *Araxes*, diuiding *Media* and *Armenia*, it appeared both deepe and swift, and it was saide that the enemies came to set vpon them in the passage. But when they were quietly passed and come into *Armenia*, as thoughe they had seene that land from the sea, they knyled downe, and with teares and embracing one of another for ioy, they ranne together.

But nowe going by a plentifull Country, and al vsing superdutie after their want, they fell into dzophies, and Chollycke diseases.

And when *Antonie* made his muster, he founde .xx. M. footemen and horsemen to be slaine, not all of the enemies, but moze than halfe of diseases. They were going from *Phraata* seauen and twentie daies, and they overcame the *Parthians* in eighene battels, but their victozies had no substance nor suretie of them that made ofte and small chases. It was well perceyued that *Artabazes* the *Armenian*, was the cause why *Antonie* coulde not bring this war to end. For the sixtene thousande horse that hee

ledde

led out of *Media*, might haue done best service against the *Parthians*, being armed like them, and accustomed to fight wyth them: and when they fled from the *Romanes* fight, they should haue chased them, that being so overcome, they could not haue bin bold to set vpon them againe so oft. All the army for anger moued *Antonie* to be rouenged of the king. He vsing discretion, did neyther blame his defection, nor change any of his wonted humanitie and honor to him, his army being yet weake and needy, but afterwarde being come againe into *Armenia*, and with sayre words and promises perswading him to come to his handes, he toke him, and carried him bounde to the triumph at *Alexandria*, which most grieued the *Romanes*, that the goodly and comely things of their country, should be translated to *Alexandria* for *Cleopatra*'s sake. Thus he did. Betwene the kings of *Media* and *Parthia* fell a variaunce, begonne as they say, for the *Romanes* spoyle: and the *Median* king being in danger thereby to lose his kingdome, he sent to *Antonie*, promising to make war with him with all his power. Therefore *Antonie* was broughte into greatchope, for he supposed, he wanted nothing to overcome the *Parthians*, but horsemen and archers, the which he saw was now offered him to gratify him without any asking. He prepared to go again into *Armenia*, & to ioyne with the *Median* at the floud *Araxes*, and there to moue the warre, but being called backe by the intercessions of *Octavia* and *Cleopatra*, he deferred the *Median* til the next summer, although the *Parthians* were at diuision: yet going to him once again, he made league with him, & when he had maried one of his daughters with a sonne of *Cleopatra*, he returned againe to *Civil* warre.

*Antonie* taketh the king and maketh a triumph of him at *Alexandria* vvhich grieueth the *Romanes*.

### The end of the Romanes war with the *Parthians*.

When *Antonie* was returned to *Civil* warre, he was met by *Octavia* his wife, who had fled from *Armenia* to *Rome*, and she was with her in *Rome* when *Antonie* was returned to *Civil* warre.

# The Romanes war with the *Illyriās*: by *Appian of Alexandria*.

*Illyria* now  
statione *Chaonia*,  
part that is most  
cynnes.  
*Tesprotia*, that is  
next to *Chaonia*.  
*Paonia* is a parte  
of *Macedonia*.  
The breadth &  
length of *Illyria*.



The *Grecians* thinke them to be *Illyri-*  
*ans*, that haue their dwelling beyond  
*Macedonia* and *Thracia* from *Chaonia* &  
*Tesprotia* to the floud *Hister*. The  
greatnesse of it, reacheth from *Ma-*  
*cedonia* and the mountaines of *Thra-*  
*cia*, to *Paonia* and the *Alpes*, three days  
iourney. The length of it, is muche  
greater by three partes, as the *Greci-*

*ans* thinke. The *Romaynes* measuring the ground, thinke  
it is five thousand furlongs in length, and a thousand two hun-  
dredth in breadth. And they affirme that countrey to haue the  
name and beginning of *Illyria*, sonne to *Polyphemus*. For *Polyphe-*  
*mus* had by *Galatia*, *Celtes*, *Illyrius*, and *Gallus*: And that they  
came out of *Sicilie*, and gaue name to the *Celarians*, *Illyrians*, and  
*Gularians*. And this I like well of the opinions that haue bene  
thought hercof. Then they saye that *Illyrius* had these folowing:  
*Achille*, *Autarids*, *Dardanus*, *Medus*, *Taulatinus*, & *Perrhebus*: and  
these daughters, *Partha*, *Daorta*, and *Dasera*, with others, of the  
which came the *Taulatians*, *Perrhebian*, *Achilleians*, *Autaricans*.  
*Dardanians*, *Parthenians*, *Dasaretians*, and *Darsians*: *Autarius* had  
*Pannonius* or *Pzonius*, and *Scordiscus*: *Pzonius* had *Tribalus*, of the  
which these nations haue their names. And these be the antient  
beginnings of the great countrey of *Illyria*, in the whiche were  
the *Scordiscians*, and *Triballians*, of so greate possession, as they  
fought so long together, till the *Triballians*, that were left, fled  
to the *Celtes* beyond *Hister*. This nation was thought mightye  
till the time of *Philippe* and *Alexander*, and now so destroyed,  
as it hath no man left: and the *Scordiscians* become to noughte  
also, for they being overcome by the *Romaines*, came at length  
to dwel in the *Ilands* of *Hysler*. And in continuance of tyme,  
some

*Illyrius* sonne to  
*Polyphemus*.  
Celtes, by that  
part of *France*  
that is about  
*Lions*.  
*Taulatinus*, went  
from *Illyria* to  
*Macedonia*, and  
brought *Arissus*.  
*Perrhebus* fled into  
*Aeolia*.  
*Achillai* *Illy-*  
*rians*.  
*Autarius* were  
most warlike  
people of *Illyria*  
first subdued of  
the *Scordiscians*,  
and last of the  
*Romaines*.  
*Parthene* of *Ma-*  
*cedonia*.  
*Dasaretians* of  
*Thracia*.

*Scordiscians*.  
*Pannonians*.

some of them went abroade again, and invaded the uttermost  
part of *Paonia*, wherfore the *Scordiscians* be now among the *Pa-*  
*nians*. Likewise the *Ardeians*, when they had invaded the best  
parte of the *Autarians* groundes nexte the coaste, they being  
seamen, they drove them away. After them, the *Liburnians* had  
the name to be good with their shippes, another nation of *Illy-*  
*ria*, robbing *Ionium* and the *Ilandes* with their swifte shippes.  
Wherfore the *Romaynes* call the shippes of *Spade*, *Liburni-*  
*ans*. There is a saying, that the *Autarians* came to utter destru-  
ction, by the wrath of *Apollo*. For they and the *Celtians* with  
the *Cymbrians*, did encampe at *Delphos*, and by and by all were  
dispersed and fledde, and many of them before the fight, being  
stricken with raine, tempest, and lightning, and when they that  
wer left came home, they found such a corruption made by frogs  
in their waters, that they all perished. The vapour of the whi-  
che so infected the Countrey of *Illyria*, as the *Autarians* being  
most plagued with it, fled; and bycause no man durst receyue  
them, they went on .xxij. dayes together, coming to a few  
nie groundes inhabited, and buylded a Citty next to *Basserna*.  
They saye also, that *Apollo* dyd destroy the *Celtians* and they  
Citties, & did not cnde the plague before they fled and left they  
houses, and came into *Illyria*, that had offered with them, who  
being weake for sickness, they sone overcame, and by hand-  
ling of their things, took the infection, and fledde to *Pirene*. And  
when they moved toward the east, the *Romaines* being afraid  
of them with whom they had once foughte an exceeding bat-  
taye, sente the *Consuls* against them, least they shoulde passe  
the *Alpes* and come into *Italy*. And the *Romaines* hauing the  
losse of all their armye, the name of the *Celtians* stroke at *Italy*,  
with feare, till they chose *Marius* their generall, which before  
had overcome the *Libyans*, *Numidians* and *Marusians*, very vali-  
auntly, and overthrow the *Celtians*, and did them many tymes  
destroy, as I haue shewed in the booke of *Celtion*. And this end  
had the *Celtians* and *Illyrians* for their wickednesse, yet they did  
not withhold their wicked handes from holy things, but the  
*Scordiscians*, *Medans*, and *Dardanians*, ranne over *Grecia* and *Ma-*

*Liburna*.  
Light shippes.

*Cymbri* came to  
the north of  
*Saxon* into *Nurs*  
bonne in *France*  
where *Marius*  
overcame them,  
Punishment  
of God.

*Baserna*, be at  
the floud *Sorbia*  
benes in *Scythia*.

*Pirene*, is the hill  
that diuideth  
*France* and  
*Spain*.

*Syllenus* *Mari-*  
*us* and *Capri-*  
*Consuls* over-  
throwen by the  
*Cymbrians*. *Ere*.

*Marius* over-  
throweth  
them.

donia, and spoyled temples, and once againe besieged Delphos, loo Ang many of their men being then slaine, two and thirtie yeare after the warre betwene the Romanes and the Celtians, who for their late sacrileage made them warre. L. scipio being Captaine then, being Lordes of Macedonia and Grecia. And they save their neyghbours that were their felowes in this wickednesse, then not ayding them, left them to scipio, remembryng the plague of the Antarians whiche were utterly destroyed through all Illyria. And that scipio did overthowe all the Scordiscians, and they that could escape wente to Danubio and the Islands thereof, and that he being corrupted with a couenaunt of holy gold, made league with the Medans and Dardanans, by the which, as many Italianes do shew in their wytyngs, the state of Rome was stricken with ciuil discorde, untill it came to the rule of one. These things of Illyria founde among the Grecians, I haue wyttie at large. The Romanes cal not only these Illyrians, but also the Paonians beyonde them, the Rhetians, the Noricians, and Missians that dwel in Europe, and al other nigh that inhabite the right hand of Hister, by a common name, although they be separate the Hillarians from the Grecians, and call euey of them by their proper names. Being ledde wyth this opinion at the first, they chaunged afterward, and would haue the ende of Illyria at the beginning of Hister, to the sea of Pontus, whiche is tributarie vnto them. Howe the Romanes brought them to obedience, whē we wrote of the Celtians, we shewed that we did not well learne neyther the beginnings nor occasions of the warres.

And therefore we haue exhorted them to write, that haue moze vnderstanding of the matters of Illyria. But as much as we knowe, we wil declare it.

Agron was king of a part of Illyria, y is at the coast of Ionia which Pyrrus king of Epirus, and such as came of him, had sometyme. And he taking parte of Epirus, and Corcyra beyond that, & Epidamnus and Pharos, as a keeper held them syl. When he sailed the rest of the Ionian sea, an Isle called Ebus did reuolte to the Romanes,

Corruption one  
cause of ciuil  
discord at Rome.

Rheia is at the  
Alpes, part of  
the which is  
now Gisoni.  
Noricia novv Bas  
unia Mysianovv  
Iosus and  
Ceria.

The sea of Pon  
tus from Maoris  
to Tenedo.

Agron.  
The Illyrian king  
having ouer  
come the Actos  
Islands, ranke so  
much vyne that  
he died presently.

Agron.  
Pyrrhus.  
Epirus.  
Cunera, or Albia  
nia.

Corcira, Corfu.  
Epidamnus.  
D. r. ass.  
Pharos, is an  
Island in the  
Adriaticall sea.

Romanes, and sent their Embassadours to them, to declare what wrong Agron had done them. The Illyrians sayling againe to the, killed Caltemporus the Embassadoz of Ebus, and with them Coruncanus, the Romanes, (as some say.) For this cause the Romanes inuaded Illyria both by sea and land.

Agron dyed, leauing an infant behinde hym called Pine. He left the gouernment of the countrey to his wife, that she might bring vpp the childe, although she was not his mother. Demetrius that had Pharos belonging to Agrons dominion, and after, getting Corfu, betrayed both to the Romanes. They made amitie with the Epidamnians, and sent an armie to helpe them against the Illyrians that besieged them: wherfore the Illyrians raised their siege, and some of them called Atintans, yielded to the Romanes.

The wife of Agron sent Embassadours to Rome, deliuering the prisoners and captiues, requirng pardon for that was not done of hir, but of Agron. The Romanes saide that Corfu, Pharos, Ebus, and Epidamnus, and the Illyrians that be called Atintans, were of their iurisdiction, and if Pine would holde the other Region of Agron, hee myghte vse the Romanes friendship, if he would refrain from the reste, nor the Illyrians shoulde go to the Ebusians, but with two boats, and them vnarmed, all the whiche they admitted. And this was the firste doings of the Romanes and the Illyrians, after the which, they gaue libertie to Corcyra and Appolonia.

They gaue also rewardes to Demetrius for his renolting, yet despising his infidelitie, that came from him afterwarde. For the Romanes contending thre yeares with the Celtians aboute the floude Eridanus, Demetrius not now passing of the Romanes, by cause they were troubled with warre, gotte Histria, an other nation of Illyria, and compelled the Atintanes, to reuolte from the Romanes. When the Romanes had made an end with the Celtians, they went by and by into Illyria, and toke the robbers that had ioined themselves with Demetrius and the other Illyrians. And they killed Demetrius, that fledde vnto Philippe of Macedonia, and retourned wyth an paye, and spoiled the Gulfe of Ionia, and utterly ouerthrewe his Countrey Pharos, conspiring with hym,

Caltemporus.  
Coruncanus. His  
bassadors slaine.  
Embassadours  
killed, the cause  
of Illyrian war.  
Pine.

Pharos and Corfu  
deliuered to the  
Romanes.

Atintans.

Peace with  
Pine.

Appolonia novv  
Palona.

Demetrius.

Eridanus, novv  
Po, the greates  
floude of Italie.

Atintanes.

famine, and pardoned the other *Illyrians*, that dydde agree with *Pine*.

This was the seconde warre and truce with the *Illyrians*. The reste be described of me not in order and time, but by the nation as I haue found them. The Romanes invaded *Macedonie* when *Perseus* reigned after *Philippe*. *Gentius*, an other king of *Illyria*, allured with mony, ioynd with *Perseus*, & stirred the *Illyrians* against the Romanes, and didde caste the Romanes Embassadours into prison, alleadging that they came not as Embassadours, but as espialls. Wherefoze *Anitius* the Roman Lieutenaunt toke diuers of *Gentius* shippes, and inuading the lande, ouercame hym when he hadde shulte him in a place, and he asked forgiuenesse, he counsailed him to yelde to the Romanes: he desired thre dayes respite, which being granted, and in the meane time his subiects forsaking him, he desired he might come to *Anitius*. Whiche when he did, he kneeled on his knees with great shame, and spake for himselfe. The Romanes President toke him by the hand, and badde him be of good cheere, and toke him to a banquet, from the whiche as he was going, he was taken and made prisoner, and carried to *Rome* in triumphe with his sonne.

This warre of *Gentius* was finished in twentie dayes. *Scamilius Paulus* that toke *Perseus*, and sente hym to *Rome*, spoiled lxx. of his Citties after this sorte. Going priuily to *Rome*, with great speede, and returning, he promised the people forgiuenesse, if they would bring in all their golde and siluer. They agreeing to it, he brought parte of his armie to euery Cittie, then commaunding the Captaines of the army, at a daye in the morning, to charge the Citizens by Trumpet, that they shoulde bring all their golde and siluer within thre houres space, whiche being done, he gaue the reste to his souldiours for spoile. So *Paulus* in one houre spoiled lxx. Citties.

The *Ardeans* and *Palerians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, invaded that part that the Romanes held, to whom the Romanes for other lettes sente Embassadozs to affray them. They would not obey, wherfoze the Romanes sent an army against the of 10000. footemen, and 600. horsemen. They not being readye, sente

Embass

Embassadours to aske pardon for their offences. The Senate commaunded them to recompence them, whome they had injured, the whiche thing, when they leste vndone, *Fulnius Flaccus* goeth against them with a great armie. The warre consisted in *Rhodes*, and was not fully ended.

*Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *Tiberius Pandusius* ouercame the *Iapodes* within the Alpes. Likewise the *Segestanes* did yelde to *Lucius Corra* and *Metellus*, all the whiche shortly after forsooke the Romanes.

The *Dalmatians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, invaded them that obeyed the Romanes, and would not admitte the Romanes Embassadours that came to them for that purpose: wherfoze I thinke the Romanes made warre vpon them, when *M. Figulus* was Consul. As soone as *Figulus* came, they set vpon the former, and droue them from the army, into the fildes, so as they fledde to the floude *Naro*, and then they retrayed, for Winter was at hande.

*Figulus* then thinking he might of the sodaine disperse them, he droue them all from their places, till he came to the Citie of *Delminium*, whereof the *Dalmatians* haue their name. And where he coulde doe nothing against that Citie of the sodaine, nor raise engines for the heighth of the wall, he went aboade againe, all being destitute and vnfurnished. For the waiking aboute *Delminium*, he made certaine pearches of two cubites long, laide ouer with pitch, sulphur and tow, and with his slings, threwe them into *Delminium*, the which being fyrd by the violence, and like lamps flieing in the aire, did set on fire whatsoeuer they touched, so as many were consumed by fire. Wherof ended the war of *Figulus*.

In the following, *Cecilius Metellus* being Consul, when the *Illyrians* had offended nothing, he would needes make warre to triumphe of them, of whome being receiued friendly, and remaining in saloe their Cittie that winter, he triumphed of nothing.

*Casus* when he made warre vpon the *Celtians*, the *Dalmatians* flourished and toke a Citie from the other *Illyrians* called *Primonis*, which belonged to the *Lyburnians*. The *Lyburnians* gaue them selues

*Gentius* imoriso  
with the Ro.  
made Embassadours.

*Anitius*.

*Gentius* contrary  
so promise take.

*Scamilius Paulus*  
sacked lxx. ci-  
ties in a daye,  
by craft.

*Ardeans*,  
*Illyrians*.

*Fulnius Flaccus*.

*Sempr. Tuditanus*,  
*Tib. Pandusius*,  
*Iapodes*,  
*Segesta*,  
*S'gistro*.

*Dalmatie*,  
*S'ironia* by *Lex*,  
*M. E. gulum*,  
*Naro*, *Novve*  
*Narcinia*.

Romanes drowe  
to the floud.  
*Narus*,  
*Delminium*,  
*Dema*.

Denise of *Figul*.

*Cecilius Metellus*  
triumpheth for  
nothing.

Saloe of the  
*Illyrians* *Pollio*  
called his sonne  
*Salonius Promonis*.

Caesar's army of  
overcome of  
the Illyrians.

The Illyrians de-  
stroy the army  
that Gabinus  
brought to Cas-  
ar.

Also, the people  
of Syria in Eu-  
rope, of some  
called Daci, but  
called, that  
Daci be they  
that are nexte  
Germany, whom  
some call Daci,  
which for their  
ferocious behav-  
ior, be called for  
names of fer-  
ocious in Co-  
medies.

Behus overcome  
Drazzo.  
Provinces to  
M. Ventus and C.  
Cassius.

Paeonia  
Paeonia now  
Hungary.

selues to the Romanes, & fled to Caesar. Caesar sent Embassadors to them, exhorting them to restore Paeonia to the Zyburnians. They despising it, he sent an army, which was overthrowne of the Illyrians. Caesar being occupied with other cares, the sedition of Pompey following, did nothing to them, but sayled w<sup>th</sup> his whole army, in a contrary tempest, to try the matter with Pompey in Macedonia. The rest of the army Antonie brought to Caesar by Macedonia. Then in a gret tempest, Gabinus adu<sup>er</sup>se to bring to Caesar. xl. bands of footmen, & iiij. M. horsemen by Illyria, whom the Illyrians for feare of that he had done, & thinking the victorie of Caesar would be their confusion, resisted Gabinus, & slew al save a few, & fled with him, & got a great deale of money, & infinite spoile. Caesar dissembled at this for the necessitie of the war with Pompey. When Pompey was overcome, & Caesar went about to dispatch al the rest, he returned to Rome, & determined a war against the Getes, & the Parthians. When the Illyrians heard of this, and feared that Caesar would take them in his way to Parthia, they sent Embassadors to Rome, to aske pardon of their faultes, and extolled the worthie nation of the Illyrians, and would become friends.

Caesar being minded to go against the Parthians, answered them sharply, that he would not haue them for friends, that had vsed him so unfriendly, yet he would spare them, if they would pay tribute, and pledges. They promising both, he sent Arminius to them with three legions, and a great band of horsemen, to take pledges and small tributes. When Caesar was dead, they thought that the power of Rome would die with him, & so refused to obey Arminius, neither paying tribute, nor giving hostages. Arminius sending v. bands against them, they overcame them, and their leader Behus a Senatour. Arminius with the reste, fledde to Epidamnus. When the Senate appointed to M. Ventus and C. Cassius that killed Caesar, Macedonia and Illyria, with Syria. So they making warre w<sup>th</sup> Antonie & Caesar that was called Augustus, the Illyrians had no quietnesse. The Paeones, a gret nation inhabiting alongst Hisser, stretcheth from the Iapodians, to the Dardanes. They are called Paeones of the Grecians, and of the Romanes Pannonians; and of them, (as we haue sayde) they be called parte of the Illyrians.

Illyrians, of the which now I will speake somewhat, beying about to shew the Illyrian State. They glorie much in the Agrians which were Macedonians coming out of Paeonia, & did great service vnder Philip & Alexander. And after Cornelius was overthrowne of the w<sup>th</sup> al his army, the same of the Paeonians were very gret, & made Italie afraide. Therefore of a long time after, the Consuls would not take vpon them to warre with the Paeonians. And these great things haue I founde of the Illyrians. But in Caesar's Commentaries, that was called Augustus, I finde no ancient matter of the Paeonians. It should seeme, there was an other part of Illyria, that did obey the Romanes, but what the name was I can not tel. For Augustus didde not write other mens actes, but his owne, howe he brought them that revolted from the Emperre, to Tributes, and overcame other that liued vnder their own lawes; and lastely how he conquered the barbarous nations, that dwell in the heighth of the Mountaines, that were nexte Italie, and vsed by stealth to molest it. And surely I maruell, that so manye armies passing from Rome over the Alpes, did contemne these nations. For Caius Caesar so happy a man in warre, and leading so manye armies against the Celtes and Iberians, did likewise little passe of these nations, when he lay euery winter, not far from them, by the space of tenne yeares. But I thinke these menne, making haste onely to that they purchased, did care for no more, but for passage over the Alpes. C. Caesar being long about Celtica, thought it vnough to end that, the ciuill warre of Pompey calling him from the rest. And where he seemed to chose both Celtica and Illyria, he took rule not of all, but of them that belonged to the Romanes. But Caesar Augustus got al, & when he accused the vblenes of Antonie to the Senate, he shewed how he had made the fierce uation of the Illyrians, so oft rebelling, tame: he subdued with great experience, the Oceans, Perthenetans, Barhiates, Taulantians, Cambians, Cinambrans, Merromenans, and Prisseans. And the rebels, which were the Docleatans, Carimians, Interfrurians, Narissians, Clintidians, & the Tauriscans, which he compelled to pay their tributes after they had denied them, the which being overcome, the nexte, that is, Ippisians and Beßians for feare, did yelde vnto him. And hee overcame the Corcyrians & Melitians with greate fight by sea, because

Agrians

Caesar did not  
passe of Illyria.

Commentaries  
of Augustus  
the vblenes.

Caesar did not  
passe of Illyria.

Caesar Augustus  
talketh of his  
conquest of the  
Illyrians.  
Nations of  
Illyria subdued  
by Augustus.

Melita, Malta,  
Corcyra, Corfu  
cruelly vied of  
Augustus.

they were rowers on the sea. The childzen he killed, the other hee solde. And toke the shippes from the *Liburnians*, bicause they also robbed on the sea. Of the *Iapodans* that dwel within the Alpes, the *Moentines*, and *Aedeatians* yelded to him when he came. The *Aurupians*, whiche were many and warlike, of the *Iapodan* kind, went oute of the countries into their Cittie, and when he came they lurked in wooddes. He toke their Cittie, but would not let it aspyze, thinking they would yelo to him at length. Which being done, he gaue them their citie to inhabite. Of al other, the *Salassians* and *Iapodans*, that dwell beyonde the Alpes, made him to haue moſte to do, with whom the *Segeſtanes*, *Dalmatians*, *Daisians*, and *Paenians* loyned. They keepe the toppes of the hilles, that bee mountaines vnpaſſable, an harde and narrowe way, leading to them, by truſte whercof they liue of themſelues, and take toll of them that paſſe. *Veterus* comming ſodainelye vppon them, gotte the ſtraightes of the place by policie, and beſieged them two yeares.

They wanting ſalte, wherof they had moſt need, receiued garriſons. After rebelling from *Veterus*, and caſting down the defences, they got the ſtreights, and laughed at them that *Caſar* ſent, bicause they could do little againſt them. Wherefore *Caſar* beginning warre againſt *Antonie*, lette them liue as they woulde, and forgaue them that moleſted them that obeyed the Romanes, till *Messala Cornutus*. *Messala Cornutus* ſent of *Caſar* to ſubdue them, ouercame them by famine. And ſo the *Salassians* came into the Romanes power. The *Iapodans* that inhabite beyonde the Alpes, a moſt fierce nation, and almoſte wilde, diide reiecte the Romanes twice in .xx. yeares, and raunged to *Aquileia*, and ſpoyled the Romanes land called *Torgium*. When *Caſar* wente againſt them, they were the moze fierce agaynſt hym, and cut down wood to ſtop him. And when *Caſar* went to an other wood, they fled, and as he followed they layde traines for him. *Caſar* ſuſpecting it, ſent ſome of hys, to the toppes of the hilles, to ſette vppon them on bothe ſides. He comming eaſy, and cutting the wooddes, they ſodainely appeared from the traines, and hurte many. But when the other were ſome from the toppes, they were deſtroyed. The reſte fledde into the

*Moentines,*  
*Aedeatians,*  
*Aurupians.*

*Salassians,*  
*Iapodans,*  
*Segeſtanes,*  
*Dalmatians,*  
*Daisians,*  
*Paenians,*  
The Alpes.

*Veterus.*

*V* Want of ſalte.

*Messala Cornutus.*

*Aquileia* is now  
of the Venetian  
iuriſdiction.  
*Torgium.*

*Caſar Auguſtus*  
deſtroyeth the  
*Iapodians.*

the wooddes againe, leauing their Cittie, whole name was *Terponum*. *Caſar* toke it, but did not burne it neither, thinking they alſo woulde render, as they diide. Then he went to an other Cittie, whiche they call *Metulio*, which is the chiefe Cittie of the *Iapodans*. It is ſituate vppon two hilles, in a wooddy place, betwene the whiche, a little valley goeth. And the youth to the number of three thouſande well practiſed in armes, did eaſily repell the Romanes from the walles. The Romanes ſet vppon a mounte, the whiche they within, and the other withoute, runnyng daye and night, diide muche hinder, hauyng ſome engines, whych they hadde gotten in the warre, whereby they made the Romanes to lye further off. For they hadde gotten they engines in that place where *Brutus* foughte with *Caſar* and *Antonie*.

*Terponum.*

*Metulio.*

Engines taken  
at the place  
where *Brutus*  
& *Caſius* fought  
vvith *Caſar* and  
*Antony*.

But when the Romanes hadde beaten downe parte of they walles, they made ſortes within, and when they were weareye, they leapt into them that they had nowe made.

The Romanes taking the wall that they hadde leſte, burned it, and ſette two mountes againſt the other, from the whiche they made alſo foure brydges to the walles.

Brydges made  
from mountes to  
the vvalle, break.

When all was readye, *Caſar* hadde ſome goe to the other ſide of the Cittie, to diuide the Citizens aſunder, and willed the other to goe vppon them on the brydges, and he ſtoode and looked vppon an highe Tower what was done. The Barbarians came to reſiſte them that gaue the aſſaulte at the wall. The other laying traynes behinde, beating the brydges with their long ſpeares, waxed moze fierce.

And when two of the brydges were broken, and the thirde lyke to fall, the Romanes were in ſuche a feare, as none woulde go to the fourth.

*Caſar* rebuked them from the Tower, but they woulde neuer the ſoner goe. Wherefore he toke a ſhield and ran to the brydge, & with him *Agrippa*, *Hierom* and *Lucius*, that were Capitaines, & *Volas* one of his Guard, only theſe .iiij. and ſewe other Tergate-bearers went on the brydge. When *Caſar* was on the brydge, the ſouldiours being aſhamed, ranne ſtraighte vnto him, by the

The boldneſſe  
of *Caſar Auguſtus*.

so.ij.

reason

reason whereof, the bridge being ouer laden, brake, and manye fell to the ground, of the whiche some dyed. *Caesar* keeping hurte on the right leg, & the arme, went to the tower again, some of the chiefe following him, & he might shewe himselfe evidently to be alive, least some tumulte might be made for his death, or the enimies thinke he had fled, and by & by commanded an other bridge to be made, which thing chiefly made the *Metulians* afraide. The next day sending Embassadors for peace, they promised to deliuer *C. Pledges*, & receiue a garriso. And leauing the higher hill, they al went into the other. When *C. Garrison* commanded the to leaue their armoz, they were grieued, & putting their wiues & children in their Senatehouse, & receyuing the garrison, they tolde the *Romans*, that if they required of them any vnrasonable thing, they would burne that place, & set vpon the *Romanes* for desperation. Which when they had said, they al went from the lowe place to the higher. When the garrison set *C. house* afyre, many of the women killed themselves, & their children, some broughte their children alive, & threw the into the fire. So al the youth of the *Metulians* perished with battaile, & the vnpromisable fort with fire, & the city was so burned, that as great as it was, there was not a tokelence of it. The *Metulians* being ouercome, the rest of the *Lapodans* yielded to *Caesar*. Thus the *Lapodans* beyond the *Alpes*, became subiecte to the *Romans*. When *Caesar* was gone, the *Re-senians* rebelled, whom *Marcus Elbius* ouercame, & killed, he that were cause of the rebellion, & made the rest slaves. The *Romanes* having gone twice against *C. Segestanes*, neither toke hostages nor any thing else from them, wherefore they were the more boldened. *Caesar* went against them, through the *Paonian* land, who were not yet obedient to the *Romanes*. Their land is woody, & stretcheth along from the *Lapodans* to the *Dardanians*. The *Paonians* haue no citie, but lands & houses together, nor any common Justice, or Iudices, to rule ouer them. They had an *C. fighting men* of the best yeres, but because they had none to command the, they came not together. When *Caesar* came, they ran into the wooddes, & if they found any stragling, they killed them. *Caesar* thinking they should haue come to him, did neither burne their houses nor their villages.

but because they came not, he set all on fire, and eight dayes together, did them much harme, and so passed to the floude *S. Danubius*, in the banke of the whiche was a Citie strong by the floude, and a great ditch. Wherefore *Caesar* assaulted it as a store house for the warre, against the *Daceans* & *Bastarnians*, which dwell beyond *Hister*. This floude in that place, is called *Danubius*, and going to other lower places, hath the name of *Hister*. *S. Danubius* runneth into it. *Caesar* had shippes in the floude, that might bring victuall to the armie by *Danubio*: for this *Caesar* would haue the citie of *Segesta*, as he went forward. The *Segestanes* sent Embassadors vnto him to know what they should doe, he willed the to receiue garrison and deliuer pledges, that he might haue their citie, as a store house, for his warre against the *Daceans*, & as much corne as they could bring. The chiefe men thought good to do it, but the people began to rage, and cared not for the hostages, because they should be of the great me: but when the garrison came, they could not abide to see them, but ranne vpon them furiously, and shutte the gates, and shewed themselves as gayne vpon the walles. Wherefore *Caesar* made a bridge ouer the floude, and raysed trenches & ditches about it. And when he had shut them in their citie, he erected two mountes, which they hindered as much as they might: but when they could not defeat the mountes, they threw fire and burning linkes vpon them, & so an higher place. *Hyde* was comming to them, from an other iration of the *Paonians*, against whom *Caesar* laye ambushes, and so killed parte of them, and parte fledde, so as there came no more helpe to the *Segestanes*. They enduring the siege very valiantly, were ouercome the xxx. day as a hard fight, and then learned to make supplication, whose verue *Caesar* marueling, had moued with pittie of their prayers, did not kill them, but otherwise molested them, but punished them by the purse, and placed them in an outwarde parte of the Citie, and put in thirtie bandes for their garrison. This done, he went to Rome, to returne againe into *Illyria*. When it was tolde, that the *Segestanes* had shewen the garrison whiche was in the Citie, he came againe with all speede, though it were winter. When

*S. Danubius* runneth by the mount. *Hyde* of *Illyria* runneth into *Danubio*.

*Hister* *Danubius*.

*Segesta*.

*Daceans* the *Scythians* of *Europe* now *Pallachians*.

The people of *Segesta* refused the garrison.

*Caesar* spared the *Segestanes* for their valiantie.

False rumor causeth *Caesar* to haue a winter journey.

so. iii. hearing

*Segestanes, de-  
stroyed of the  
garison.*

*Taulantians lea-  
ving their lande,  
went to inha-  
bite that part of  
Macedonia, that  
is next the Gulfe  
of Venice, not far  
from Durazzo, &  
inhabited a City  
Armissi.  
Dalmatians now  
Sclavonians ouer-  
threw Gabinius.  
Persus captaine.*

*Lack of vvater.*

*Tentimus.*

*Pomona taken.*

hearing the rumoz to be false, he vnderstode of truth that they were in daunger: That the *Segestanes* had sodainly sette vppon them and killed many, but that the next day the souldiours had giuen an onset vpon the Citizens, and gotten the Citie. Wherefoze he turned his warre to the *Dalmatians*, an other nation of the *Illyrians*, next the *Taulatians*. The *Dalmatians* after they had giuen an ouerthrowe of fve bandes vnder *Gabinus*, and taken fve ensignes, they were proude of their prosperitie, & were in armour ten yeares together, and when *Caesar* came, decreede to helpe the *Segestanes*. They were aboue 12000. good fighting mē, & had made one *Persus*, their captaine: He inuaded again *Pomona*, a citie of *Liburnians*, & defended it with trench & ditch, & got other strong places of *Liburnia*. For it is a hillie, the toppes whereof stand vp like pynacles. The greater part of the were in the Citie, and the rest kept the hill toppes, so as they mighte easily see the Romanes armye. *Caesar* dessembled as though he would enclose them al in a wall, but priuily had the bolde sozte to go to the mountaynes, & to espie what was to be done there. They going by the woods secretly in the night, set vpon the keepers, whom, being yet asleepe, they killed, and signified to *Caesar* that they were at the end of their iourney, and must haue moze men to get the Citie, and let some go from the hills to tel others that were in other mountaines. Wherefoze the *Barbarians* were put into great feare, when they saw themselves beset on euery side, & chiefly they that were in the higher hills, for lacke of vvater, & fearing the wayes would be shut on all sides, they got the into *Pomona*. *Caesar* enclosed the Citie, & two of the highest hylles that were yet holden of the enimies xl. furlongs about, & in the meane season gaue an onset vpon *Tentimus* another captaine of the *Dalmatians*, & put him to flight, and chased him by the mountaines, & toke the citie in his sight. For the Citizens coming out befoze the preparation was finished, they had a repulse, and the Romanes, in the flight, got into the Citie with the, & when they had slaine the third part of the Citizens, they droue the rest into the Castle. There was one bande of the Romanes that kept the gats, vppon whom, when the *Barbarians* assailed the fourth night

night, they were astrayd and forsoke the gates, but *Caesar* came & repulld the enimies, and the next day they yelded to them. Of the band that offended, he punished euery tenth man by lot. Of the Captaines of the bands, he chastised two of euery ten, the other, al the sommer, he commaunded to eate barley in stead of wheate. Thus was *Pomona* taken.

*Tentimus* had diuided his army into diuerse parts in the hills, wherefoze the Romanes did not folow them farre, being ignorant of the way, and fearing the vnknowen and confounded pathes. For there is no entrie into the woods by any plain way, and the *Dalmatians* did lurke betwē two hills, when they layd wayte for *Gabinus*, in the which place they set also an ambushe for *Caesar*: but he burned the woods on eyther side the way, and sent his army by the hills, and himselfe went by the vallies, cutting downe the woods, inuading the Cities, and burning what so euer was in his way. He besieged the Citie *Setonia*, into ayde of the whiche, came a great number of *Barbarians*, with whom *Caesar* met, and wold not suffer them to passe. Being hurt in that fight in the knee, he lay sicke many dayes. Being recovered, he went to Rome for the Consulshippe, which he toke with *Barbatio Tullus*, leauing *Statilius Taurus* to ende the warre, he entring his office at the beginning of the month. That daye, *Antonius* being appointed to his charge, he went again against the *Dalmatians*, keeping yet the power of the thre men, for now the seconde sine yeares were expired, the which they toke of themselves, & the people confirmed it. Wherefoze the *Dalmatians* being in wāt of victuals on euery side, they came of themselves to *Caesar*, humbly yelding, and deliuering seauen hundred hostages of their owne chilozen. *Caesar* commaunded them to bring the ensignes that they had taken from *Gabinus*, and to pay the tribute, whiche they promised to *Caesar*, and had deferred to this tyme. And so they were made the moze obedient to the Romanes euer after. *Caesar* set these ensignes in the Gallerie that is called *Ostauia*. When the *Dalmatians* were overcome, the *Derbanes* came to yelde themselves, and to deliuer pledges, and pay tributes, which they had so long omitted.

*Augustus pui-  
shern his sould-  
iours.*

*Tentimus.*

*Caesar burneth  
vvoodds.*

*Setonia.*

*Augustus haste.*

*Barbatio Tullus.  
Statilius Taurus.*

*The authoritie  
of three men re-  
newed in Rome.*

*Seauen hundred  
Hostagies.*

*Ensignes reco-  
covered.*

*Derbanes.*

Then *Caesar* came nether to them, and they deliuered their pledges, which in his absence being sicke, they refused to do. These are thought to be the laste, whiche *Caesar* brought to obedience, whiche before had revolted and were not acquainted with others rule. Wherefore the Senate appoynted him to triumphe of the *Illyrians*, which he did when he had overcome *Antonie*. The other *Illyrians* that the Romanes had before the *Paonians*, were the *Retians*, *Norigians*, & *Mitians*, whiche inhabite at the *Euxine* sea. I thinke *C. Caesar* did subdew the *Retians* and *Norigians*, when he made warre vpon the *Celtians*, or that *Augustus* did conquere them, when he invaded the *Paonians*, for they haue their habitation betwene both, I finde no warre made against them of purpose, wherfore I thinke they were overcome, with their neighbours. For *M. Lucullus*, *L. Lucullus* brother; that ouercame *Mithridates*, did ouerrunne all the region of the *Mytians*, and helde his course to the floud, in the which place there be foure Greeke citites next to *Mytians*, that is, *Hystros*, *Dionisopolis*, *Odissus*, and *Mesembria*. Then he brought out of *Gallia* that great *Appollo* that standeth in the palace. I do not remember that any other that ruled that common wealth, did bring the *Mytians* to tribute, or *Augustus*, but *Tiberius* which reigned after *Augustus*, had them. But these things are shewed of me in their place. Before they had *Egypt*; what the Emperours did after *Egypt* was wonne, or how they spedde in warre, we haue shewed them, as their proper actes, after these comon enterprises: in the which many things be also conteyned of the *Mytians*. Now seing the Romanes take the *Mytians* to be *Illyrians*, this booke shalbe named of me the *Illyrians*, the which I wrote, that it might be an absolute matter. For *Lucullus* ruling in the peoples time, did ouerrun the *Mytians*, and *Tiberius* did receyue them vnder his Monarchie.

The

*Caesar*, the first  
was heth of the  
*Illyrians*.  
*Rhetor*, he  
they in the hills  
that he called  
*Grifones*.  
*Norigians*, some  
thinke to be *Bat-*  
*arians*, some *Sirma-*  
an *Caruth* &  
*Mytians*, now  
*Esace* and *Serna-*  
high *Flam* *trian*.

*Illyrians*, *Dionisopolis*,  
*Odissus*, *Mes-*  
*embria*, now  
*Mesembler*.

Tiberius.

Lucullus.

## The Romanes warre with the Celts.



The *Celts* did first invade the *Romanes*, and toke *Rome* without the *Capitoll*, and burned it. *Camillus* did overcome them, and dyue them away, and when they came agayne another time, he dyd ouerthrow them, and triumphed of them when he was fourescore yeares of age.

*Celts* be those  
Frenchmen that  
inhabite from  
the floud *Sone*  
to *Gerona*.  
*Camillus*.

The thirde time they came into *Italy*, when they were destroyed by the *Romanes*, vnder *Titus Quintus* their Generall.

After them, the *Boians*, a most fierce nation of the *Celts*, came vpon the *Romanes*, and *Casius Sulpitius* Dictator, wente agaynst them, and vsed this policie. He had the *Souldoyours* of the front to cast their darts, and streight way to set downe, till the seconde, thirde, and fourth, had done the like, then euery one stouping, when they had done their shotte, that the contrarie weapons mighte be throwne in bayne, when the last hadde throwne, then to runne all with one force and crye with violence vpon the enimie, for so they shoulde affray them, if they came so suddaynely to fight with them at hand, after so greate a brunt of strength. Their weapons were not like the darters which they of *Rome* call *Gese*, the halfe of a square staffe, with a peece of yron square also, and that soft, beside the poynt, and euen thus these *Boians* were destroyed of the *Romanes*, with all their armie. *Popilius* ouercame other *Celts*, and after him *Camillus*, sonne to *Camillus*, did the same, and *Paulus Aemilius* sette vp tokens of victorie against the *Celts*. Before the Consulships of *Marinus*, a greater number more warlike, and for age to be feared, invaded *Italy* and *Gallia*, and ouercame some Consuls of *Rome*, and ouerthrowe their armies, agaynst whome *Marinus* went, and ouercame them all. The last and greatest fight with the *Galles*, was done by *C. Caesar*, being generall, there sortie thousandes of fierce nations did he ouerthrow in tenne yeares, whiche if a man will put together in one summe, he

Bois were part  
of the French  
about Lyons.  
*C. Sulpitius* his  
policie.

The French call  
their darts *Gese*.  
The *Macedonians* *Larisse*.  
The *Romanes*  
*Pila*.  
*Popilius*.  
*Camillus*.  
*P. Aemilius*.

It is *Gallia* was  
where now  
*Lombardy* is, &c.

C. Caesar.

The victories  
of *Caesar*.

pp.

shall

shall finde they were about foure hundred thousande, it is cer-  
 ten that a hundred thousand were slayne, a hundred thousande  
 taken, foure hundred nations, eight hundred Cities, some re-  
 uoltyng, & some freely yeeleing, he brought to obedience. Be-  
 fore *Marinus Fabius, Maximus Aemilianus* leadyng but a meane  
 armie, did ouercome a hundred and twentie thousande *Celtes*,  
 with the losse of fiftene men. And though he were wounded on  
 the knee, yet he rested not to ryde aboute, and encourage his  
 armie, instructyng them how to fight agaynst the *Barbarians*,  
 sometime carried in hys Chariot, and sometime ledde by hand.  
*Caesar* making warre agaynst them, did firste conquere the *Luce-*  
*tians* and *Tigrians*, to the number of two hundred thousande.  
 For the *Tigrians* afore tyme, *Piso* and one *Cajus* being leader, o-  
 uerthrew the *Romanes*, and put them vnder the yoke, as *As-*  
*pinus Claudius* wyrteth in the olde Monumentes. *Labienus* the  
 Lieutenant ouercame these *Tigrians*, the reste *Caesar* subdued, and  
 the *Triconians* helpyng them. Then he conquered the *Germanes*  
 with *Arionisto*, whose greatnesse passed the greatnesse of all o-  
 ther: they haue mosse fierce maner, hardy in giuyng battayle,  
 not afrayde of death, for the hope to ryle agayne. They can a-  
 byde colde and hunger when neede requireth: their horses ma-  
 ny tymes are fed with shrubbes, yet they were, as is thought,  
 not very paynfull in warre, nor goyng to it by order, but in  
 rage lyke brute beastes, and so they were conquered by the *Ro-*  
*manes* patience and sufferance: for they woulde runne about  
 the *Romanes* battayle with great violence, and the *Romanes* kee-  
 pyng order, after the discipline of warre, easily ouercame the,  
 and at tymes, killed. lxxx. thousande of them. After them *Ca-*  
*sar* innaded the *Belgians* with whome he mette at a passage, and  
 killed so many of them, as he made a brydge of their bodies.  
 Notwithstandyng the *Nervi*ans made him once goe backe, co-  
 ming vpon hym sodainely, and killyng many of his people, for  
 they slewe almoste all the Capitaynes and Leaders, and be-  
 sieged him in an hill, where he was dryuen with his Garde:  
 but when the tenth legion came on their backs, they killed  
 lx. thousande of them, whiche were of *Teutones* and *Cymbrians*.

*Aemilius.*

*Caesar* on, *Heli-*  
*manus*, *Tigri-*  
*ans*, now *Luce-*  
*rich*, put the *Ro-*  
*manes* vnder  
 yoke.  
*Labienus.*  
*Ap. Claudius.*  
*Germanes* passe  
 in greatnes de-  
 spising death in  
 hope to line a-  
 gayne.  
*Triconi.*

*Belgians* from  
*Scaldis* to *Se-*  
*quane*.

*Nervi*, be people  
 about *Tornay*

*Teutones* *Ger-*  
*manes*.  
*Cimbrians* *Danes*

*Caesar*

*Caesar* also did ouercome the *Allabrogians*, nations of the *Vsipe-*  
*tans* and *Tantherians*, some of them good in the warre, and some  
 not: the *Sicambrians* with fife hundred horse put to foyle fife  
 thousande of *Caesars* by a suddaine onset, but they were plagued  
 for it. *Caesar* was the first that passed the riuer of *Rhene*, and ca-  
 ried his armie into *Britaine*, the greatest Ile in the earth, where  
 was no feare of him: he passed at the floodde, and first had  
 losse by sea, and was tossed with the waters, which  
 were first calme, and after violent, so as he got  
 into *Brytaine* by great payne and  
 sufferance.

*Allabrogians*  
*Sauoyans.*  
*Vsiperians.* *Tan-*  
*therians.*  
*Sicambria* *Gel-*  
*derians.*

*Caesar* had losse  
 in the lowe cou-  
 treys, and sayd  
 led into *Eng-*  
*land*.

There is no more founde of this matter.

Ep. 11.



# ¶ Faultes escaped in the Preface.

The first side.	Line. 16. Maraea. line. 22. Palestines. line. 21. Arabians. line. 24. put out pert Minaris, and say P. Imyrians.
The second side.	Line. 12. Thracius. line. 15. A xenus.
The third side.	Line. 3. Danubius. line. 6. Moesia. line. 7. Myrtoo. line. 13. seme. line 22. the sentence beginneth at Two hundred years.
The fourth side.	Line. 21. the sentence beginneth at But after. line. 27. sentence be- ginnoth at But they had great. line. 28. sentence beginneth at The dominion. line. 30. ye. line. 25. sentence beginneth at, For the.
	Line. 3. Cyprus.
The fifth side.	Line. 10. sentence beginneth at And this Booke, for
The sixth side.	

## Faultes escaped in the forren vvarres.

**F**olio. 1. line. 28. Thracius. folio. 5. line. 25. make the coma at succeda  
Fol. 6. line. 21. Nooke. folio. 6. line. 29. put out and. fol. 8. line. 29.  
Pericles. fol. 26. line. 26. a full poynt at remarning. fol. 28. lyne. 25.  
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